

A N
Universal HISTORY,
FROM THE
Earliest Account of Time to the Present:
COMPILED from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS;
And ILLUSTRATED with
Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and
Other Tables.

V O L. IV.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχισθαι μὴ κατανοῶν, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐνυήσεις ἀκόπως,
ἀπὸς ἑτέρου συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



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A N

Universal History.

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time to the Present.

C H A P. VII.

Continuation of the History of the *Jews*
to the *Babylonish* Captivity.

S E C T. VIII.

Continuation of the History of the Jews under their monarchical Government.

WE return to the king of *Israel*, who, to celebrate the dedication of this new temple with greater magnificence, chose to defer it till the next year, which was the jubilee (L), at which solemnity there used to be always a vast concourse of people from all parts of the kingdom, as we have elsewhere observed*. The ceremony *The dedication of the temple,* began on the eighth day of the seventh month of the sacred year, which was the first of the civil year, answering to the

* See Vol. III. p. 195, & seq.

(L) This was their ninth jubilee, which, according to archbishop *Usher* opened the fourth millenary of the world (1).

latter end of our *October*, and lasted seven days ; at the end of which began the feast of the tabernacles, which was one of the three solemn feasts of the *Israelites*, and lasted likewise seven days ; so that the vast concourse of people, who were invited by the king, and flocked to that solemnity, stayed at least fourteen days in *Jerusalem*. The ceremony opened with a pompous procession, in which the priests carried the ark, from the tabernacle which *David* had erected for it, to the temple ; and deposited it in the most holy place, between the two golden cherubims, which *Solomon* had caused to be made by *Hiram*, and to be set up there, to be a kind of covering to the ark (M). The king himself, accompanied by all his chief

(M) We have spoken elsewhere of the shape and position of those which covered the mercy-seat (2). These that were made by *Hiram* for the most holy place differed from them, and were of two sorts ; namely, these two which spread one wing over the ark, and touched the wall with the other ; and those which were made in bas-relief, to adorn the sides of the wall, being placed between palm-trees likewise in bas-relief, and all of the finest gold. What the bigness of these last was we know not, but that of the two massive standing ones may be guessed at by the length of their wings, which reaching to the north and south walls with one extremity, and joining at least by the other over the centre, must have been each five cubits long, because the place was twenty cubits in length and breadth ; so that one may reasonably suppose the cherubims themselves to have been about ten cubits high. As to their form we can affirm nothing certain concerning it, beyond what was said in the place above quoted.

There we took also notice, that *Solomon* made all the other utensils and ornaments of the temple proportionable, both in bigness and richness, to that of the edifice : the *Mosaic* altar of burnt-offering, for instance, was set by on account of its smallness, and another placed in lieu of it, which was twenty cubits in length and breadth, and ten in height. The same was done by the altar of perfume, and the table of shew-bread ; which last, as well as the golden candlesticks, he increased the number of five or six fold.

Besides these, there was a prodigious quantity of other gold and silver vessels and utensils ; concerning which the text only says, that they were without number (3) ; but the *Jewish* historian has given us such a detail of them (4) that we choose to refer the reader to him for it, because we can neither tell whence he had it, nor indeed find room enough or use for such vast quantities. Thus he tells us,

(2) See Vol. III. p. 273. not. (V). (3) 2 Chron. xli. 18. & alib. (4) Antiq. l. xv. c. 14. xx. & alib. & de Bell. Jud. c. 6. & alib. pass.

chief officers, and the elders of *Israel*, marched before the ark; these were followed by a great number of priests and *Levites*, who sang some canticles proper to the occasion, and played upon various instruments. Next to the ark followed another number of singers and players, with other priests bearing the golden candlesticks, altar of incense, and other sacred utensils of the sanctuary, which had been brought from *Gibeon*, where they and the tabernacle had stood ever since. These were not deposited in the sanctuary, because the king had caused a new set of them to be made, which were larger and more answerable to the spaciousness of the place; but were laid up in some other repository prepared for that purpose. To add the greater magnificence to the procession, the king ordered the ark to stop at proper distances, and there caused a prodigious number of victims to be offered up before it, till they had reached the sanctuary. Whilst the priests were depositing the ark in the most holy place, the air rang with the sound of 120 trumpets, and with the voices of the *Levites*, who sang the praises of God, repeating these words at proper stanza's, *Give thanks to the Lord, for he is good, and his mercy endureth for ever*. It was then that God seemed to come down in a visible manner, to take possession, as it were, of his new temple, by filling it with a glorious cloud, as he had formerly done the tabernacle; inso-much that the priests could not stand to offer up the sacrifices, which they had prepared upon that occasion*.

* 2 Chron. v.

that there were 10,000 tables to hold the sacred utensils, besides those of the shew-bread. He mentions likewise 10,000 candlesticks, besides those that were in the holy place; 80,000 cups for drink-offerings; and though the text mentions but 100 basons of gold, which seem to us to have been for the same use (5), and to have been sufficient for it, he has multiplied them to 100,000, besides double that number of silver ones. We may say the same thing of 1000 priestly ornaments, which he tells us *Solomon* caused to be made for the sole use of the high priest; the 10,000 linen robes and girdles for that of the common priests; and 200,000 more for the *Levites* and musicians: all which, if we may believe him, were never to be mended when torn, nor washed when stained with the least spot, but were to be made into wicks for the lamps. To these we shall only add the 200,000 trumpets, and 400,000 musical instruments made of a mixt metal between gold and silver, such as was called by the antients *electrum*; concerning all which we can only say, that the text is either silent, or contradicts his prodigious account, as well as where he says, that the 200,000 trumpets were made according to *Moses's* appointment.

DURING

(5) 2 Chron. iv. 8.

A vast
number of
victims
offered.

DURING this time, *Solomon*, who stood upon a brazen scaffold three cubits high, and prepared for the purpose, having commanded the attention of the people who stood in the court and the galleries round about; kneeled down, and spread his hands towards heaven, and dedicated the building to God in an elegant and devout prayer, which he then made in their hearing; intreating the Divine Mercy to make it its residence in favour of *Israel*, and to be ready from thence to hear the prayers which his people should direct thither, from whatever part of the world, and what condition soever they were in, to grant their request, and pardon their offences. All this while the priests had covered the spacious altar with proper victims, which as soon as his prayer was ended, were consumed by a miraculous fire, as a token of the divine favour and acceptance. The king then, turning himself about, blessed the audience; after which they went about offering a vast multitude of other sacrifices, which were furnished both by the king, and by the heads of the tribes; insomuch that they were forced to rear a number of other altars in the court, the great one not being sufficient for them. On the very first day of this ceremony, which lasted seven days, they (N) sacrificed 22,000 bullocks and 120,000 sheep for peace-offerings, which served to feast the concourse of people; besides a prodigious number of burnt and other offerings, which were brought in every day. The feast of the tabernacles, which immediately followed this, was likewise observed with unusual magnificence; after which the people were dismissed in peace, and returned to their homes, with their hearts full of joy and admiration of their wonderful monarch. At the same time, lest that young prince's heart should be too elated by this extraordinary grandeur, God was pleased to appear to him in a dream, on the first night of the dedication, expressed his acceptance of that sumptuous edifice, and renewed his promises to him and his posterity, provided he and they served him with an upright heart: on the other

1 King. viii. 12. & seq. 2 Chron. vi. & vii.

(N) The text says, indeed, that *Solomon* himself offered that vast number of victims (6); but it appears from the end of the verse, and that which goes before it, that all *Israel* joined with him in it. We may likewise observe here, that it is not altogether clear from it, whether they were all sacrificed in one, or in the seven days of the feast; the latter indeed is the most probable of the two, but the tenor of the words seems to lean more to the former.

(6) 1 Kings viii. 63.

hand

hand he assured him, that in case they provoked him by their idolatry and disobedience, that glorious building, which was now the wonder of the world, should infallibly become a desolation, a dwelling for owls and bats, and a proverb of reproach among all nations †.

As soon as *Solomon* had finished this noble structure, he ^{Solomon's} set his artificers to work upon two other buildings, one for ^{palaces.} himself, and another for *Pharaoh's* daughter ², and spared nothing that art or riches could furnish, to raise it to a proportionable splendor with it (O). He was almost thirteen years in building them, so that he finished those three magnificent edifices, with all their costly furniture, utensils, and ornaments, within the space of twenty years (P). After this he sent

† 1 King. ix. 1, & seq. * Compare 1 King. iii. 1. vii. 8. ix. 24. & 2 Chron. viii. 11.

(O) One of these palaces is called the house of the forest of *Lebanon* (7), though it was at *Jerusalem*; the reason of its being so called, is not certainly known. The *Chaldee* paraphrast calls it a summer-house, or house of refreshment; others think it to have been built in that forest, after he had taken the city of *Hamath-zobab* (8); but the general opinion is, that they gave the name of the forest of *Lebanon* to the city of *David*, by reason of the prodigious quantities of cedar and other trees, which had been brought from thence to build the temple and other sumptuous edifices; inasmuch, that it seems as if *Lebanon* had been transported to *Jerusalem* (9). Upon this account, and perhaps also from the fragran-
cy of the cedar, both the city and temple, as well as the palace, are called *Lebanon* by the psalmist and some of the prophets (10).

(P) These palaces were built with the utmost magnificence, whether for the prodigious quantities of gold, silver, cedar and other precious woods, marble and other costly stones, the stupendous bigness of them, or the exquisiteness of the workmanship, or for the richness of their furniture, and the sumptuousness of the galleries, porches, courts, and apartments. Among these there was one more spacious than the rest, which was called the porch, or hall of judgment, in which was placed the king's throne, and, on each side of it, the seats of his counsellors. This porch was by far the most magnificent of all, because it was both his seat of judgment, and the place of public audience, where he shewed himself, either to his nobles, or to the strangers that resorted to him. It was placed in the midst of a flight of rich pillars of cedar, curiously carved and covered, or rather inlaid, with gold. The throne

(7) 1 Kings. vii. 2. (8) Vid. Jun. in loc. & 2 Chron. viii. 3.
(9) Ita Rabbim. vid. & Munst. Calm. & al. in Psal. xxix. xcii. 12, 13.
(10) Psal. xxix. pass. xcii. 12, 13, & alib.

sent back a great part of his *Tyrian* artificers; and to express his gratitude to their prince, who had so generously furnished him, not only with vast quantities of stones and wood, but also with great sums of gold, he presented him with twenty cities in *Galilee*; but *Hiram*, coming soon after to view them, was so disgusted at them, that he could not forbear breaking out into some complaints against his brother *Solomon*, and expressing his dissatisfaction by his refusal of them, and by the contemptible name which he gave to that whole land (Q); upon which, *Solomon* built them anew himself, and planted colonies of *Israelites* in them †. The rest of his workmen,

† Compare 1 Kings ix. 10. & 2 Chron. viii. 1, & seq.

itself, which was in the fashion of a nich, was covered with ivory, inlaid, and intermixed with curious ornaments in gold: the ascent to it was by six steps, each step being supported on each side with a small lion, and the arms of the seat with two large ones as big as the life. All these, and even the steps themselves were likewise covered with gold and ivory. The richness of the furniture of these sumptuous edifices may be guessed at, by the plate and drinking-vessels which were used in them, which were all of the finest gold. To these he added 300 shields of the same rich metal, which used to be carried before him when he went abroad, and then were suspended along the rows of pillars as an ornament. Besides these, he likewise caused 200 targets to be made of a larger size, which were hung up in some conspicuous places of the temple. All these were made of some precious wood, and covered with gold; these latter amounted to 600 shekels each, and the former to three pound weight (11).

(Q) *כבול* *Chabul*, which is the name he gave it, comes from *כבל*, which signifies a fetlock; and is supposed to have alluded to the extreme dirtiness of it, because one could not travel in it without being up to the ancles in dirt.

Josephus derives it from a *Phœnician* word, which signifies *dislike*, and adds, that *Hiram* refused to take them from *Solomon* upon that account (1); but as we find a city of that name as early as *Joshua's* time (2), it is not improbable, that *Hiram* took the hint from it, and gave that contemptible appellative to all the rest.

This *Chabul*, which our author calls *Chebalon*, was, according to him, situated in the neighbourhood of *Tyre*, or between that and *Ptolemais* (3): that of *Joshua* could not be far from it; and yet *St. Jerom* places them on the other side *Jordan* (4), in that part which was called *Decapolis* (5).

(11) 1 Kings x. 16, 17. 2 Chron. ix. 15, 16. (1) *Ant. lib* 8. c. 2. See *Vol. II. p.* 340. (2) *Josh.* xix. 27. (3) *Ibid* & in *vit. sua.* (4) *Hieron. in Amos i.* (5) *Vid. Calm. sub voc. Chabalon.*

whether Tyrians or others, together with the *Canaanitish* slaves, who were by that time probably become very expert builders, were employed in surrounding the city of *Jerusalem* with a strong and stately wall, and fortifying *Millo*, *Hazor*, *Megiddo*, *Gezer*, *Beth-horon*, *Baalath*, *Tadmor*, or *Palmyra*, and other places of consequence; besides several other store-cities for his chariots and horses, for his magazines of corn, wine, oil, and other provisions and ammunition. He built moreover some fortresses in *Lebanon*, probably to secure a free communication between his kingdom and that of *Syria*. Soon after this he brought under his yoke the remainder of the *Amorites*, *Hittites*, *Perizzites*, *Hivites*, and *Jebusites*, who seem to have remained unconquered till his time, and made them all tributaries to him ^a. These were also probably forced to his works with the rest; for as for the *Israelites*, the text expressly says, that they were exempt from all kind of slavish business, and only employed either as overseers over them, or as officers and soldiers in his army ^b.

To supply all these vast expences, *Solomon* went and built *Solomon's* a navy at *Eziongeber*, upon the coasts of the *Red-sea*, and navy. put it under the care of some expert *Tyrian* sailors, who, with his own men, went with it to *Ophir* (R), and in about three years

^a 1 Kings ix. 15, & seq. 2 Chron. viii. 1, & seq. See Vol. II. p. 188 ^b 1 Kings ibid. ver. 22, 23.

(R) It is not to be expected, that our readers will be contented with being told, that *Ophir* is to us a *terra incognita*, that has been sought in vain in all parts of the world, and through every point of the compass. And indeed one would hardly believe such a discovery to be so difficult, considering the various indices, by which the scriptures seem to lead us to it; such as those that follow. 1. That *Moses* speaks of *Ophir* the son of *Joktan*, who went with his brethren and dwelt from *Mesha* towards *Sephar*, a mount of the east (6). 2. That the same fleet went both to *Ophir* and *Tarshish* (7), and set out from *Ezion-geber*, a sea-port near *Eloth*, in the land of *Edom* upon the *Red-Sea* (8). 3. That the voyage took them up three years (9). 4. That it brought gold, precious stones, spices, ivory, ebony, and algaum wood, peacocks, and monkeys (10). 5. That *Ophir* not only afforded the greatest quantity of gold, but that it also exceeded all other gold in fineness and value (11); and, lastly, That according to *Eusebius*, an ancient author quoted by *Eusebius* (12), the *Urphir*, or *Ophir*, from whence this

(6) Gen. x. 29, 30. (7) Conf. 1 Kings ix. 28. x. 22. xxii. 48. & 2 Chron. xx. 36. (8) 1 Kings ix. 26, & alib. (9) Ibid. x. 22 & alib. (10) Ibid. & 2 Chron. ix. 10. (11) Ibid. & alib. pass. (12) Præp. Evang. l. 9.

metal

years time, brought him back an immense weight of gold and silver, besides several kinds of precious stones, spices, ebony and other curious wood, ivory, peacocks, monkeys, and other rarities^c. The gold itself amounted to 450 talents yearly,

^c Ibid. ver. ult. x. 22. 2 Chron. viii. 17. ix. 21.

metal was brought, was an island in the *Red-Sea*; not that which we commonly understand by that name, which lyeth between *Arabia* and *Egypt*, but the great southern ocean, which extended itself between *India* and *Africa* and washeth up to the coast of *Arabia* and *Persia*, and was called the *Red-Sea* from the colour which the perpendicular sun-beams give it in those hot climates (13). To this let us add, that *Josephus* says, that *Ophir* was in *India*, or was since called *India*, or the *land of gold* (14), which may probably mean the *Aurea Chersonesus*, now called the island of *Malacca*, over against *Sumatra*; these, one would be apt to think, might have chalked out such a chart, as would have directed us, if not to the very spot of ground, yet at least to the region, whence all these riches came, and yet there are scarce any two authors that have steered the same course.

But not to dwell long upon a subject that affords so little certainty, we shall content ourselves with a bare mention of those who seem to have visibly erred from the point, and then give a short account of those who have spoken with a greater degree of probability.

Among the first we may rank those who have gone to *America* for it (15), it being inconceivable, how they could steer thither and back again in those early days, without charts or compass, with so imperfect a knowledge of geography and astronomy, and knowing no more of navigation than bare coasting. If it be said, that this was the method they steered by, and that they coasted along *India*, *China*, and the north parts of *Japan*, to the north part of *America*, and so on to *Hispaniola*, or any other place, whether of *Mexico* or *Peru*; besides that in such a case, eighteen months will scarce be sufficient for such a prodigious round, how many islands might they have met with in *India*, that could have supplied them with all those commodities, and especially with gold? how came they at first to have such knowledge of those parts, as to go thither for that metal? Was *America* peopled so early? and if it was, which is scarce credible, were either its inhabitants such expert sailors, as to bring those merchandizes to some famous emporium nearer to *Asia*, or did any of the *Asiatic* nations fetch them from thence?

2, Those who have gone no further than the coasts of *Africa*, or even nearer for it (16); because though it be probable, that se-

(13) Vid. *Prideaux Connect lib.* 1. (14) *Ant. lib. viii. c.* 2.

(15) *Genchr. Arr. Mont. Christ. Columb. Vatabl. Postel. & al.*

(16) *Grot. in 1 Reg. ix. Hist. Dissert. de Navig. Salom. Jean des Saut. & al.*

ly, besides the profit which he made of all the other commodities. Some of those precious woods the king did bestow in adorning the galleries about the temple, and in making a great number of musical instruments for the service of God ^d.

ALL

^d Ibid. ver. 11.

veral parts of *Africa* might abound with gold, spices, ivory, and those other merchandizes, or according to others, that the *Indians* might bring them thither; yet the farthest coast of *Africk* was not distant enough from *Exion-geber*, to have taken up so much time as three years, though we should allow, that they went to a different sea-port for each merchandize; much less to those places mentioned by some of those authors, which are a great deal nearer to it.

Lastly, we may reckon among them who have missed the mark those who have fallen into the notion, that *Exion-geber* was not on the coasts of the *Red-Sea*, but of the *Mediterranean* (17); in order to avoid the difficulty into which *Huetius* stumbled, by making the canal of communication between those two seas to have been opened in *David's* time, which is confuted by several learned authors (18). But whatever the difficulty be of finding a passage from *Exion-geber* to the *Mediterranean*; it cannot be supposed to have been situated any where but on the *Red-Sea*, without doing manifest violence to the text; because there is not one single instance of יָם סוּפִּי *Yam Suph*, signifying the *Mediterranean*, or any other than the *Red-Sea*; and secondly, because *Exion-geber* is said to have been beside *Eloth*, which last is always placed on the *Red-Sea* (19).

Among those who have conjectured with more probability, we shall mention, first of all, those who place it with *Josephus* in some part of the *East-Indies* (20), though without adhering too close to the particular place, which each of them has made choice of; whether in the kingdom of *Malabar*, or the isles of *Seylan* or *Taprobana* (21), or in *Siam*, (22), or in any of those neighbouring islands or kingdoms beyond the *Ganges* (23), or that of *Pegu*, whose inhabitants pretend to be descended from the *Jews*, whom *Solomon* sent thither to work in the golden mines (24); for we think it labour lost, to seek for a country that produced all the different kinds of merchandizes, which the fleet brought into *Judæa*, when they had time enough to fetch some from one place and some from another; or, which is equally probable, when they might be all brought by *Indian* merchants, from several parts of *India*, into some common emporium. All these are probable conjectures, by supposing the

(17) Gorop. Becan. Bivar. Horn & al. (18) Marsh. Can. *Ægypt. sac.* 1.5. Calm. *prolegom. in Genes.* (19) Vid. Euseb. *loc. Hebr. sub voc.* יָם סוּפִּי. Abulfed. *Descr. Arab.* Plin. Strab. Hieron. Procop. & al. (20) Luc. Holstein. *not. in Ortel.* (21) Vid. Bochart. *Pbal.* (22) Ab Choisl. *in vit Salom.* (23) Vid. Lipen. *Tract. de Ophir.* (24) Vid. Maff. & aut. *ab eo. citat.*

ALL this time, *Solomon* was still mindful of the concerns of religion, repairing to the temple at the solemn festivals, and settling the courses of the priests, *Levites*, musicians, and other officers of the temple, according to the model of his

fleet to sail from the *Red-Sea* into the ocean, through the *Persian gulph*.

Dean *Prideaux* observes next, that it was the voyage to *Tharshish* which took up three years going and coming ; from which he conjectures, that *Ophir* might be much nearer *Judea*, and the voyage performed in less time, if they had not been obliged to go quite to the former, for some commodities which the other did not afford ; and consequently, that any place in the great *Indian* sea, at the distance of three years voyage, which yielded gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks, might be the *Tharshish* ; and any other, though much nearer, where they could have gold, algum-trees, and precious stones, might be the *Ophir* mentioned in the scriptures. So that if the southern parts of *Arabia* produced the greatest quantities of the best gold, as he shews they did from good authors, then that might be the land of *Ophir* (25).

But though it be granted, that *Tharshish* and *Ophir* might be distinct places, and at some considerable distance from each other ; yet if the latter had been so nigh as south *Arabia*, and had yielded such plenty of the finest gold, algum trees, and precious stones, it is scarce credible, that they would have gone so much farther for such inferior trifles as silver, ivory, monkeys, and peacocks ; it is more likely, that they went farthest for the finest gold, precious stones, and things of greatest value.

Lastly, A late author (26) has taken quite a different rout from all the rest, and thinks, that he has found out the *Mesha* and *Sephar*, where *Ophir* the son of *Joktan* went to dwell ; between mount *Assus* and the mountains of *Sephar*, somewhere towards *Armenia* and *Media*, where are the heads of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* ; which rivers might be subservient to this commerce. He adds several ingenious reasons for his conjectures, which we cannot dwell upon, and may be better read in the author. The main objection against this hypothesis, and which, we think, he doth not sufficiently answer, is, that the nearness of the place doth not admit of a three years voyage, though we should suppose, with him, that they took a large compass about from coast to coast ; and that the three years, mentioned in the text, might mean only three summers and two winters, or thirty months.

Upon the whole then, the most probable conjecture, and beyond that it is impossible to go, is, that *Ophir* was in some of those remote rich countries of *India* beyond *Ganges*, and perhaps as far as *China* or *Japan* ; which last doth still abound with the finest gold, and with several other commodities in which *Solomon's* fleet dealt,

(25) *Prid. Connect. book 1.*

(26) *Calmet. Proleg. in Genes.*

his father; and making all proper regulations for maintaining the service of God, with a splendor and magnificence equal, at least, to that of his kingdom^e. Upon all which accounts he is justly observed, more than once, to have exceeded all the kings of the earth.

AMONG the great persons whom his fame brought to *Jerusalem*, the most considerable was the queen of *Sheba* (S), ^{The queen of Sheba's visit to him.}

^e 1 Kings ix. 25. 2 Chr. viii. 12, & seq.

as silver, precious stones, ebony, and other valuable sorts of wood; to say nothing of spices, peacocks, parrots, apes, and other such creatures †; and by its distance doth best answer to the length of the voyage.

All that we shall say farther is, that this *Ophir* gold was in great plenty in *Judæa* even in *David's* time, since he left 3000 talents of it for the service of the temple, besides the 5000 talents which the princes of the people offered for the same purpose (27). Now as we can hardly believe either of them to have been so munificent, as to have given more than a certain proportion of it; should we suppose it to have been even a third part, there must have been at least 24,000 talents of that metal in his kingdom; this prodigious sum could never be heaped together from the bare spoil of the neighbouring nations; it is more reasonable to believe, that having conquered the *Edomites*, and taken *Eloth* and *Ezion-geber*, *David* set himself about opening a commerce from thence, by the assistance of *Hiram's* expert sailors; so that his son did but improve what the father had begun, by enlarging and fortifying those two places, and peopling them with the best mariners and ship-builders, and, in a word, by encouraging navigation and commerce to such a degree, as made him by far the richest prince of his time, and his kingdom the most flourishing in the world.

(S) *Josephus* calls her *Nicaulis*, and says, she was queen of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* (28); and elsewhere, that *Saba* was the metropolis of the latter, till *Cambyfes* called it, by his sister's name, *Meroes* (29). The *Ethiopians* accordingly pretend, that she was queen of that country, and preserve still a list of her successors (30). They add, that she had a son by *Solomon*, whom she sent to be brought up by him; they call him *Meilik* or *Menilebek*, and pretend, that twenty-four of their kings are descended from that prince successively down to *Basilides*, who reigned in the middle of the 17th century (31). Some antient writers do likewise acknowledge, that that country was sometime governed by women (32).

† *Vid. Varen. & al. descr. Japon.* (27) *Vid. 1 Chron. xxix. 4, & seq.* (28) *Ant. l. viii. c. 2.* (29) *Ibid. l. ii. c. 19.* (30) *Vid. Hier. Almeida. & Ludolph. Hist. Ethiop.* (31) *Id. ib. lib. ii. c. 34, & seq.* (32) *Strab. lib. xvi. c. 17. Plin. l. vi. c. 26.*

a princess of such excellent wisdom and extraordinary opulence, that she seemed to have come to vie with the *Jewish* monarch, by the sumptuousness of her equipage, the richness of her presents, and the number of hard questions she put to him. She brought with her a vast number of camels, laden with gold, precious stones, and such rich spices and perfumes, as had not till then been known even in *Solomon's* court. By all these one may guess at the splendour of her equipage and retinue; and it is not to be supposed, that she would have engaged with a prince so universally famed for wisdom, if she had not had some considerable share of it herself; but, after having tried him with all the subtle and enigmatic questions she had prepared for him (T), she found in him such a readiness in solving, and such a sagacity in explaining his an-

The *Arabians*, on the other hand, claim this queen as their own; they call her *Balkish*, and pretend, that she was queen of *Arabia*, had her residence in the city of *Mareb*, which they make the metropolis of the province of *Saba*. They have preserved also her genealogy, as well as the history of her journey to *Judæa*, which they have stuffed with other fables; among others, that she was married to *Solomon*; and that, after her return into *Arabia*, that prince used to keep an epistolary correspondence with her, by means of a bird which they called *Hudhud*, a kind of lapwing or puet, which used to carry letters between them (33).

But, setting aside these trifling stories, the opinion of those who think that that princess came from *Arabia*, seems certainly the most probable of the two, among many other reasons, because she is called, in the gospel, *the queen of the South*, and is said to have come from the uttermost parts of the earth (34); which answers exactly to *Arabia Felix*, which lieth south of *Judæa*, and is bounded by the ocean. To which we may add, that it abounded with gold, precious stones, and fine perfumes, more than any other country thereabouts.

(T) We have seen in a former note, that it was part of the diversion of princes in those times to puzzle one another with riddles and hard questions. An annalist tells us, that among other ways that this princess tried to pose the king, she took a number of boys and girls, which she had brought with her, and having arrayed them all alike, she presented them to him, to see which way he would take to know those of one sex from those of the other. Wherefore he ordered them to wash their faces before him; and easily found out the difference, by the robustness and effeminacy with which each sex performed his command. The reader may see his authority for this story in the author himself (35).

(33) *Ibid.* D'Herbelot. *Biblioth. Orient.* sub voc. *Balkish*. (34) *Matth.* xii. 42. (35) Mich. Glycas. *Agнал.* p. 182.

swers, that he seemed even to prevent her thoughts ^f; inso-
much that she owned herself fully satisfied, that he was not
without just reason esteemed the wisest prince of his time.
The king did then entertain her with a view of the temple,
of his palaces, and gardens, of his court, tables, and of the
richness of their furniture, the great number and excellent
order of his servants, stables, chariots, guards, and, in a
word, of all the magnificence that reigned both in his court
and in the city. So many surprising instances of his wisdom
and greatness could not but strike that princess with the deep-
est wonder; which as soon as she could recover herself from,
she owned with a kind of extasy, that the half of it had not
been told her. After this, she expressed her extreme satis-
faction in the most respectful terms, and presented the king
with 120 talents of gold, a great number of precious stones,
and rich perfumes. *Solomon*, on the other hand, was too ge-
nerous not to make her suitable returns, and dismissed her
with the strongest proofs of his munificence ^g (V).

HITHERTO we have seen nothing in that prince's life,
but what gives us the highest idea of his wisdom, piety, and
magnificence; but the remainder of his reign proved far o-
therwise, and *Solomon*, emphatically called the wise, beloved
of God, and admired by all the world for so many excellent
virtues, did become such a slave to the passion of love in his
old age, that he ventured to marry an amazing multitude of
strange women, without distinction of nation, country or re-
ligion, and without the least regard to God's express com-
mands to the contrary; till at length he but too sadly verified
the divine warning ^h, by suffering himself to be seduced into
all manner of idolatry. The number of his wives amounted
to 700; besides 300 concubines, or wives of the second rank;
and his complaisance for them went so far, as to build al-
tars and temples to all their deities; insomuch that the neigh-
bourhood of *Jerusalem*, if not the city itself, was filled with idols
and temples; and the mount of *Olives*, which was over-against

His defection;

idolatries;

^f 1 Kings x. 3. ^g Ibid. 1, & seq. 2 Chron. ix. 1, & seq.
^h Vid. Deut. vii. 3, & seq.

(V) *Josephus* adds, that the *Jerus* had a tradition, that the queen
of *Sheba* brought with her the first branch of that precious balsam-
tree, or balm of *Gilead*, which *Judaea* came afterwards to be so famed
for. He mentions likewise a grove belonging to the house of *Leba-
non*, which was such a masterpiece of art, that it raised the admira-
tion of that princess, above all the rest of his stately works (36).

and death.
Year of
the Flood,
2024.
Year be-
fore Christ
975.

it, was defiled with two altars, one to *Chemosh* the god of *Moab*, and another to *Moloch* the god of the *Ammonites*. Such a shameful defection could not but be highly displeasing to God; and *Solomon* was soon after made sensible of it, when he appeared the third time to him in a dream, and told him, that his ingratitude would cost his successors the loss of his kingdom, the tribe of *Judah* excepted, which he would leave them, in consideration of his former promise to *David*, for whose sake he also forbore to rend the other tribes from him till after his death. Whether this severe denunciation awaked him to repentance, or whether he died immersed in his idolatry and lust, the text doth no where tell us; what the opinion of *Jews* and *Christians* is about it, may be seen in the next note (W). He died in the fortieth year of his reign,

(W) Among those that believe that *Solomon* did heartily repent of all his extravagancies, are, among the *Jews*, the *Talmudists*, who affirm, that God sent *Asmodeus* to strip him of all his glory, and drive him from his throne; upon which, that prince wandered about all the cities of *Israel*, weeping, and crying out, *I, the preacher, was once king of Israel* (37). 2. The generality of rabbies, antient and modern, if we except the author of *Ecclesiasticus*, who finishes his elogy with an account of his crimes, and the ill effects which it caused in his posterity, without ever mentioning any thing about his repentance (38); these pretend to have a tradition, that in the height of his remorse, he caused himself to be dragged several times about the streets of *Jerusalem*; and that he came to the temple with five bundles of rods, desiring the doctors to chastise him for his faults; which they refusing to do, out of regard to his dignity, he scourged himself severely before them, and thinking himself unworthy to reign any longer, he stripped himself of every thing, and went a begging about the kingdom (39). Some of them have gone another way to work, and have affirmed, that it is false that his heart was ensnared by women to sin, or that he built any altars to *Moloch*, or any other heathenish diety; and say, that the text meant no more, than that he would have done it, if he had not been with-held from it by God's special grace (40). As for *Josephus*, he only attributes his vices to the weakness of old age, without saying any thing of his repentance (41).

The *Christians*, both antient and modern, who have embraced the notion that *Solomon* repented before his death, are too nume-

(37) Vid. Talmud Tractat. קהלת. (38) Vid. Ecclus. xlvi. 19. & seq. (39) Ex fragm. cui titulus de Solomone judicium, in fin. tom. vii. oper. Bedæ. (40) Vid. Pined. de reb. Solom. Calmet. Dissert. de salut. ejusd. (41) Ant. l. viiii. c. 3.

reign, and about the fifty eighth of his age, and was buried in the stately sepulchre of his father *David*, and succeeded by his son *Rehoboam*ⁱ. *Josephus* gives him eighty years reign, and ninety four of age^k. Were that indeed true, his impieties might

ⁱ 1 Kings xi. 43. ^z Chron. ix. 30, 31. ^k Ant. l. viii. c. 3:

rous to be quoted here; we shall insert their names in the margin (42), and mention the principal reasons which have led them to it. In the first place, many of them have followed the notion of some of the fathers above quoted, that the book of *Ecclesiastes* was the result of his penitent meditations, after he was returned to a sense of himself, and these are very numerous (43). There are indeed in that book a number of expressions, which are very like those of a person, who feels a sensible remorse for his past extravagancies, and is desirous to forewarn others against them (44).

Another argument for his repentance is taken from the promise made by God to his father, where speaking of *Solomon*, whom he had chosen to build his temple; he adds, *I will establish his kingdom for ever: I will be to him a father, and he shall be a son to me: If he commit iniquity, I will chastise him with the rod of men:—But my mercy will I not cause to depart from him, as I did from Saul: and much more to the same purpose* (45).

It is likewise said in another place (46), that *Rehoboam* and his subjects walked in the way of *David* and *Solomon* but three years; and afterwards, that he did evil in the sight of the Lord (47). *Solomon's* way therefore being put with that of *David*, and opposed to that of his wicked son, argues, according to them, that it was right; which could not have been said of it, if he had died impenitent.

Some pretend, that the *Proverbs* were written after his repentance, and quote two places for it; the one where he complains, that he was more brutish than any man, having neither understanding, wisdom, nor knowledge of the holy one (48); for they pretend, that *Agur* there is *Solomon*: the other is still wider, being only, according to the septuagint version, which makes him say, *At length I repented, and have applied myself to live after a better rule; whereas in the original he only says, that having observed the field of a*

(42) Iren. l. iv. Marcio ap. Epiphan. de Heres. Bacchiar. Epist. de recipiend. lapsis. Hilar. in Ps. lvi. & cxxvi. Cyril. Hierosol. catech. 2. Hieron. in Ezek. xiii. & alib. Gregor. Taumat. & al. (43) Th. Aquin. Hugo. Cardinal. Paul. Comestor. Genebrard. Chemnit. J. Henr. Heideg. Reymner. Mercer. Usser. Jun. Tremel. & al plurim. (44) Vid. int. al. Ecces. i. 1, & seq. ii. pass. iii. 17, & seq. xi. & xii. pass. (45) 2 Sam. vii. 13. & seq. Ps. lxxxix. 19. & seq. ad 37, & alib. pass. (46) 2 Chron. xi. 17. (47) Ibid. xii. 14. (48) Prov. xxx. 3.

might well enough be attributed to his extreme dotage ; perhaps also this was the motive, that induced the *Jewish* historian to spin out his life so far beyond the text. *Solomon* is recorded to have written a great number of books ; of which we have only his *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Canticles* ; all the rest are lost, as well as those of the prophets *Nathan*,

lothful man over-run with nettles—he considered well about it, and received instruction (49).

Lastly, so willing are they to make a penitent of him, they quote the words, *And Solomon slept with his fathers, and was buried, &c.* (50), as a token of his repentance ; because there is nothing reproachful added to them, as is generally when a wicked king dieth impenitent ; such as, *that he did evil in the sight of the Lord ; that he perverted his way ; that he made Israel to sin ;* and such like.

Notwithstanding all these reasons, many learned fathers, as well as modern authors, have not scrupled to call his repentance in question, and some of them even to deny it (51). We shall subjoin some of their reasons for this opinion. 1. *Solomon's* sins of idolatry and love of strange women are recorded in the strongest terms ; but not a word is mentioned in the whole scripture about his forsaking them. 2. God, being highly offended with him, actually cut off ten tribes from his posterity, according to what he had told him (52). Would he have executed it so punctually, if *Solomon* had repented ? 3. *David* and others, who repented of their sins, had not only part of the punishment abated, but their conversion is particularly recorded. Why should *Solomon* be the only person whose repentance is omitted ? Could he write the book of *Proverbs*, or of *Ecclesiastes*, after his conversion, and yet leave all the monuments of his idolatry to continue ? or, if he had destroyed them, Why was it not recorded ? or rather, Why is it said, that they subsisted till *Josiah's* time (53, that is, about 350 years after his death ? What proofs are there, that the book of *Ecclesiastes* was not wrote before his defection, rather than after it ? Lastly, as to the *Rabbinical* traditions, doth not the authority of the book of *Ecclesiasticus*, mentioned above, out-weigh them all, and doth not that seem to imply, that he died in his sins ? Upon the whole then, we shall not venture to conclude any thing on either side, much less enter into the more dark and dangerous question about his salvation, which almost all the authors above-quoted, and many more, have presumed to handle with greater freedom than certainty.

(49) *Prov.* xxiv. 30, & seq. (50) 1 *Kings* xi. ult. 2 *Chron.* ix. ult. (51) Cyprian. *de Unit. Eccles.* & *epist.* 6. *ad Rogat.* Tertul. *lib.* ii, iii, & v. *cont.* Marcion. Origen. August. *cont.* Faust. l. xxii. *In Ps.* cxxiv. & *alib.* Gregor. Mag. Theodoret. Prosper. Beda. de *Lyra* Tostat. Bellarm. Perer. Vega. Maldonat. & *al. mult.* (52) 1 *Kings* xi. 9, & seq. (53) 2 *Kings* xxiii. 13.

Ahijah, and *Iddo*, who are said to have penned the history of that prince * (X).

WHILST *Solomon* spent the last years of his life in pleasure and indolence, the seeds of the threatened defection were sowing both in *Israel* and out of it; so that when his son *Rehoboam* came to the crown, he had three potent adversaries to encounter against. The first was *Hadad*, king of *Edom*, who bore a mortal hatred against *Israel*, ever since *David's* general had caused such an universal massacre in that kingdom. He was now returned from *Egypt*, where he had been forced to take sanctuary, during *David* and *Solomon's* reigns¹. The second was *Rezon*, a subject of the king of *Zobah*, who fled likewise from *David's* conquering sword, and having put himself at the head of a band of brave warriors, went and established a petty kingdom at *Damascus*, and never ceased annoying *Israel*, and revenging *David's* old hostilities on the *Zobe-*

* 2 Chron. ix. 29.
P. 142, 143.

¹ 1 Kings xi. 14, & seq. See Vol. II:

(X) Several other books have been attributed to *Solomon*, especially those of *Ecclesiasticus*, the *Wisdom* and the *Psalter of Solomon*, which are now universally owned to be of more modern date. The latter consists of 18 psalms, artfully collected out of the other psalms and some of the prophets, a copy of which is in the *Vienna* library, and placed between the two former books (54); they seem also to have been in our *Alexandrian* manuscript, by their being mentioned in the index, however they came to be torn, or lost out of it. As for the other writings, which the *Greeks* and *Arabians* attribute to that prince, they are less worth enquiring after: some of them are written in the magic strain, others upon natural philosophy, and others upon moral subjects (55). Some indeed pretend, that the magic books were written by demons, who envied his glory, and wanted to asperse his fame, by making him the author of them; but that prince, who was not only monarch of the world, but whose power extended over all creatures, and even over spirits, caused all those writings to be locked up in a strong iron chest, and buried under his throne; out of which however they were fetched after his death, by some demons or magicians, and published again under that monarch's name (56). There are some eastern authors, who attribute the invention of the *Syriac* and *Arabic* letters to him (57), and some make him the author of the book of *Job* (58); all without any foundation.

(54) Lambec. *Bibliot. Vindebon.* (55) Vid. Fabric. *Apocryph.*
(56) Vid. D'Herbelot. *Biblioth. Orient. sub voc. Solyman.* (57)
Vid. Abr. Echellens, & Abulfarag. *Hist. Arab. & al.* (58) Vid.
Polychron in Job. Dieg. de Stunic. & al. *præfat. in Job.*

ans ^m. But the most dangerous of the three was *Jeroboam*, a young daring man of the tribe of *Ephraim*, whom *Solomon* had formerly made overseer over his tribe and that of *Manasseh*, in the carrying on of his works. This man had been told by the prophet *Abijah*, that God would give him the ten tribes, which were to be rent from *Solomon's* successors; and either upon this account, or for some particular misdemeanour, he had been forced to fly into *Egypt*, to avoid the king's resentment, and there probably he concerted with the king of *Edom*, about causing an insurrection in *Israel*. As soon therefore as he heard that *Rehoboam* was upon the throne, he returned from *Egypt* to watch a proper opportunity for it, and that weak prince soon after gave him such a one as his heart could wish.

Rehobo-
am.

Rehobo-
am's folly
occasions
ten tribes
to revolt,

who chose
Jeroboam
to be their
king.

Rehoboam was gone with his court, and the elders of all the tribes, to receive their homage at *Shechem*, but they refused to acknowledge him, unless he promised to lighten their yoke, which they complained his father had made too heavy for them. The king took three days to consider of an answer, and, as he had attained to the fortieth year of his age, one might have expected, that he would have hearkened to the wholesome advice of his grave counsellors, and given the people some fair promises, which if he had, it is possible, he might have deprived *Jeroboam*, who was at the head of the mutineers, of an occasion of revolting; but he unfortunately preferred that of some hot-headed youths, who had been brought up at court with him, and instead of soothing the people on the third day, he answered them in a haughty tone, That he designed to govern them with greater severity than ever his father had done, and that, if they dared to murmur, he would use scorpions instead of whips to chastise their insolence. This inconsiderate answer did so provoke them, that they disclaimed all further allegiance to the house of *David*, and having murdered *Adoram*, whom the king had sent to appease the tumult, ten of the tribes chose *Jeroboam* to be their head. *Judah* and *Benjamin*, however, did cleave to *Rehoboam*, and conveyed him with all speed to *Jerusalem*, to avoid any insult being offered to him by the revolters. As soon as he was come thither, he caused an army to be raised out of the two tribes, which mustered 180,000 valiant men, to reduce the rest to their obedience; but, whilst they were preparing for a battle, the prophet *Shemaiah* came and acquainted them, that this defection was from God, and persuaded them to desist, which they readily did for the present, though there were

continual bickerings between those two kings all their life. *Jeroboam*, on the other hand, thought on nothing, but how to secure his new-gotten kingdom, and took the advantage of that peaceful interval, to rebuild *Shechem* and *Penuel*, the former of which he made the place of his residence (Y). But there was still one thing which he feared might, in time, reconcile the ten tribes to the house of *David*, namely, their going three times a year to *Jerusalem*; and *Jeroboam* did not sufficiently rely upon the prophet's promise, to run the risk of becoming the victim of the people's inconstancy. This apprehension made him sacrifice religion to his safety, and to set up a couple of golden calves, the one at *Dan*, and the other at *Bethel*, which were at the two extremities of the kingdom, to which places he commanded the people to repair for the worship of God, without going to *Jerusalem*. He likewise built some temples and altars in the high places, and because the *Levites* did cleave to *Rehoboam*, he made priests to his deities out of the lees of his people, without regard to tribe or desert ^a.

THE dedication of the two calves was proclaimed through *His idolatry* *Israel*, and a great concourse of people had flocked to *Bethel*, when a prophet was sent thither by God, to denounce the destruction of the new altar, by a future king of *Judah*, named *Josiah*, and, for a proof of his prediction, he told them, that it should then receive such a crack, that the cinders would run out through the rent; and the thing happened accordingly upon the spot. *Jeroboam* was standing by the altar, being just going to offer incense upon it (Z), and when he heard the prophet's

^a 1 Kings xii. pass.

(Y) These two places had been in a manner destroyed, the former by *Abimelech* (59), and the latter by *Gideon* (60). This last was an important place on the other side of *Jordan*, very proper to keep the two tribes and a half in awe. *Shechem* was also a strong place by nature, about 40 miles from *Jerusalem* (61), and so conveniently situate to become the metropolis of this new kingdom, which it continued to be till the building of *Samaria* by *Omri*, and resumed that dignity after this latter had been destroyed by the *Affyrians*. We find it called *Sychar* in the gospel (62), which is a term of contempt, which the tribe of *Judah* gave it after the revolt, and signifies *Drunkard*.

(Z) It seems by this action, as if *Jeroboam* had designed to join the high-priesthood and the royal dignity together in his own per-

(59) *Judg.* ix. 34, & seq.
Reland. in *Shechem*.

(60) *Ibid.* viii. 17.

(62) *John* iv. 5.

prophet's threatening, he stretched out his hand to cause him to be apprehended, but, to his great surprise, felt it withered in an instant. Upon his submission however he had it restored again, and invited the prophet to his house, intending to have rewarded him for the cure, but he, having been expressly forbidden to stay in *Bethel*, even to drink a cup of water, refused his offer and went his way. He was nevertheless unadvisedly brought back by another prophet, who pretended a new command from God; but whilst he was refreshing himself at his house, he was told by him, that his disobedience would be punished by a speedy and extraordinary death, which happened accordingly soon after; for, as he was returning into the land of *Judah*, he was killed by a lion, which did afterwards lie quietly down by his carcass, without offering any further violence either to it or the beast he rode upon.

Jeroboam was nothing moved at these extraordinary events, but continued debauching the people from the worship of God^o. At length his son *Abijah* being fallen into some dangerous disease, he took it into his head to send his wife in disguise to *Abijah* the prophet, who had foretold him that he should be king over the ten tribes, to know whether he would recover. *Abijah*, though blind with age, knew her at her first coming, and, having called her by her name, bid her go and tell her husband, that since he had proved so ungrateful to God, and had filled *Israel* with idolatry, the death of the child would be the least punishment that should fall upon him, for that his posterity should be cut off, so that they which died in the city would become the food of dogs, and those that died in the field should be devoured by the crows, all which was verified by the sequel accordingly. Notwithstanding all these threatenings, *Jeroboam* persisted still in his idolatry, and gave thereby no small advantage to the king of *Judah*^p.

^o 1 Kings xiii.

^p Ibid. xiv. 1. ad 21.

son The places he made choice of to set up his two idols were not only very commodious on account of their situation, but had been frequented, time out of mind, by the people. *Bethel* was had in great reverence, as having been resorted to by the patriarchs, and consecrated in a peculiar manner by *Jacob*, after he had seen the glorious vision we read of in *Genesis* (63); and *Dan* was become famous, or rather infamous, for the idol which had been brought thither from *Micah's* house, and for the concourse of people that went afterwards to sacrifice to it (64).

(63) *Ch.* xxviii. 12. & *seq.* vid. & *Ch.* xxxv. 1. & *seq.* (64) *Judg.* xviii. *pass.*

WHILST *Jeroboam* was strengthening himself in *Shechem*, *Rehoboam* was doing the same at *Jerusalem*; he built and fortified a considerable number of places in *Judah* and *Benjamin*, put garisons in them, and stored them with arms and ammunition. At the same time the tribe of *Levi*, which was dispersed over *Israel*, being displeased with *Jeroboam*, came flocking to *Jerusalem* from their respective cities, besides a vast number out of the other tribes, who abhorred his calves and idolatries, and came thither to serve God according to the law of *Moses*; so that he saw his subjects in a little time as numerous as those of his revolted rival ⁹. But that weak prince had scarce continued three years in the true service of God, before he fell into the vilest idolatries, and even outdid the revolted *Israelites* in them; inso-much, that his memory is branded for having suffered the people to set up groves, and to provide them with men and women, fit for the most abominable and unnatural practices ^r. For these God stirred up a potent adversary against them, *Shishak* king of *Egypt*, who came and took many of their fenced cities, and drove the wealthiest of *Judah* into the metropolis for shelter. Here the prophet *Shemaiah* took occasion to upbraid them with their wickedness, which had brought this distress upon them; he threatened the ruin of the city; and his speech had so good an effect upon them, that they humbled themselves before God, and, by acknowledging the justice of this punishment, avoided the severity of it ^t. *Shishak* contented himself with stripping the temple and palaces of all their golden shields and vessels, and left them to substitute in their room others of a baser metal. This happened in the fifth year of *Rehoboam*, after which he reigned 12 years longer peaceably, except a few skirmishes with the king of *Israel*, and died in the 18th year of his reign. He had 18 wives and 60 concubines, and by them 28 sons and 60 daughters; but of all his wives, he loved *Maachab*, the daughter, or rather grand-daughter, of *Abishalom* ^u, by whom he had four sons, the eldest of whom he preferred to all his other sons to succeed him, for which end he had him brought up under him, whilst he disposed of all his children in other cities of his kingdom, to be educated under proper tutors, in a manner suitable to their rank ^v. His history was written by the prophets *Iddo* and *Shemaiah* ^w.

Rehobo-
am's
death.

⁹ 2 Chron. xi. 5, & seq.

^r 1 Kings xiv. 23, 24.

^t See

2 Chron. xii pass.

^u Comp. Ch. xiii 2, & 1 Kings xv. 2.

^v 2 Chron. xi. 18 ad fin.

^w Ibid. Ch. xii. 15.

Abijah's
reign.

Year of
the Flood,
2041.
Year be-
fore Christ
958.

Defeats
Jerobo-
am's army.

Jeroboam had reigned eighteen years in *Israel*, when *Abijam*, or *Abijah*, as he is called in the book of *Chronicles*, came to the crown. He immediately put 400,000 men in arms, and went and incamped with them upon mount *Zemaraim*, upon the borders of *Ephraim*, where *Jeroboam* met him with an army of double that number. The two kings being within hearing of each other, *Abijam* began with upbraiding his competitor with his base extraction and baser actions; in that, from being a servant to *Solomon*, he had taken the advantage of *Rehoboam's* weakness, to deprive him of the largest share of his kingdom, and had endeavoured to secure it by debauching the people from the worship of God, to the most abominable idolatries; he concluded with telling him, that he could expect nothing but ruin and destruction, as a just punishment for his rebellion to his God, and to his prince, who came against him with an army of men, which had faithfully adhered to the service of both. *Jeroboam* was too hardened a politician to suffer himself, or his men, to be intimidated by such reproaches, and whilst he seemed to give him the hearing, he had cunningly ordered a body of men to file round the hill, and to surprise him in the rear, whilst he attacked him in front; and this was so punctually executed, that the king of *Judah* saw himself surrounded by the enemy before he was aware of it. This surprise caused an universal outcry in his army, and would, in all likelihood, have injected an universal panic, had not providence declared on their side, so that they gained a complete victory over the *Israelitish* army, of which there fell 500,000 on the spot. *Abijah* pursued his victory, and retook several considerable places from them, particularly that of *Bethel*, and weakened *Jeroboam* so much, that he never could recover his strength again, during the short time of his reign, which lasted but three years in all. *Abijah* left 14 wives and 22 sons, and was succeeded by *Asa*; his history was written by the prophet *Iddo*[†]. All that is further recorded of him is, that he followed the sinful ways of his father, instead of serving God with the same sincerity that *David* had done[‡]. About two years after *Jeroboam* also died (A),

[†] 2 Chron. xiii. pass. [‡] 1 Kings xv. 3.

(A) It is said in the 2d book of the *Chronicles* (65), that the Lord struck him with death; by which is meant, that he died some unnatural death; and, indeed, his character is constantly loaded with infamy, for the idolatries which he introduced in *Israel*, which lasted till the dissolution of that kingdom.

(65) *Cb.* xiii. 20.

after

after having reigned in *Israel* 22 years, and was succeeded by his son *Nadab* ^a.

Asa succeeded *Abijam* in the twentieth year of *Jeroboam*. *Asa's* reign, He was a religious prince, and as the ten first years of his reign were blessed with peace, he spent a great part of that time in purging his kingdom from the heathenish abominations, which his predecessors had introduced in it. So sincere was his zeal and piety. in that good work, that he spared not his own mother, but deposed her from the regal dignity, which she had abused by patronizing idolatry, and erecting a grove for the worship of some idol; both which he caused to be destroyed, with all the other monuments of irreligion, except the high places, which he endeavoured in vain to divert the people from. He also put his whole kingdom in a good posture of defence, by fortifying several important places, and entertaining an army of 580,000 men, 300,000 of which were of the tribe of *Judah*, famous for handling the target and spear; the rest, which were most of *Benjamin*, are likewise celebrated for their uncommon dexterity in the use of the shield and bow ^b. His riches increasing with his might, he likewise adorned the temple with a quantity of gold and silver vessels, in the room of those which the king of *Egypt* had carried away. In the second year of his reign, *Nadab* succeeded *Jeroboam* in *Israel*; but nothing happened remarkable during his two years reign, except his cleaving to the sins of his father, and his being killed at the siege of *Gibbethon*, a fortress belonging to the *Philistines*, by *Baasha*, a man of the tribe of *Issachar*, who, having seized upon the kingdom, destroyed the whole race of *Jeroboam*, according to the prophet's word ^c.

AT length *Asa* saw his kingdom attacked by an army of *His victory* 1,000,000 *Cushites* besides chariots, with *Zerah* the *Ethiopian* over the at their head (B). *Asa*, who trusted more in his God than *Cushites*.

^a Ibid. ver. 25. ^b Comp. 1 Kings xv. 9, & seq. & 2 Chron. xiv. 1, ad 9. ^c 1 Kings xv. 27, & seq.

(B) Archbishop *Usher* (66) places this famous action in the first year of *Asa's* reign; other chronologers about the fifteenth, more or less (67) of it. We have followed the author of the 2d book of *Chronicles*, which affirms, that there was peace during the first ten years (68); and that *Asa* offered great sacrifices at *Jerusalem* in the fifteenth year of his reign, as a thanksgiving for his late victory (69).

(66) *Ann. sub. A. M.* 3063. (67) *Vid. & S. I. Newt. Chronol.* p. 99. *Calmet. & al.* (68) *Ch. xiv. 1.* (69) *Ibid. ver. 10. & seq.*

in his own strength, was nothing terrified at this numerous host, but came against him with his army ; and after a sharp battle, which was fought at *Maresbab*, did totally rout the *Ethiopians*, and returned to *Jerusalem* laden with their spoil. At his return he was met by a prophet, who encouraged him with fresh promises from God, that he should still prove successful against his enemies, provided he continued firm in his zeal and obedience to God. Soon after his arrival at his metropolis, he sacrificed a considerable portion of the spoil to the service of God, and had the pleasure to see multitudes flock to him from several of the revolted tribes, whom either his zeal or success drew away from *Baasha*, the new-made king of *Israel*.

Makes an
alliance
with Ben-
hadad.

His disease,

and death.
Year of
the Flood,
2085.
Year be-
fore Christ
914.

It was probably this continual defection, which caused a series of skirmishes between the two kings, and obliged the latter to build the fortress of *Ramah*, to stop the communication between the two kingdoms. He was then leagued with the king of *Syria* ; and *Asa*, afraid of engaging two such powerful enemies, found no better expedient, than to bribe *Ben-hadad* to break his alliance with him, and to cause some powerful diversion in his kingdom. To this end, he sent him all the gold that he could find, both in his own treasury, and in that of the temple ; which had such an influence upon the *Syrian* king, that he took all the fenced cities of the tribe of *Naphtali*, and obliged *Baasha* to desist from his enterprize, to go and defend his territories^e. As soon as he was departed from *Ramah*, *Asa* issued out a proclamation, and ordered his subjects, none excepted, to transport all the materials of that fortress to *Geba* of *Benjamin*, and to *Mizpah* in the tribe of *Judah*, and to fortify those two places with them. In the mean time, the prophet *Hanani* took the liberty to come and reprove *Asa* for his weakness in seeking help from *Ben-hadad*, when he had been so lately victorious over the *Ethiopian* host ; but the king, who was by this time grown impatient, by reason of a distemper in his feet, probably the gout, was so exasperated at his boldness, that he cast him into prison. He was likewise guilty of some cruelties towards other persons, upon what pretence the text doth not say, but it is likely, that his disease had inclined him to it, because it is observed to have lessened his confidence in God, and to have sent him to the physicians for help^f. He died in the 41st year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son *Jehoshaphat* (C).

Baasha

^e 1 Kings xv. 18, & seq. See Vol. II. p. 275.

^f 2 Chr. xvi.

12. & seq.

(C) The book of *Kings* doth barely say, that he was buried with his

Baasha all this while continued in the idolatries of *Jeroboam*, and in constant war with the king of *Judah*; when *Jehu*, the son of *Hanani*, came from the Lord to tell him, that since he had imitated his predecessor in his sins, he should likewise share in his punishment, and be cut off with his posterity. *Baasha* died soon after, and was succeeded by his son *Elah*, who ascended the throne in the 26th year of *Asa's* reign; he had scarce reigned two years before he felt the effects of *Jehu's* prediction; he was then at the siege of *Gibbethon*, where *Zimri*, who commanded over his chariots, slew him, and seized upon his kingdom. *Zimri's* reign lasted but seven days; *Omri*, another general officer, being chosen king by the army: yet found he time enough, in that short space, to destroy the whole race of *Baasha*, even to his farthest relations. *Omri* left *Gibbethon*, and came to besiege him in *Tirzah*; but before he could enter that city, *Zimri* went into the royal palace and set it on fire, and burnt himself in it⁸; however, he reigned long enough to shew himself unworthy of the kingdom, by his propensity to *Jeroboam's* idolatry.

Omri had another competitor, *Tibni* the son of *Ginath*, whom one part of the people had elected king; but the party of *Omri*, being much the stronger, soon persuaded the rest to join with them; so *Tibni* was killed, and *Omri* reigned unrivalled. This happened in the 31st year of *Asa's* reign.

DURING the first six years of his reign, *Tirzah* being then the royal palace of residence, *Omri* bought the hill of *Sameron*, or *Samarina*, of one *Shemer* for two talents of silver, and built the city of that name upon it, which he made afterwards the metropolis of his kingdom. We have nothing more recorded of him, except that he reigned another six years in *Samarina*, in all the sinful ways of his predecessors,

⁸ 1 Kings xvi. 1, & seq. ad 18.

his ancestors^{*}; but that of the *Chronicles* (70) adds, that he was embalmed, and laid upon a stately bed, covered with spices and odoriferous drugs; and that they made a great burning for him; from which some have concluded, that the custom of burning the bodies of princes began from *Asa*, and that they deposited the bones and ashes in their sepulchres. We have endeavoured to confute this notion, and to reconcile the seeming contradiction of these two accounts in a former note, to which we refer the reader†.

^{*} 1 Kings xv. 24. (70) 2 Chr. xvi. ult. † See Vol. III. p. 362. note (V).

and was succeeded by his son, who proved still more wicked than any of them ^a.

Ahab king
of Israel.

Year of
the Flood,
2081.

Year be-
fore Christ
918.

Ahab began his reign in the 38th year of *Asa's*; his unlawful marriage with *Jezebel*, the daughter of *Eth-Baal*, king of *Zidon*, proved a constant source of idolatries and wicked deeds in him, and of plagues and misfortunes to his kingdom. His complaisance for her made him suffer her to introduce the worship of the *Zidonian* deities, which consisted in human sacrifices, and in the most abominable ceremonies †. These were at first introduced into his court, for which a sumptuous temple, an altar, and grove, had been built to *Baal* in *Samaria*; but as his weakness suffered him to assist at those hellish ceremonies, his example soon spread the infection through his whole kingdom. However, the prophet *Elijah* was sent to him very early, to deter him from his wicked courses, by assuring him, that God would shortly punish the land with a grievous famine, during which there should be neither dew nor rain to refresh the earth, until he obtained it again by his prayers; after which he went and concealed himself, during the space of three years (D) ¹.

WHILST

^a 1 Kings ver. 21, & seq. † See Vol. II. p. 314. & alib.
¹ 1 Kings xvii. 1, & seq.

(D) There are many particulars relating to this extraordinary prophet, which have no proper connection with the history of the kings, and yet are too remarkable to be omitted; for which reason we choose to give them in a note in their order of time.

As soon then as he had foretold the famine, he was forced to fly from the fury of *Jezebel*, and retired into some cavern upon the border of *Cberith*, a brook which falleth into the *Jordan*, where he drank of the water of it, and was furnished twice a day with bread and flesh by the ravens. He stayed not long there, because the excessive drought had dried up the brook, but went to *Zarephath*, a city of *Zidon*, which laboured also with the famine. There he met with a poor widow gathering a few sticks without the walls of the place, having but so much flour and oil left as would make one cake, which she designed for her son and herself, without knowing how to procure more when that was spent. The prophet, tired with his journey, asked her for a mouthful of bread, and a little water to drink; and she having acquainted him with her condition, he bid her not fear, but bring him what he desired, assuring her, that as long as the dearth lasted, her barrel and cruse should not cease furnishing her with meal and oil enough to support them. The thing happened according to his prediction, and he continued with her, till he was commanded to return to *Samaria*. During his abode with this hospitable widow,

he

WHILST *Ahab* and his idolatrous queen were propagating their impieties in *Israel*, and murdering all those, whether prophets or others, who dared to oppose them ; *Jehoshaphat*, who succeeded *Asa* about the latter end of the fourth year of *Ahab*'s reign, was destroying idolatry, and promoting the pure worship of God in his own kingdom, with such zeal and application, that it drew upon him and his people the greatest prosperity and success. He was thirty five years old when he began his reign, and the first thing that he set about was the pulling down of all the monuments of idolatry, and sodomitical groves, which his father had not been able to abolish ; and, in the third year of his reign, he sent some of the chief officers of his court, with a competent number of priests and *Levites*, with copies of the *Pentateuch*, to instruct the people throughout his kingdom. At the same time, he fortified all the considerable places of the land, and put garisons in them, as well as in those which his father had taken from the kings of *Israel*. Besides these, he had the most numerous army of any of his predecessors, it consisting of above 1,100,000 fighting men (E). Upon all these accounts he was so prosperous and powerful, that none of his enemies dared to molest him ; the *Philistines* and *Arabians* were tributaries to him ; and his allies were still increasing his wealth by their presents *.

Jehoshaphat King of Judah.

His piety ;

and success.

THUS it fared with that religious prince and his subjects, whilst war and famine were the reward of *Ahab*'s impiety in the kingdom of *Israel*.

* 2 Chr. xvii. pass.

her only son chanced to die ; and she, in the height of her grief, could not forbear accusing the prophet, as the cause of her misfortune. Upon which *Elijah* took the child from her, and carried him up to his bed, and having stretched himself upon him, and prayed to God on his behalf, he restored him alive to her again (71).

(E) We have had elsewhere occasion to speak of this prodigious number of soldiers (72), and to shew, that they were not kept like our standing armies in constant pay and duty, but that their names were set down in the king's muster-rolls, in order to be summoned to arms, whenever occasion required it ; which, considering the small compass of the land, might be done with great ease, and in a very little space ; after which they returned to their families, and followed their usual occupations. We may also suppose, that the garisons might be relieved in the same manner every three months, more or less, that every one might have time to mind his private affairs between those intervals.

(71) 1 Kings xvii.

(72) See Vol III. p. 368, & 373.

Elijah's
meeting
with Oba-
diah ;

and Ahab.

Elijah's
zeal a-
gainst
Baal.

HOWEVER, at the end of a three years famine, *Elijah* came and shewed himself to *Obadiab*, governor of *Ahab's* house, as he was going in search of some fresh springs of water, to save that little cattle they had left, whilst the king himself went another way upon the same errand. *Obadiab* was a pious man, and had shewed an uncommon zeal for the God of *Israel*, by saving 100 of his prophets from *Jezebel's* fury, and supporting them with food in their concealment, during the whole time of the famine. As soon therefore as he saw *Elijah*, he fell down at his feet, and gave him a respectful welcome ; but when the prophet bid him go after the king, and acquaint him with his arrival, he modestly excused himself from so dangerous a message, being afraid, lest, if the spirit should catch him away, instead of appearing before the king, his life should answer for the disappointment ; for, added he, there is scarce a nation or kingdom, from which *Ahab* has not exacted an oath, to bring you back to *Samaria*, where-ever you were found. At length, upon the prophet's promising that he would shew himself to the king, *Obadiab* went and stopt his farther search, by acquainting him with *Elijah's* return, and his promise of a speedy rain. *Elijah* accordingly appeared, and the first greeting between *Ahab* and him was such, as might be reasonably expected between a wicked haughty monarch, and a person of that prophet's character. After some mutual invectives on both sides, *Elijah* desired, that all *Israel* might be gathered at mount *Carmel*, with all the priests of *Baal* whom *Jezebel* maintained ; which being done accordingly, he reproved the people for halting between two opinions, and dividing their service between God and *Baal*. “ You see, said he, that I am
“ the only prophet of the Lord that is left, and those of
“ *Baal* are 450 ; let them offer up a bullock to *Baal*, and
“ I will offer another to the God of *Israel* ; and let the
“ deity, whose sacrifice is consumed by a preternatural fire,
“ be henceforth the only object of your worship.” As soon as the people had expressed their assent to his proposal, the priests of *Baal* were ordered to begin. They hewed their bullock in pieces, and laid it upon the wood of the altar, and called upon *Baal* from morning till noon ; and not finding the least symptom of answer, they began, according to their custom, to cut themselves with knives, till the blood ran down upon the ground *. All this while *Elijah* piled them with the most biting sarcasms, bidding them to cry louder, for *Baal*, no doubt, was a great God, and would hear them, unless he were either asleep, or more advantageously-

* See Vol. II. p. 314.

ly taken up. At length, when it was come about the time of offering the evening sacrifice, he reared up an altar of twelve stones, according to the *Mosaic* law, and laid the wood and victim upon it ; and, having caused a deep trench to be digged round it, he ordered them to pour water upon the altar once and again, till the trench was overflowed. He then called upon God with a loud voice, begging of him that he would shew himself to the whole people, to be the only God in all the world ; upon which a fire fell down from heaven, which consumed the victim, wood, and altar, and dried up all the water in the trenches ; at sight of which, the people fell upon their faces, and cried out, *The Lord is the only God*. The prophet then, addressing himself to the people, told them, that if they were really persuaded of it, they ought to seize on those false prophets, pointing to the priests of *Baal*, who had seduced them from his worship to serve that filthy deity, and take them to the brook *Kishon*, and put every one of them to death there. The people readily obeyed the motion ; and *Ahab*, whether the late miracle made him approve their zeal, or whether he thought it dangerous to obstruct it, suffered them to be hurried away to death. *Elijah* then advised the king to make what speed he could to *Jezreel*, to avoid being caught by the rain, which would shortly come down in great plenty, as it did accordingly. As soon as *Ahab* had reached his palace, he acquainted his queen with what had happened at *Carmel*, and what a shameful check her favourite deity had received there, in the sight of all *Israel*. One would expect, that the long-wish'd-for rain, obtained by the prophet's prayer, might have comforted her for that misfortune, and have inspired her with an uncommon respect for his person ; but it happened quite otherwise, and the death of so many of her prophets threw her into such a rage, that she vowed to send the author of it after them by the next day. And *Elijah* was forced a second time to fly for his life (F)¹.

By

¹ 1 Kings xviii. pass xix. 1, 2, 3.

(F) The prophet seems, at this time, to have been under such apprehensions, that he could not stay till providence directed him what course to take, as he had done in his last flight. He stopped not till he came to *Beershebah*, a city in the land of *Judah*, and near 150 miles from *Samaria* ; where having dismissed his servant, he continued his march one whole day towards the wilderness of *Arabia Petraea*. At length, being quite spent with the journey, and tired with life, he laid himself down under a juniper-tree, and, after

Ahab's By that time *Ahab* had reigned 18 years, *Ben-hadad*, king of Syria, came at the head of 32 petty kings, and a numerous army, and laid siege to *Samaria*; where, notwithstanding his great forces, and the arrogance with which he threatned both king and city, he was beat by a handful of men, who sallied out upon him at mid-day, with *Ahab* at their head, and forced to fly with a prodigious loss. He endeavoured, on the following year, to retrieve his credit, and was defeated again by the *Israelites* with a terrible slaughter, and himself in danger of being taken prisoner in the city of *Aphek*; but, upon his sending from thence a submissive message, *Ahab* re-

after some bitter complaints, fell asleep. He was soon after awaked by an angel, who bid him refresh himself with some food, and when he looked about, he found a cake of bread and some water, and did eat, and drink, and fell asleep again. The angel awoke him again, and bid him eat once more, before he went on his journey, which he told him would be a long one; and so it proved indeed, for he went, upon the strength of it, forty days, till he came to mount *Horeb*, where he found a convenient cave to lodge in. Here the word of the Lord came to him, and asked him, what he did there, and he answered, that he was the only prophet of the Lord, whom the idolatrous *Israelites* had not slain, after they had broken his covenant and destroyed his altars; and that, because he had been zealous enough to reprove them for it, they sought his life also. The voice commanded him then to stand upon the mount, where he should hear the Lord pass by him; that he should hear a strong wind capable of rending the rocks asunder, and afterwards an earthquake, and then a flame; but that the Lord would not manifest himself in any of these, but in a small and still voice. Accordingly, when *Elijah* heard the voice, he wrapped his face in his mantle, and the Lord commanded him to go back, by the way of the wilderness, or by the desert paths, to *Damascus*, and there anoint *Hazael* to be king of Syria, *Jehu* to be king of *Israel*, and *Elisha* to be prophet in his room; telling him, that those three should not sheath their swords, till *Ahab's* impious race and his idolatrous subjects were utterly cut off by one or other of them; all which happened accordingly, as we shall see in its proper place.

In his return, he passed by the grounds of *Elisha*, the son of *Shaphat*, where he and his servants were ploughing, and cast his mantle upon him. *Elisha*, ready to follow him, begged leave to entertain him at a feast, whilst he took his leave of his friends, but it doth not appear, that he stayed to partake of it, and indeed the place was too near *Samaria* and *Jezreel*, and it was dangerous for him to stay there; however, he went after him as soon as they had made an end of eating. Neither doth it appear from the text, that *Elijah* went to anoint either *Hazael* or *Jehu*; it is most likely, that that ceremony was not performed till after his translation, as will appear by the sequel.

ceived

ceived him with an amazing generosity into his chariot, and brought him to his pavilion, where they made an alliance together ; after which, he generously dismissed him without any further ransom. The particulars of these two famous actions the reader will find in the history of Syria †. As soon as *Ben-hadad* was departed, one of the sons of the prophets presented himself before *Ahab*, with his face all besmeared with blood and dirt, and complained, that, during the action, a Syrian prisoner had been committed to his custody, with a strict charge not to let him escape, under pain of death ; but that, whilst he busied himself about one thing or other, the prisoner was fled, and himself now in danger of being punished for his neglect. *Ahab*, who believed the fact to be really as he told it, made no scruple to pronounce him guilty of death ; but the prophet, wiping his face, and discovering himself to the king, soon let him know, that he had passed his sentence against himself, and that since he had let so powerful an enemy of *Israel* go free, when God had delivered him into his hand, his life should pay for that of his prisoner. *Ahab* was struck with such surprize at the boldness of the stratagem, that he went away to *Samaria* full of grief and indignation (G) ^m ; nevertheless, he kept his word with the king of Syria, till his detaining of *Ramoth-Gilead*, a city which belonged to *Israel*, contrary to his promise, obliged him to invade his territories about three years after ⁿ.

In the mean time, *Ahab* suffered himself to be seduced by *Naboth Jezabel* to an inhuman deed, which proved fatal to him and murdered to his whole family. *Naboth*, an inhabitant of *Jezreel*, had a vineyard contiguous to the palace, which *Ahab* offered to buy, or barter for another piece of ground, intending to make an herb-garden of it for his house ; but, as it was reckoned scandalous to sell an inheritance, *Naboth* was uncourteous enough to refuse the offer, to the great mortification of the proud king. *Jezabel* was acquainted with it, and being re-

† See Vol. II p. 275, & seq. ^m 1 Kings xx. pass. ⁿ See *Usher's Ann.* sub A. M. 3104.

(G) *Josephus* (73) calls this prophet *Micaiab*, and adds, that the king caused him to be put into prison for his boldness, which is not unlikely, because when *Ahab* was afterwards going against *Ramoth-Gilead*, and had sent for him at *Jehoshaphat's* request, *Ahab* expressed a particular aversion against him, because he was ever prophesying evil against him, and when he had fore-told him his overthrow at *Ramoth*, he condemned him to the same punishment (74).

(73) *Ant. l. viii. c. 8.* (74) 1 Kings xxii. pass. solved

solved at once to procure the vineyard, and to punish *Naboth* for his refusal, she sent a letter to the elders of *Jezebel*, sealed with the king's signet, commanding them to proclaim a fast, and to hire some loose fellows to swear treason and blasphemy against him, and then to stone him to death for it. The *Jezebelites*, not daring to disobey her orders, sent her word soon after of *Naboth's* death, and she acquainted *Ahab* with it; but whilst he was taking possession of the ground, the prophet *Elijah* came to him from God, foretold the destruction that this murder would bring upon him, upon *Jezebel*, and upon all his whole house; that the dogs should lick his blood, where they licked that of *Naboth*, that *Jezebel* should be devoured by dogs, and all his posterity utterly cut off. This dreadful sentence, from so considerable a prophet, did so alarm the king, that he rent his cloaths, returned home, filled with the deepest grief, and, by a timely repentance, obtained a gracious respite; so that the calamities, that were to fall upon his house, did not happen till after his death^o. It is probably about this time, that he is supposed to have made his son *Ahaziah* copartner of his crown, or perhaps only his viceroy (H), whilst he humbled himself in sackcloth and ashes, to avoid the impending judgment of God^p; but this change was but short-lived, and he soon returned to his former impieties.

ALL this while, *Jehoshaphat* had enjoyed a profound peace, and spent his time, partly in strengthening his kingdom, promoting his naval trade, and partly in making all the proper regulations for the utter abolishing of idolatry, and promoting the worship of God. He is blamed only for two things,

• 1 Kings xxi. pass.

^p Vid. *ibid.* ver. 17. & seq.

(H) At least this is the only expedient by which chronologists can reconcile the anachronisms, which one meets with between the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, the one beginning their reign from the death of their fathers, and the other from the time of their being raised to a partnership with them. The reader may see an instance of it proved in archbishop *Usher's* annals (75), both in *Ahab* above mentioned, and in his contemporary *Jehoshaphat*, who raised also his son *Jehoram* to be his viceroy, or partner. It may be further observed, that this method became very expedient, if not absolutely necessary, in dangerous wars, in which the kings used to lead their own armies, and often lost their lives, to appoint their successors, and to leave them vicegerents of the kingdom during their absence, upon which account, this wholesome custom prevailed also among many other eastern nations.

his not totally demolishing of the high places, and his making of alliances and affinity with *Ahab* (I). It was in consequence of this last, that he came down to *Samaria* to pay a visit to him, having left the care of his kingdom to his son *Jehoram*. By this time, *Ahab* had resolved upon retaking *Ramoth-Gilead* from the *Syrians*: he took therefore that opportunity of asking his royal guest to assist him in the enterprize, to which he readily consented, but desired first of all, that God might be consulted, concerning the success of that expedition. *Ahab* immediately gathered 400 of his prophets to the gate of *Samaria*, where the king of *Judah* and he sat, each on a state-ly throne, and, upon his asking of the question, they one and all promised him, that he would come off victorious. Some of them pretended likewise to foretel his success, by some antick and awkward representations and gestures; but with such seeming eagerness and assurance, as rendered them suspected to *Jehoshaphat*, who therefore begged, that if there were any other prophet of the Lord, he might be sent for and consulted. There was indeed such a one as he desired, *Micaiah* the son of *Imlah*, but his strenuous veracity had made him too odious to the king; however, he was obliged in complaisance to *Jehoshaphat* to send for him, and he, being before acquainted with the flattering promises of the false prophets, by the officer who brought him, did likewise answer, in a jocular tone, that the expedition could not fail of success; but the king, observing that he did not speak seriously, adjured him to tell him the truth in the name of God: upon which, *Micaiah* told him, that he would certainly lose the day, with his life, that his army would be defeated, and that God had suffered his prophets to be possessed with a lying spirit, that he might go and meet his death where he expected a victory. The king, however, was so far from being deterred by this speech, from his favourite enterprize, that he ordered the prophet to be kept in a dungeon with bread and water, until he returned victorious, and went resolutely upon his own ruin; and *Jehoshaphat*, being too easily persuaded to accompany him, did narrowly escape sharing in the same fate: we have seen the ill success of this expedition in a former chapter*. *Ahab*, wounded by a random shot, died in the evening; and as

Ahab's expedition against Ramoth.

His ill success and death.

* See. Vol. II. p. 279.

(I) This affinity was in suffering his son *Jehoram* to marry *Ataliah*, the daughter of *Ahab*, a most wicked princess, who proved the author of great mischiefs in *Judah* (76), and by whom he had a son named *Abaziah*, who afterwards succeeded his father, as we shall see in its proper place.

(76) 2 Chron. xxi. 6. & seq.

soon as his death was known, his generals caused a retreat to be sounded through his army, and both sides withdrew before night. The king's corpse was brought to *Samaria*, and buried in the royal sepulchre, and his bloody armour, chariot, and harness, were brought to a pool in that place to be washed, where the dogs coming to lick his blood verified *Elijah's* prophecy against him ⁹.

Year of
the Flood,
2102.
Year be-
fore
Christ,
897.

Jehoshaphat, on the other hand, having thus happily escaped, returned to *Jerusalem*, and in the way was met by the prophet *Jehu*, who reprov'd him, in the severest terms, for entering into a confederacy with the impious king of *Israel*, and told him, that if God had not had a greater regard for that zeal which he had expressed for his service, than to this last and unworthy action, he had certainly have suffered him to fall with his idolatrous ally. The king, become sensible of his error by this reproof, and by his late danger, endeavoured to retrieve it by a more assiduous application to every thing that related, either to religion, or the good of his kingdom. To do this the more effectually, he took a progress through a great part of it, diligently examined how the priests instructed the people, the judges and magistrates administered justice, and every where exhorted them to their duty, with a zeal worthy so good a prince^r.

In the mean time, *Abaziah*, who had succeeded his father *Ahab*, both in his kingdom and idolatry, happened to fall through a grate of his dining-room, about the second year of his reign, and was so hurt by the fall that his life was despaired of. In this extremity he sent messengers to consult *Beelzebub*, the deity of *Ekron*, about his recovery; but these were met by *Elijah*, who sent them back with this mournful message to their master, that, since he had sent to the god of *Ekron*, as if there had been none in *Israel* worth consulting, he should never stir more from his bed, till he was carried to his grave. At their return, they acquainted the king, who was surpris'd at the suddenness of it, that they had met a prophet, who sent them back with the sentence of death from the Lord; and upon their describing him, that he was a hairy man, girt with a leathern girdle, he knew him to be *Elijah*, and died soon after, according to his prophecy^c (K). During his short reign, the *Moabites*, who had been

⁹ 1 Kings ult. pass.
pass.

^r 2 Chron. xix. p. tot.

^c 2 Kings i.

(K) The text adds, that *Abaziah* sent three officers, one after another, each at the head of fifty men, to fetch the prophet to him

been tributaries to *Israel*, ever since *Jeroboam*'s defection, rebelled against him ; wherefore, when his brother *Jehoram* came to the crown, he sent to beg *Jehoshaphat*'s assistance, who made no scruple, upon such an occasion, to go in person to help to reduce them. It was well for *Jehoram*, that he had so good a prince with him ; for when their army was ready to perish with thirst, *Elisha*, at his request, obtained a miraculous supply of water, which did at once refresh the confederate army, and, by the redness which it did cast at sun-rising towards the *Moabitish* host, did so scare them, that *Israel* gained a compleat victory over them, as we have seen elsewhere †.

AT length, towards the latter end of his reign, *Jehoshaphat* saw his kingdom invaded by the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, with a mixed multitude of other nations, and with such speed,

Judah invaded.

† See Vol. II. p. 93.

him by main force, and that the two first companies were devoured by fire from heaven, but the last, addressing himself to him in an humbler manner than the two former, not only escaped their fate, but prevailed upon him to go to the king, where he only confirmed his first message, and went his way.

Soon after this, that extraordinary prophet was translated into heaven in a fiery chariot, and left a double portion of his spirit with *Elisha*, who from that time became as famous in *Israel*, for his zeal and miracles, as his master had been (77), as we shall see in the sequel of this history. As soon as he had lost sight of his master, he took his cloak, which was fallen from him as he was taken up, and with it divided and repassed the *Jordan*. Here he was met by a company of prophets, who, perceiving that the spirit of *Elijah* rested upon him, prostrated themselves before him, and having observed to him the pleasant situation of *Jericho*, whose soil however was unhappily barren, through the brackishness of its water ; he went with them to the fountain-head, and flung a pitcher full of salt into it, from which time it always yielded sweet water, and the land became fruitful.

Elisha went from thence to *Bethel*, and, in his way, was met by a parcel of idle boys coming out of that place, who cried to him in mockery, *Come up thou bald man*. These were, in all likelihood, the children of some of the worshippers of *Baal*, who had been taught to shew an unusual disrespect for the prophets of God. This seems at least very probable, from the punishment which befel them ; for the prophet had no sooner cursed them in the name of God, than 42 of them were torn in pieces by two she bears out of the wood (78).

(77) 2 Kings ii. pass.

(78) *Ibid.* ver. 23, & seq.

Jehoshaphat's miraculous success.

that they were already got as far as *Hazazon-Tamar*, or *Engedi*, that is within 36 miles of his capital, before he knew any thing of it. In this surprize he had recourse to God, proclaimed a strict and general fast, and went at the head of the people, who were assembled at *Jerusalem* upon that occasion, to the temple, where having implored the divine assistance, in an humble and pathetic prayer, he was answered by the prophet *Jahaziel*, that God would speedily deliver him from those invaders in such an extraordinary manner, that he should have nothing to do but seize upon their spoil. Accordingly, on the next morning, the king went out against them with a small army, whom he still encouraged, as they went on, to rely wholly upon God; but they soon beheld that which did it more effectually, their enemies seized with a kind of parric phrensy, slaughtering one another with greater fury than themselves could have done; till they were all cut off. The plunder they found among the slain being more than they could well carry, they only picked out the richest, which they were three days gathering *, and on the fourth, they halted at a convenient valley, to return thanks to heaven for their victory, and from that day the place was called *Berachah*, or *Blessing* (L). The army, in their return to *Jerusalem*, marched at the sound of musical instruments, accompanied with canticles sung by *Levites*, after which *Jehoshaphat* ended his days in peace †. Some time before his death, *Ahaziah*, who was then king of *Israel*, and as impious as his father *Ahab*, obtained his consent, to send some ships of his own to *Tarshish* along with his fleet;

* See Vol. II. p. 95. † 2 Chron. xx. 1, & seq. ad 30.

(L) This valley is supposed, by many *Jews* and *Christians*, to be the same which is mentioned by the prophet *Joel* (79), and that it will be the scene of the universal judgment (80). Others think, that the valley of *Jehoshaphat*, there mentioned, is between *Jerusalem* and the *Mount of Olives* (81), or in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem* (82; but we can see nothing in that passage that refers either to the last judgment, or to this *Valley of Blessing*, and it is most likely, that, by the valley of *Jehoshaphat*, the prophet meant no more, than the literal sense of the word imports, *Jehoshaphat* signifying *the judgment of God*, which may be applied to any place where God doth inflict his judgments upon offenders of any kind.

(79) *Ch. iii. 2, & 12.* (80) *Vid. Aben-Ezr. Kimchi. & Munst. in loc.* (81) *Beda de loc. cit. & al in loc.* (82) *Cyril. Alex. in loc. & al.*

for which *Jehoshaphat* was severely rebuked by the prophet *Eliezer*, who foretold him, at the same time, the loss of that fleet, which happened accordingly; for which reason he never would let any of the ships of *Israel* mix with his own ^u. He died in the 60th year of his age, after he had reigned 25 *His death.* years, and was succeeded by his son *Jehoram*. His history is said to have been written by the prophet *Jehu* ^w, which book seems to have been lost, with many others, at the captivity.

Jehoram, who, as we observed before, had born a share *Judah and Israel im-* in the government of *Judah* towards the latter end of his father's reign, did no sooner see himself alone upon the throne, *merged in idolatry.* than he began to undo all that his pious father had done, and to bring upon himself and his house all the curses that had been pronounced against that of his father-in-law. *Judah* and *Israel* seem now but one kingdom, and one scene of all manner of idolatry and wickedness; they are both governed by kings of the same name; *Jehoram* king of *Judah*, is influenced by his wife *Athaliah*, the impious daughter of *Ahab*, and *Jehoram*, king of *Israel*, by his mother *Jezebel*; this walks in all the abominations of his father, and that introduces them into his own kingdom, after they had been abolished by his two predecessors; both of them bringing down the heaviest judgments from heaven; the one, by forsaking the ways of his pious father, and the other, by continuing in those of his impious one; or what was still more surprising, whilst the king of *Israel* did endeavour so far to reform from him, as to destroy the *Phœnician* idols which *Ahab* had reared up, and contented himself with the idolatrous worship of the two golden calves ^x, that of *Judah* was adopting those very deities in his kingdom, and even in *Jerusalem* ^y. Thus whilst the former forsook the God of *Israel*, and the other did but imperfectly return to him, both were involved in the same guilt, and in the same punishment; with this difference however, that that of *Israel* is entirely cut off, with his whole posterity; whereas, in that of *Judah*, an infant is miraculously preserved, to make good God's promise to the house of *David*.

Jehoshaphat had left a numerous issue, and disposed of all his sons into several cities of *Judah*, under proper tutors, and with incomes suitable to their rank; but he was scarce cold in his grave, before his impious son signalized the beginning

^u Ibid. ver. 36, 37. Comp. with 1 Kings xxii. 48, 49.
^w 2 Chron. ub. sub. ver. 34. ^x 2 Kings iii. 1, & seq. ^y Ibid, viii. 17, & seq. & 2 Chron. xxi. 11.

of his reign, with an universal massacre of them, and with all the nobles of his kingdom, who either dared to oppose or dislike his cruelty^a. After this, being wholly influenced by his impious queen, he gave himself up to idolatry, and set up the worship of *Baal*, both in his kingdom and metropolis, in imitation of his father-in-law. For these he was severely reprov'd, by a letter sent him by *Elijah*, a little before his assumption; wherein that prophet likewise foretold him, among many other evils, the almost total extirpation of his posterity, and his own death, by an incurable disease in his bowels^a.

Edom's
final re-
volt from
Israel.

Year of
the Flood,
2110.
Year be-
fore Christ
889.



THE first token of the divine displeasure, which he felt, was the revolt of the *Edomites*, who refused to pay him the usual tribute. *Jehoram* went out against them, and beat them; but they soon recovered strength enough to shake off the yoke, and to set up a king of their own over them, as we have seen elsewhere^{*}; and in so doing they verified *Isaac's* prophecy, that *Esau's* posterity should, in time, shake off the yoke of *Jacob*^b. At the same time *Libnah*, belonging to the priests, in the tribe of *Judah*^c, and upon the frontiers of *Idumæa*, revolted from *Jehoram* probably, to *Edom*, though the text says not to whom^d; but these were but the preludes of the judgments that were to fall upon him. His kingdom was presently after invaded by the *Philistines* and *Arabians*, and these penetrated even to *Jerusalem*, and carried off all the riches of that metropolis, together with *Jehoram's* wives and all his sons, except only *Jehoahaz*, who was the youngest, and succeeded him after his death. *Jehoram* was soon after seized with an incurable disease in his belly, probably a bloody flux, which lasted two years, and weakened him to such a degree, that his bowels came out, and he died with the extremity of his pain. He was buried in a sepulchre by himself, probably by reason of the corruption and stench which attended his disease, and without the usual ceremony of burning spices and other odoriferous drugs about his body, or any other royal pomp. He reigned eight years^e, four with his father *Jehoshaphat*, and the other four by himself; his disease having made him incapable of governing his kingdom, obliged him to make his son *Jehoahaz*, otherwise called *Abaziah*, viceroy, who succeeded him about a year after, and in the 12th of *Jehoram* king of *Israel* ^f.

^a Ibid. 1. & seq.

^a Ibid. ver. 12, & seq.

^{*} See Vol. II.

p. 145.

^b Gen. xxvii. 40.

^c Josh. xv. 42.

ⁱ Chron. vi.

57.

^d 2 Kings viii. 22.

² Chron. xxi. 10.

^e Ibid. ver. 18,

& seq.

^f Vid. USSEK. Ann. sub. A. M.

3115, & 3118. &

2 Kings viii. 25.

WHILST *Judah* was in this dismal plight, *Elisha* was working wonders for *Israel*. We have seen elsewhere, what a miraculous cure he wrought upon *Naaman*, a famous general of the king of *Syria*, and how he discovered all the secret designs of that prince to the king of *Israel* †, and by that means prevented the *Syrians*, for some time, from succeeding in their attempts against him. But at length *Benhadad* came up, not by ambushes and stratagems as formerly, but with a numerous host, and besieged *Samaria* so close, Samaria besieged. that it began to labour under a very pinching famine; infomuch, that an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver, and a small measure of pulse (M) for five. How long this siege had lasted is not easy to guess, but what might increase this grievous famine was, that it had begun some A great famine in the land. years before in the land, infomuch, that *Elisha*, who timely foresaw it, sent his kind hostess the *Shunamite*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, out of the kingdom, to seek for food where she could get it, whilst himself tarried in the college of the prophets, and now and then afforded them a miraculous supply of food §, till the *Syrian* army forced him into the city. By this time the extremity, to which *Samaria* was reduced, seemed either to have obliterated all the former services of that prophet to the king; or, more probably, to have rendered him suspected of being

† See Vol. II. p. 280, & seq. § Comp. 2 Kings iv. 38. & seq. with viii. 1, 2, & seq.

(M) As most translations have rendered the word חֲרִיּוֹנִים *Chirionim*, by *doves-dung*, they have given commentators a vast deal of trouble to find out such use for it, as might answer this excessive price that was given for it, that a measure, which held but six eggs, should sell for above eleven shillings. It were endless to mention all their various conjectures (83), we have therefore followed the learned *Bochart's* version (84), who proves, that the word doth, among other things, signify a kind of pease, common in all those countries, and which the *Jews* in particular used to parch over the fire for food (85), in the same manner as they did their corn.

As to what we read of further, that an ass's head was sold for upwards of nine pounds of our money, though it was an unclean creature, and forbidden by the law of *Moses*, we must attribute the eating of it, at that time, to their extreme want of provision, which in all such cases may be allowed to dispense with law.

(83) *Vid. f. lib. Le Scene. & Ess. on a new ver. pt. ii. ch. 3. § 2.* (84) *Hieros. tom. ii. l. 1. c. 7. § 7.* (85) *Vid. 2 Sam. xvii. 28. & Hieron. in loc.*

since

since gained over to the *Syrian* interest, since he suffered the city to labour under these difficulties, without interposing his miraculous power, as he had done upon other occasions. His suspicion at length broke out with unusual fury, upon the following dreadful occasion : The king was taking a melancholy turn round the walls of the city, when a woman came to him and begged for justice against another woman, whom she had admitted to eat a share of her boiled child, upon condition, that when they had made an end of him, her own should be likewise drest to supply their common want, and who had now hid her own child, and refused to let her partake of it. Such a shocking story, accompanied with all the tokens of despair, could not but fill the distressed monarch with the utmost horror ; he rent his cloathes, and his flesh appeared covered with sackcloth, and not knowing how to vent his grief otherwise, he swore, that *Elisha's* head should pay for the distress of the people ; and sent immediately an officer to take it off. *Elisha* was aware of it, and was complaining of the king's cruelty to the elders of *Israel*, who were at his house just as the messenger of death was entering it. However, the prophet found means to get him stopped at the door, till the king himself appeared, and then, after he had represented to him the unreasonableness of punishing an innocent person, for a calamity which was sent from above ^h (N), he desired him to have but patience till next

^h Ibid. vi. & vii. pass.

(N) The text is somewhat obscure here ; the words run literally thus (86), *And behold the messenger came down unto him, and he [but whether the prophet, or the messenger, or the king, is not easy to determine] said, Lo ! this judgment is from the LORD, and what, or why, should I wait any longer for the LORD ?* They seem therefore to be the words of a man in a kind of despair, and to have been rather spoken by *Jehoram*, and to imply thus much, *If it be true, that this evil, or this famine, is sent us from the LORD, it is in vain to wait any longer for a deliverance from him.* It is likely therefore, that the king had designed, before this unnatural accident happened, to have surrendered the city to the king of *Syria*, and had been dissuaded from it by *Elisha*, with a promise of some speedy relief. Under these dreadful circumstances therefore, he goes and upbraids him with it ; *Has God, said he, reduced us to such extremity, that mothers are forced to eat their children, and wouldst thou still flatter me with vain hopes of some relief, till all my subjects are perished with hunger and misery, when I might and ought to have saved their lives by a timely surrender ?* Whereupon, the prophet appoints the precise time of their despaired of deliverance to be on the very next day.

(86) 2 Kings vi. ver, ult.

day,

day, by which time there would be such a supply of provisions in *Samaria*, that a bushel of fine flour should be sold for a shekel of silver, and the rest in proportion. By this means the prophet saved his life, and though the king could scarce give credit to him, yet he thought it more adviseable to defer his resentment, till he saw the success of this wonderful promise.

THE thing, however, happened according to his prediction. On that very night some lepers, who lodged on the outside of the gate, and were ready to die with hunger, resolved, whatever betided them, to go into the *Syrian* camp, in hopes to find either some lucky supply of food, or, at the worst, to be put to a speedier death than that of starving. They were surprized to find their tents full of provisions and baggage, but empty of inhabitants. As soon therefore as they had satisfied their hunger with what they found at hand, they ventured further into the camp, and found it still the same; and after they had conveyed away a considerable quantity of rich plunder, they began to blame themselves for not acquainting the famished *Samaritans* with the happy news. The king, as soon as he was acquainted with the story, suspected it to be a stratagem of the *Syrians*, contrived to intice him out of the city; but, upon his sending a party to examine further into the matter, he found, that they were really fled with the utmost precipitation, and had left their tents, horses, and richest baggage behind them; for, on the foregoing night, the Lord caused them to hear an extraordinary noise of chariots, horses, and armour, which made them conclude, that *Jehoram* had hired the kings of *Egypt* and other neighbouring nations against them *. This spread such an universal panic through the whole camp, that they did not so much as stay to mount their horses, but fled in the utmost confusion on foot, leaving, besides an immense variety of rich plunder, such a quantity of provisions behind them, that a measure of fine flour was sold for a shekel, and the rest in proportion, at the gate of *Samaria*, according to the word of *Elisha*. At the same time a nobleman, who had ventured to declare against the possibility of such an unexpected plenty, and had been answered by the prophet, that he should see it without tasting of it, was appointed by the king to stand at the gate of the city, to prevent any disorders, and was, notwithstanding his care, trod to death by the press, and verified *Elisha's* prophecy.

The siege raised.

A great plenty in Samaria.

* See Vol II. p. 283.

SOON after this unexpected deliverance, the prophet, whether out of discontent, or by divine impulse, took the way to *Damascus*, where the king lay sick, being quite exhausted through old age, fatigues, and disappointments. What the design and result of that visit was, the reader may see in the history of *Syria* ^k. In the mean time, the king of *Israel* entertained himself, during his absence, with the recital of his wonderful actions, from the mouth of his servant *Gebazi* (O); who, among other things, was giving him an account of his raising of the child of his *Shunamitish* hostess to life (P), and
of

^k Ibid. viii. 1, & seq. See also, Vol. II. p. 284, & seq.

(O) This servant, we read, two or three chapters before, had, for his covetousness, inherited *Naaman's* leprosy (87), which was, according to *Elisba's* word, to stick to him as long as he lived, and such persons were obliged to live apart from the rest. It is therefore somewhat surprising, that the king of *Israel* would converse with a man, whom the meanest person in the kingdom would have carefully avoided. All that can be said to it is, either that he was made to stand at a convenient distance, and with his mouth covered; or that the king's curiosity made him overlook such nice circumstances at that particular juncture.

(P) The occasion of this miracle was as follows: The woman, who was rich and childless, having observed the prophet to pass very often by her house, as he went through the city of *Shunem*, prevailed upon her husband to build him a bed-chamber, and to put a bed, table, and candlestick in it, and to invite him to lodge there as often as he pleased. *Elisba*, desirous to gratify them for their hospitality, asked his servant what he might do for them; and being answered that they had no children, he called the woman, and told her, that in due time she should embrace a son, as a reward of her kindness to him. She was accordingly brought to bed of a child; and when he was grown big enough to go and divert himself with reapers, he was one day brought home sick, and expired about noon in his mother's arms. As soon as he was dead, she laid him on the prophet's bed, and made what haste she could to mount *Carmel*, where he then was; and as soon as she came in sight of him, she fell at his feet, and acquainted him with her son's death. *Elisba*, surprised that the Lord had never revealed this accident to him, gave *Gebazi* his staff, and bid him run with all possible speed, and lay it upon the dead child; but the woman, not daring to trust to that, embraced his legs, and begged, that he would come with her, which he readily complied with. The servant, however, was got

(87) Ibid. v. ult.

of his sending of her and her family to seek their bread out of the kingdom, during the seven years of famine. He had scarce made an end of the story, when the woman herself came, in a lucky hour, to petition the king for her land, which had been confiscated during her absence, and gave *Gehazi*, who presently called her to mind, an opportunity of being both evidence and advocate for her. So many favourable circumstances could not but render her suit successful; but the king

to the house long before his master, and had laid the staff upon the child, but without any success. At length, the prophet went up himself, and laid himself upon the child, mouth to mouth, calling still upon God to restore him to his sorrowful mother, which he at length obtained; and whilst she received him with a maternal joy, she owned, that she was now more than ever convinced, that he was indeed a prophet, and that the words of truth were in his mouth (88).

During the famine, one of the prophets widows came to *Elisba*, and complained, that her husband died in debt, and that her two sons were now upon the brink of being seized and sold by the merciless creditor. The prophet, moved with compassion, and unable to assist her any other way than by a miracle, asked her what she had in her house that could be turned into money; and being answered, that she had nothing left but a poor cruse of oil, he bid her go and borrow as many vessels of her neighbours as she could, and to fill them out of the cruse; which she did, and the oil did not cease flowing out of it, till she had filled all the other vessels. *Elisba* then bid her sell as much of it as would pay the debt, and keep the rest for her own use †.

After this, *Elisba* tarried some time in *Gilgal*, with the rest of the prophets; and having one day ordered some pottage to be made for them, one of the servants went to gather a lap full of herbs, and inadvertently cut some wild gourd, or night-shade, among them; as soon as they had tasted it, they cried out, that death was in the pot; but when he was apprised of it, he caused some meal to be thrown into the pottage, after which they eat it without fear or danger (89).

At another time, a man having brought him a present of first-fruits, being twenty barley loaves, and some new parched corn, *Elisba* bid his servant to set it before the company, who were about 100 in number. The servant hesitated some time, thinking it insufficient for such a multitude; but upon his telling him, that there would be more than enough for them, he obeyed, and found it even as his master had said, for they all eat their fill, and left some of it remaining (90).

(88) *Ibid.* iv. 8. & seq. † *Ibid.* ver. 1, 2, & seq. (89)
Ibid. ver. 38, & seq. (90) *Ibid.* xlii. ad fin.

did even grant her more than she asked, and ordered an officer to accompany her, and see, that she had not only her land, but likewise the seven years income of it refunded to her¹.

Jehoram's
second ex-
pedition a-
gainst Ra-
moth.

He is
wounded
there.

Jehu
anointed.

By this time, *Hazael* having murdered *Ben-hadad*, and invaded his throne, according to the word of *Elisha*, *Jehoram*, who was then at peace with the king of *Judah*, thought it a favourable juncture to try his fortune against *Ramoth-gilead*, which his father had attempted in vain. He sent at the same time to *Ahaziah*, who had succeeded his father in *Judah*, and invited him to accompany him in that enterprize. *Ahaziah*, who was then but twenty two years of age (Q), being the youngest of all his brethren, who had been carried away captive in his father's days, was wholly conducted by his mother *Athaliah*, and by such counsellors as she pleased to appoint to him; and, as he followed all the impious ways of his father, he made no difficulty to enter into a confederacy with the king of *Israel*. This expedition seemed at first more successful than the former; but in the event is proved the fatal source of endless misfortunes to *Israel*, by giving *Hazael* an occasion of exercising all those cruelties which had been foretold by *Elisha*. Neither did it prove less fatal to *Jehoram*; the city was indeed taken, but himself was so desperately wounded in the attack, that he was forced to return to *Jezreel* to be cured, leaving *Jehu* at the head of a number of forces to secure the place, whilst the king of *Judah* probably returned to *Jerusalem*. In the mean time, *Elisha* sent one of the young prophets to *Ramoth*, where he ordered him to anoint *Jehu* king of *Israel* privately, and to tell him, that he was appointed by God to execute his vengeance against the whole race of *Ahab*, even to the impious *Jezebel*, whose carcass should shortly be devoured by dogs, whilst all the rest of his family were condemned to perish by his sword. The prophet had no sooner executed his commission, and poured the oil upon his head, than he fled out of the tent, with all speed, to avoid being

¹ Kings viii. 5. See USHER. Ann. sub. A. M. 3120.

(Q) The book of the *Chronicles* makes him to have began his reign in the 42d year of his age; but this is allowed to be an error †, unless we will understand those 42 years, not of his age, but of the time which had elapsed from *Omri*'s coming to the crown to the reign of *Ahaziah*, as *Tremellius* doth, which amount just to that number (91).

† See Vol. III. p. 440. (91) Vid. Tremel. in 2 Chron. xxii. 2.

examined about it. When *Jehu* came out, the officers that were with him asked him what business that mad fellow had been transacting with him (R); and as soon as he had acquainted them with the secret, they all paid their homage to him, and proclaimed him king of *Israel* by sound of the trumpet. But *Jehu* did not think it proper to have the conspiracy known, till he had reached *Jezreel*, and surprized the wounded king there, before he could be in a condition to oppose him; he therefore told them, that if their hearts went with their mouths, they should suffer none to get out of *Ramoth*, to go and acquaint the king with the news, whilst he rode with all speed at the head of his men to *Jezreel*, which he did immediately after. As soon as he came within sight of the place, the watch, alarmed at the sight of a troop that drove with such uncommon speed, acquainted the court with it; and the frightened king sent two messengers successively to enquire, whether they came peaceably or not. But *Jehu* having made them both turn behind his chariot, and the centinel having acquainted the king with it, he sent word of it to the king of *Judah*, who was come to visit him, and these two went with their guard against *Jehu*, who by that time was known by the centinel by the furiousness of his driving. The place where they met one another was the vineyard for

(R) The *Jews* rightly observe, that there was something in the looks and gestures of these prophets, which made them pass for mad-men, among those who did not know them ‡; which is agreeable enough to what we read of *Saul*, who lay uncovered a whole day, whilst the spirit was upon him (92). But what might still add to the uncommonness of their figure and behaviour, was the oddness of their dress, their living by themselves, and seldom appearing in places of public resort, but upon some extraordinary errand; which often proved of a dangerous nature, and put them under some dread whilst they were about it. Such was this, in particular, which made the young prophet run away with such speed, before any one could know it, but the person to whom he delivered it.

The text adds, that *Jehu's* company took off their upper garments, and laid them under him, to raise him up above the rest, whilst they paid homage to him. The place, where this is said to be done, was upon the top of the stairs (93), which according to the same *Jews*, being out of the house, served also for a sun dial, the degrees of the shadow being marked against the wall (94), to shew the hours of the day (95).

‡ Vol. III. p. 431. (92) 1 Sam. xix. ult. See Vol. III p. 498. (93) Vid. Munst. in 2 Reg. ix. sub. not a. (94) Ibid. ver. 13. (95) Child. paraph. Kimch. & al. vid. & Munst. ub. sup.

which

*The kings
of Israel
and Judah
killed by
him.*

which *Naboth* had lost his life ; and here *Jehoram* asked him, whether he came peaceably : but *Jehu* soon gave him proof of the contrary, by upbraiding him with his, and his mother *Jezebel's*, murders and idolatries, and by putting himself in an hostile posture against him. The frightened monarch cried out in vain to *Abaziah*, that they were betrayed ; before he could turn his chariot about to avoid his enemy, *Jehu* pierced his heart with an arrow, and ordered one of his captains to cast his body into *Naboth's* field, there to be devoured according to the word of *Elijah*. At the same time the king of *Judah*, frightened at this bloody tragedy, endeavoured to avoid sharing his brother's fate, by flying through the private road that led to the garden-house ; but *Jehu* commanded a party of his men to ride after him, which they did, and having overtaken him at the ascent of *Gur*, they gave him so many desperate wounds, that he died of them by that time he had reached the city of *Megiddo*, and was carried to *Jerusalem*, and buried with his ancestors, having reigned one year, and leaving only one son, a child, who afterwards succeeded him, when he was yet but seven years of age.

*Jezebel
killed.*

WHILST *Jehu's* men went in pursuit of *Abaziah*, *Jehu* himself marched directly towards the royal palace of *Jezreel*, where *Jezebel* the queen-mother, who was by that time informed of her son's fate, was waiting to give him such an haughty welcome, as did not well suit with her present circumstances ; but she hoped, perhaps, that he would shew some regard, if not to her quality, yet at least to her sex ; perhaps also she did think, that she had still charms enough, in spite of her years, to captivate the new monarch, especially after she had improved them by art, and with the richest ornaments. She was looking out of a window when *Jehu* entered the palace ; and, in a haughty tone, asked him, whether he expected a milder recompence of his rebellion, than his predecessor *Zimri* had formerly met with. *Jehu* stayed not to give her an answer, but observing some eunuchs standing on each side, he commanded them to throw her out of the window, which they did ; and in the fall some of her blood was dashed against the wall, and her body soon after trampled to death, by the horses that were in his retinue. As soon as he and his company had refreshed themselves in the palace, he gave orders to some of *Jezebel's* servants to go and bury her corpse, seeing she was of the royal blood ; but when word was brought to him, that the dogs had devoured it all except her skull, the palms of her hands, and the soles of her feet, he made use

of

of that circumstance, to convince his attendants of the truth of *Elijah's* prophecy ^m.

BUT that prophet's sentence did not stop at these three impious persons, the whole race of *Ahab* was included in it, and he had left seventy sons who were all brought up under governors in *Samaria*. *Jehu*, therefore, did not think fit to enter into that capital, till he had tried, whether the chief magistrates of it had courage enough to undertake any thing for the posterity of their late king. To this end, he sent letters to them, seemingly to exhort them to make choice of one of the bravest of *Ahab's* sons, and to set him upon the throne. But they, who did rightly guess at the meaning of such a message, and were but too much intimidated by his late success against the kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, chose rather to sacrifice that unhappy race to *Jehu's* known valour, than to run the risk of turning it against themselves. They therefore sent a deputation to him, to acquaint him, that they would do nothing but by his commands, which they were ready to execute, as soon as they should receive them; whereupon, he sent them an order to put all the young princes to death, and to bring their heads in baskets to him by the next day; which was punctually complied with. The bloody present of seventy ^{70 sons of} heads was sent to *Jezebel* on that very night; and *Jehu* or- ^{Ahab kil-} dered them to be laid on heaps at the gate of *Samaria*; and, ^{led.} on the next morning, the elders of that city came, and presented themselves before him there. As soon as he saw them, he spake to them to this effect: " You do, in all probability, " look upon me as the sole author of all this bloodshed, as " the murderer of your late king, and the usurper of his " throne; but if I conspired against *Jehoram*, did not you " murder all these young princes, in whose defence you might " have stood, if you had thought fit. Know you therefore, " that neither you, nor I, have done more than executed the " sentence, which had been pronounced against *Ahab's* po- " sterity. But I have not yet finished my task, as long as " there remain any of his kinsmen, counsellors, priests, or " any of the abettors of his crimes." This was his next work, and he did not leave *Jezebel*, till he had put them all to death.

Jehu took then the road to *Samaria*, and in his way he met forty two princes of the house of *Judah* (S), who were going

^m 2 Kings ix. pass

(S) The text calls them the brethren of *Ahaziah*, (95), but we have often observed, that it means also brother's children; and

(96) 2 Kings x. 13.

there

going down to pay a visit to those of the house of *Ahab*, all whom he also caused to be slain upon the spot. After this, he met with *Jehonadab* the son of *Rechab* (T), and took him up

these are called so accordingly, by the author of the *Chronicles* (97). The place where they are slain is called in the original בור בית עקר *Bor Beth-beked*, or, *the pit of the house for binding or shearing*, which was either a place of sheep-shearing, or as some fancy, took its name from the young princes being bound and put to death there (98). It is not unlikely neither from the text, that they, having heard of the slaughter that had been made in *Samaria*, and that *Jehu* was going thither in person, might hide themselves, either in that pit, or in some of the shepherds huts, to avoid falling into his hands.

(T) The *Rechabites*, so famous in scripture for the austere singularity of their life, were not content to excel in common moral virtues, but affected to distinguish themselves from the rest of the world, by a peculiar abstinence from wine, from dwelling in houses, from possessing either houses, vineyards, or fields, and from all kind of agriculture (99).

Who the author of this institution was, whether the *Jehonadab* here mentioned, or any other either before or after him, is far from being agreed. If we may believe a modern critic (100), he hath found the etymon of *Rechab* in the רכב *Rekeb*, or *chariot* of *Elijah*, and that of the *Pharisees*, his supposed disciples, in the פרשים *Phrashim*, or *horses* of it (1). So that, according to him the words of *Elisba* should not be rendered as we do, *My father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horses thereof*; but, *My father Rechab, &c.* or at least the former called themselves *Rechabites* from the *Rechab*, *chariot*, and the latter from the *Phrashim*, or *horses* of it. Pursuant to this, our author observes, that when *Joash*, king of *Israel*, came to visit *Elisba* as he lay on his death-bed, he addressed him likewise in the same words, *My father the chariot of Israel*, and so on (2). He even ventures to prove that institution older than the flood; which, allowing his far-fetched etymology, will be no difficult task, if we can but suppose, that *Enoch*, was translated in the same kind of vehicle (3).

On the other hand, another bold critic (4) pretends, that it did not begin till about the time of *Jeremiah*, and that this *Jehonadab*, for whom *Jehu* shewed such regard, was only a person of the same name with the founder of that *Rechabite* life, and that he was too great a courtier, and too fine a gentleman, to be author of such

(97) 2 *Chron.* xxii. 8. (98) *Vid.* Tremel. in 2 *Kings.* x. 12. (99) *Jer.* xxxv. 6. 7. (100) J. Bolduc. *Eccles.* ante *Leg.* l. 3. c. 16. (1) 2 *Kings* ii. 12. (2) *Ibid.* xiii. 14. (3) *Gen.* v. 24. (4) Scalig. *Elench Tribarof.* vid. Goodwin *Mos.* & *Aar. lib.* i. c. 9. § 13. & seq.

up into his chariot to *Samaria*, that he might be an eye-witness of his zeal against the impious worshippers of *Baal*.

As

an unpolite institution. What he offers to prove the one, and disprove the other, of these points, having more of oratorical confidence than solid reasoning, we shall not trouble our readers with it. Sure it is, that those *Rechabites*, whom *Jeremiab* speaks of, express themselves in such terms, as argue nothing less than the recentness of their institution (5).

Between the extremes of those two above mentioned authors, are those who believe, that *Hobab* the son of *Jethro*, of whom we have spoken elsewhere, as he was a *Kenite* †, was the founder of the *Rechabites*; that *Rechab* was one of his name, and *Jehonadab* one of his descendants; and, lastly, the *Heber* the *Kenite* was also an observer of the *Rechabitic* institution (6). *Serrarius* is of the same opinion in most of these points, but distinguishes two sorts of *Rechabites*, the one instituted by *Jethro*, or *Hobab*, and the other by *Jehonadab* (7); but all this is said without foundation. We shall say nothing of those who pretend, that they were, either of the tribe of *Judah* (8), or of that of *Levi* (9), or that they were *Rechabites*, or descendants of *Jethro*, by the father's side, and *Levites* by the mother's, and, as such, that they were employed in much the same offices of the temple with the *Nethinims* (10). It is plain the author of the book of the *Chronicles* calls them *Kenites*, descended from *Kemarab*, the father of the house of *Rechab* (11), though it doth not appear, that all the *Kenites* observed the institution of *Jehonadab*, but only those who were his immediate descendants.

For these reasons, we rather choose the most received opinion, that *Jehonadab*, *Jehu's* friend, was the founder of it, he being the only one of that name mentioned in the scripture, and nothing urged on any hand that can give any of the contrary opinions the face of probability. *Jehu's* behaviour to him, and his inviting him to be an eye-witness of his zeal for the God of *Israel*, and of the havock he was going to make among the worshippers of *Baal*, argues him to have been an eminent person, not only for sense and virtue, but also for his uncommon piety and zeal; and as such he might have fallen into this new life, and enjoined the observance of it to his posterity, perhaps through some disgust which he took at court, or at the idolatries of the *Israelites*, which made it needful to separate from them, by living in the pure and untainted country, to avoid the danger of being either corrupted by them, or hated for

(5) *Jerem. ub. sup. ver. 8. & seq.* † *Vid. Vol. II. p. 116, & seq.* (6) *Vid. int. al Arr. Montan. in judic. 1. Sanctiu. in Jerem. xxxv. Minerval. cap. 13. & seq.* (7) *Serrar. l. iii. c. 9.* (8) *Theodoret in 1. paralip.* (9) *Hegeſip. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 23. Vid. Calmet. sub. voc. Rechabit.* (10) *Rabbin aliq. ap. Sanctium & Cornel. in Jerem. xxxv.* (11) *1 Chron. ii. 55.*

As soon as he was come to that capital, he caused a solemn feast to be proclaimed, pretending a much greater zeal for that

not being so. The *Kenites* not being of the seed of *Israel*, many broils and disputes might have arisen between them about the possession of lands, which might make him disclaim even the use and culture of them. The almost continual depredations to which *Israel* was exposed from their enemies round about, to say nothing of famine and pestilence, made the pastoral life seem to him much more eligible, because in such cases it was more easy to remove into better or safer abodes, in imitation of the antient patriarchs. Wine was of too ensnaring a nature, and might in time have tempted his descendants into a looser and more luxurious life ; for which reason, he thought it necessary to forbid the use of it. Lastly, whatever other private motives might determine him to that kind of primitive life, he seems chiefly to endear it to his descendants by the prospect of health, ease, and length of days (12). How far the horrid debauchery, both in religion and morals, which reigned as well in *Judah* as in *Israel* for a considerable time, to say nothing of the frequent conspiracies and rebellions which happened in the latter of those kingdoms, might contribute to determine, if not to force, a man of his character to this kind of retired life, we need not say.

The question will only be, how he could bind his posterity to the observance of it. But here we need not repeat what has been said upon other occasions, concerning the power of parents in cases of the like nature *, because we do not find that *Jehonadab* did lay them under any curse, in case of disobedience ; on the contrary, we find, that the prophet *Jeremy* was directed by God to bring them to an apartment of the temple, to set wine before them, and invite them to drink it, which would have been an unworthy action, if they had been under an indispensable obligation of abstaining from it ; and, on the other hand, the *Rechabites* refused it, not because their father had laid them under any curse if they disobeyed him, but because he promised, that they should live many days in the land wherein they were strangers, if they obeyed his voice (13) ; which promise, being also made to those who honoured their parents (14), might the more incline them to that strict obedience, for which they are so highly commended by God, in the place above quoted. We may add farther, that their retiring into *Jerusalem* during the time of the siege, which was a breach of the injunction, without being so much as blamed for it by *Jeremiah*, is a proof, that they were not under an indispensable obligation to live in tents and in the country. Though even here, we think, it had been much better for them to have removed farther out of

(12) *Jerem. ubi sup. ver. 7. vid. Peter. Martyr. Alting. R. D. Kimchi. & al. in loc.* * See Vol. III. p. 229, & seq. (13) *Vid. Jerem. ubi sup.* (14) *Exod. xx. 12, & alib.*

that deity, than any of his predecessors ; and ordered all its priests, prophets, and votaries, to be present at it, none excepted, under pain of death ; and as soon as they had filled the temple with them, from the one end to the other, he commanded a body of men to go in, and put them all to the sword, in the middle of their worship. After this, he took down all the idols and ornaments of that abominable deity, and burnt them out of the temple, and caused that building to

Baal's
priests and
temple de-
stroyed.

Nebuchadnezzar's way, instead of sheltering themselves in the city ; where they not only suffered all the common calamities of a long siege, but were, in all likelihood, carried away captive with the tribe of *Judah* ; for we find some of them, at their return from *Babylon*, who settled themselves at *Jabesh*, or *Jabez* (15) ; and the *septuagint* and *vulgate* have these words in the title of the 70th which is our 71st psalm, *A Psalm of David to the sons of Jonadab and the first captives* ; but as they are not in the *Hebrew*, we shall lay no farther stress upon them.

What became of them afterwards, whether they continued to observe their father's injunction, and whether the *Pharisees*, *Affidees*, and *Essenians*, were their followers, is foreign to our present purpose, and may perhaps be inquired into, when we resume the *Jewish* history after the captivity. It is true, the *Rechabites* had a promise from God, as a reward of their obedience, in these words, *Jehonadab, the son of Rechab, shall not want a man to stand before me for ever* (16) ; but this phrase is far from implying, that they were either priests or *Levites*, and as such should continually minister at the altar, as some have fancied (17) ; or, that they should have a seat in the great sanhedrin (18), which we have proved elsewhere, was not yet in being †. The reader will see some better expositions of the words in the authors quoted in the margin (19), which it is out of our province to dwell upon. Sure it is, that if our *Jehonadab* was the founder of this institution, his descendants did strictly observe it during the space of 300 years, whatever became of them afterwards ; for so long it was between *Jehu* and the *Babylonish* captivity. A *Jewish* traveller of the 12th century (20) doth, indeed, tell us, that they are still in being, and strict observers of their old institution. He gives us also a fine description of their country, princes, government, and other particulars ; but that author is so well known to deal in fables, and the account itself is so fully confuted by the learned *Constantine L'empereur*, that we shall leave it to his *Jewish* brethren to credit it, without giving our readers the trouble of reading it here.

(15) 1 *Chron.* ii. ult. (16) *Jerem.* ub. sup. ver. ult. (17) The-

odor. & al. sub citat. (18) *Vid.* Kimch. in loc. † *Vid.* sup.

p. 4. not. (H). (19) *Vid.* Scalig. *Tribæres.* c. xxiv. Alting.

Goodwin. ubi sup. & al. (20) Ben. de Tudcl. *Itinerar.* p. 75.

& seq.

be demolished, and turned into a common jakes. But this metropolis was not the only place that had reared temples and altars to *Baal*, for the infection had spread itself throughout the kingdom ; wherefore he did not stop his hand, till he had entirely cleared it of that kind of idolatry ; and this he did with such zeal and diligence, that God, highly pleased with it, sent him word by a prophet, that the kingdom of *Israel* should remain in his posterity till the fourth generation. Happy had it been for him, if this promise had encouraged him to have extirpated likewise the worship of the golden calves of *Dan* and *Bethel* ; but he unhappily followed *Jeroboam's* politics as long as he lived ; for which reason, God began to cut *Israel* short, even from the beginning of his reign ; so that *Hazael* greatly prevailed against them, and took a great number of towns from the two tribes and half on the other side of *Jordan*, besides some other frontier places on this side, and ravaged all the places he came to, putting all the inhabitants to the sword in the most inhuman manner (V), as we have seen in the *Syrian* history †. *Jehu* died in the 28th year of his reign, and was buried in *Samaria*, and was succeeded by his son *Jehoahaz* ⁿ,

Athaliah's
impious
reign,

WHILST *Jehu* was abolishing the worship of *Baal* in *Israel*, the impious *Athaliah* was using her utmost efforts to root out, not only that of the living God, but even the remembrance of it, out of *Judah*. The death of her son *Ahaziah*, and of forty two princes of his house, followed by that of *Jezebel*, by the hands of a person newly raised to the throne of *Israel* by divine command, filled her with such an abhorrence both for the race and the God of *David*, that she resolved not to sheath her sword, till she had totally extirpated the one, and thereby invalidated all the promises of the other. But whilst she was wreaking her utmost fury against the sad

† See Vol. II. p. 86.

ⁿ 2 Kings x.

(V) It is not easy to guess at what period of *Jehu's* reign this cruel war happened ; *Usher* doth make no mention of it till the time of his son (21), but we have ventured to place it nearer the beginning of the former, both here and in the *Syrian* history (22), which is according to the chronology of our bibles ; for though God had promised, that the crown of *Israel* should continue in his family during four generations, as a reward for his zeal against *Baal*, yet he did not promise him a quiet reign, and his continuing in *Jeroboam's* idolatry made him unworthy of it, however it might have proved, if he had abolished that also out of his kingdom.

(21) *Ann. sub. A. M.* 3148.

(22) See Vol. II. p 86.

remains

remains of the house of *Judah*, providence conducted thither *and* *slaugh-*
Jehosheba, the daughter of the late king *Jehoram*, who was *ter of Da-*
 then married to the high-priest *Jehoiada* ° ; and that pious vid's *race*.
 princess found means to save young *Joash*, her brother *Aha-*
ziah's son, who was then but a year old, from *Athaliah*'s ^{Joash is}
 sword, and to convey him and his nurse out of the palace, ^{preserved.}
 unperceived by that bloody queen. This infant prince was
 carried into the temple, where he was brought up under *Je-*
hoiada's care, and kept there with the utmost privacy till he
 was seven years old. During those six years, *Athaliah* tyrann-
 nized over *Judah* without controul, filling *Jerusalem* with
 blood, and destroying the servants of the true God, that she
 might the more effectually establish the worship of *Baal* thro'
 the kingdom. By this time, her murders and impieties were
 grown to such a height, that *Jehoiada* saw himself forced to
 put a stop to them, by producing the only remains of *David*'s
 race, at once to convince the people, that God was still
 mindful of his promise to that holy monarch, by preserving
 him, as it were by a miracle, from the common ruin ; and
 to inspire his desponding subjects, with a brave desire of shak-
 ing off the bloody yoke of the reigning tyrannies. To this
 end, he privately called some of the chiefs and elders of *Ju-*
dah, upon whose valour and fidelity he could depend, and
 having bound them under the strictest oaths of secrecy, he
 shewed them the young monarch ; told them by what means
 he had been saved ; and exhorted them to stand now, if ever,
 in the defence of their young king, of their religion and
 liberty. The desponding chiefs, who thought that the cruel
Athaliah had wholly extirpated *David*'s race, and had lost all
 farther hopes in the promises made to his posterity, received
 the news of their preserved king with a surprising joy ; and,
 to give him an immediate proof of their future zeal and
 attachment, they paid their homage, and took an oath of fi-
 delity to him, promising the high-priest at the same time, that
 they would go out of hand, and raise what forces they could,
 whilst he strengthened himself in the temple, by retaining
 and arming all the priests, *Levites*, and *Nethinims*, who
 should otherwise have gone out in their courses, to make way
 for those who came thither to vacate at the divine service.
 All this was done with such secrecy and dispatch, that the
 temple was filled with armed men, unto whom *Jehoiada* ap-
 pointed their several posts ; by which time, the generals with-
 out had raised a sufficient number of men, ready to second
 them upon the first signal. When the day appointed was

° Comp. 2 Kings xi. 2. 2 Chron. xxii. 11.

come, the young monarch was brought out, and conducted into the priests porch, attended with a numerous train of armed *Levites*; and there the high-priest anointed, and *and crown-* crowned him, and administered the usual oath to him upon the *ed.* sacred volumes. He was immediately after seated upon a throne, where he received the homage and loud acclamations of all the people, who made that sacred place ring with, *Long live king Joash.*

Year of the Flood, 2121. Year before Christ 878. *W* AMONG the numerous crouds, whom this noise brought to the temple, was the frightened queen, but whether alone, or attended with her guard, the text doth not say. She ventured directly into the priests porch, from which her sex and idolatry excluded her; and as soon as she saw the young king seated on his throne, attended with such numbers of

armed men, she rent her cloaths, and, in a desperate fury, rushed in amongst them, crying out treason; but *Jehoiada*, fearing lest his zealous *Levites* should pollute that sacred place with her blood, ordered her to be hurried out of it, and to be put to death. The king was soon after conducted from the temple to the royal palace, and the news of this happy change proclaimed throughout the kingdom. The high-priest, who by this time was in the highest esteem both with king and people, took hold of this happy juncture of the public joy, to root out once more the worship of *Baal*; he began with exhorting them to renew their covenant with God, to renounce *Baal* and all other false deities, and to adhere strictly to the Lord. This was also immediately performed with uncommon readiness and zeal; and as a mark of their sincerity, they began with the temple of *Baal*, where having sacrificed *Mathan*, the infamous priest of it, at the foot of its altar, they pulled the whole fabric to the ground; nor did they stop their hand, till they had likewise destroyed all the other temples, altars, and other monuments of that idolatrous worship, which *Athaliah* and her predecessors had reared up, both in *Jerusalem* and *Judah*. On the other hand, *Jehoiada*, who, by reason of the king's minority, was at the head of all affairs, both religious and civil, was making a new reformation at court and in the temple, by naming those, who had shewed the greatest bravery and zeal in the late revolution, to the highest posts in the government, instead of those of the late usurper; and by restoring that regularity in the divine service, which had been interrupted during the reigns of so many impious monarchs; but more particularly by an express prohibition to all strangers, and idolatrous apostates, to enter into the temple of God, and by setting

ting porters at the gates of it, to prevent all unclean persons, of what kind soever, entering into it ^P. This gives us reason to suppose, that it had been exposed to such secluded persons, during the last reigns.

THUS did the divine providence preserve the race of *Da-* Joash's pi-
vid from the brink of destruction, and *Joash*, who was pro- ^{ety and}
 claimed king in the 7th year of his age, and of *Jehu's* reign, ^{zeal.}
 continued to testify his grateful sense of it, by his uncommon
 zeal for the worship of God, during the good high-priest's
 life. One of his first cares, after he was come to age, was
 to repair the dilapidations which had been made in the tem-
 ple. To this end, he ordered the priests and *Levites* to take
 their yearly circuits through all the cities of *Judah*, and to
 raise voluntary contributions among the people, besides the
 pole and redemption money (W); to be employed in finish-
 ing those repairs. But the priests, who looked upon the lat-
 ter as an encroachment upon their revenues, executed his or-
 ders with such shameful slowness, that he was forced to send
 for them, and to reprove them for their negligence, and for
 their misapplying of the sacred money; and to discharge
 them at once, both from the repairing of the temple, and
 from receiving any further sums towards it. The whole care
 of the work was committed to the high-priest, and other
 proper officers; and, to prevent all further delays and mis-
 application, a capacious chest was ordered to be set up in some
 public place in the temple, where the money was deposited,
 till it amounted to a sum sufficient to set about the work;
 which it very shortly did, through the generosity of the chiefs,
 elders, and other wealthy men of *Judah*, who poured in
 their presents with uncommon readiness and munificence.
 This money was immediately distributed among faithful work-
 men, who carried on the work with so much uprightness

^P 2 Kings x. pass. 2 Chron. xxiii. pass.

(W) The poll-money is supposed to have been the half shekel, which every soul was obliged to pay, first to the tabernacle, and afterwards to the temple, which continued to be paid till the destruction of it. As for the redemption money, it was such as was to be paid to the priests, either to be acquitted from certain oaths or vows, or for exchanging one beast for another, and such like; of which we have spoken at large heretofore. This latter was certainly one part of the priests income, which the king had no power to alienate from them, unless it were by way of reprisal for the former, namely, pole money, which ought to have been employed in keeping the temple in repair, and which, it seems, they sunk into their own pockets, leaving that building to go to ruin

2

and

Joash and
his chiefs
forsake God

and diligence, that, without being called to any account for the sums they received from time to time, they finished it to the satisfaction both of the king and people, and refunded the overplus into the king's hands. This, together with what was left in the chest, was by *Jehoiada's* direction employed in making gold and silver vessels for the use of the temple, such as censers, trumpets, spoons, forks, and the like (X), instead of those which *Athaliah* had conveyed from thence into the temple of *Baal*⁹. But *Joash's* zeal did not long survive *Jehoiada's* life. That good old priest died in the 130th year of his age, and for his faithful counsel, as well as signal services to the king and nation, was buried in the royal sepulchre of *Jerusalem*, and with him seemed to expire the remembrance of all that he had done. Soon after his death, the base princes (Y) of *Judah*, tired with dissembling a zeal for God, which that pontif's authority had only forced from them, came and prostrated themselves before the king, desiring that they might have leave to return to the old way of worship, which they had been used to in former reigns; which the easy king, pleased perhaps with their uncommon submission, having too readily granted, they immediately forsook the temple and worship of God, and set up new altars to those filthy idols which they had formerly been used to worship in their groves, with the most abominable ceremonies. This ungrateful defection, after so signal a deliverance, was not however punished, till they had been often forewarned, by several prophets, of the mischiefs which it would bring

⁹ Vid. 2 Chron. xxiv. 7. 13, 14.

(X) There seems to be a contradiction between the book of *Kings*, and that of the *Chronicles*; the former tells us, that none of this money was employed in making vessels for the temple (23), and the latter affirms the contrary (24); but the matter is easily reconciled, by supposing, that the first means only, that none of that money was used to those purposes, till the repairs of the temple, for which it was raised, were fully finished.

(Y) The author of the book of *Chronicles* calls them by that name (25), not as being of the royal blood, for those had been all destroyed by *Athaliah*, so that there were none alive then but *Joash's* children; but here is meant only the chiefs of the families of that tribe, which, as well as those of the other tribes, are often dignified with that title (26).

(23) 2 Kings xii. 13. (24) 2 Chron xxiv. 7, 14. (25) *Ibid.* ver 17. (26) *Vid* *int. al. Num. vii. 2, & seq. xxv. 14. & alib pass.*

upon

upon them. But when they proved deaf to all those divine admonitions, God stirred up the *Syrian* king against them, who began to pour some small number of troops into the land, and to commit severe outrages in *Judah*; whilst the cowardly *Jews*, though much superior in number, were delivered into their hands, as a punishment for their idolatry^r. Among those prophets who dared to reprove the king and his nobles, and to assure them, that these would prove only the preludes of worse mischiefs, was the high-priest *Zechariah*, the worthy son and successor of the late *Jehoiada*; but his zeal cost him his life. The impious king caused him to be stoned to death in the very court of the temple, without regard either to the sacredness of the place, or of his character, as a prophet and high-priest, or to the great services of his father, to whom he owed both his life and kingdom. However, *Zechariah*, being full of the spirit of God, foretold to them, as he was dying, that God would speedily punish the murder upon the king and them, both which happened soon after accordingly: for *Hazael*, flushed with the success he had had against *Judah*, and with the vast quantity of spoil which he had sent from thence to *Damascus*, came up against *Jerusalem*, and made a terrible slaughter among those *Jewish* princes, who had been the first authors of that defection. The king himself found no other way to escape, either sharing of their fate, or a shameful slavery, but by stripping the temple and his own palace of all their treasure, and giving it as a ransom to the *Syrian* conqueror, who thereupon left *Jerusalem*, and returned to *Damascus*^c. *Joash*, however, did not escape the divine vengeance, and though he then laboured under some grievous disease, his own servants conspired against him, and murdered him in his bed, in the 40th year of his reign, and crowned his son *Amasiah* in his stead. *Joash* was by this time in such abhorrence for the murder of the high-priest, that it proved not only the occasion of his own, but also of his being deprived of the royal sepulchre; for though he was buried in the city of *David*, yet the text says, that they did not deposit his body in the sepulchre of his ancestors, but in some place apart^e.

Zechariah is slain.

The king of Syria invades Judah.

Joash is murdered.

Amasiah succeeded him, in the twenty fifth year of his age, by which time *Jehoahaz*, the son of *Jehu*, having reigned 17 years in *Israel*, had left the kingdom to his son *Joash*. During this time, nothing considerable had happened in that kingdom, except that their idolatries had also exposed

Joash succeeded by Amasiah. Year of the Flood, 2160.

^r Ibid. ver. 24. ^c Comp. 2 Kings xii. pass & 2 Chron. xxiv. pass. See also Vol. II. p. 287. ^e 2 Chron. xxiv. 25,

them to the cruel oppressions of the king of Syria, till *Jeboahaz's* repentance and prayer obtained a kind of miraculous deliverance^u; for the fuller account of which, we shall refer the reader to a former chapter †. What happened during his son's reign, we shall see in its proper place; in the mean time, the young king of *Judah* had no sooner settled himself upon his throne, than he caused the murderers of his father to be put to death. However, it is here observed, that he spared their children, according to the law of *Moses*, which forbids them to be punished for their father's crimes^w; from which one may reasonably suppose, that all his predecessors were not equally strict observers of it. The truth is, that *Amasiah* had seen such severe judgments inflicted upon *Joash* his father and his apostate chiefs, as made him a long time afraid to imitate them; though he forgot them but too soon, and, like *Joash*, having began his reign piously and successfully, he made as impious and tragical an end of it. His signal success against the *Edomites*, of which an account has been formerly given*, promised to him by God himself, did but too much swell the heart of that young monarch; he had an army of 300,000 fighting men, and had hired 100,000 more of the king of *Israel*, when he was going upon that expedition. But a prophet came to him, and commanded him, in the name of God, to dismiss those auxiliaries, assuring him, that such idolatrous troops would only be an invincible obstacle to his success, if he persisted in making use of them. The king, upon the point of obeying, was only solicitous how to get back the 100 talents of silver which he had already paid for them; but the prophet having told him, that God was able to repay them to him with advantage, he dismissed the *Israelitish* troops, not without great resentment and heart-burning on their side, of which they failed not to give an ample proof, by burning and ravaging all the countries they went through, in their return home. This broke at once all friendship between those two monarchs, and proved the source of a bloody war. Happy had it been for *Amasiah* if this had been all, but that infatuated prince, after his victory over *Edom*, became so stupidly fond of the idols which he had taken from them, that, as if all his success had been owing to them, he caused them to be set up in *Judah* at his return, and went so far as to burn incense himself before them. He was se-

*Amasiah's
success,*

*and idola-
try.*

^u 2 Kings xiii. 3, 4, 5, 6.
not. B. ^w Deut. xxiv. 16.

† See Vol. II. p. 288. under
* See Vol. II. p. 145, &c.

verely rebuked for this by a prophet, who asked him, among other things, what assistance he could hope for from those false deities, which could neither deliver their votaries, nor themselves, from his hands? But the king, who was then too elated to bear either his advice or reproof, asked him, who made him his counsellor, and, in a threatening tone, commanded him to hold his peace, and not provoke him to punish his insolence. After such monstrous instances of his folly and ingratitude, we need not wonder, if he was abandoned by God to rush into his own ruin.

Amasiah had indeed cause to resent the ravages which the disbanded *Israelites* had committed in his kingdom, during his expedition against *Edom*, and had he been less proud of his success, he might have taken more proper measures for doing himself justice for them; but he seems to have been above all these considerations, and the insolent challenge which he sent to *Joash*, the then king of *Israel*, and grand-son of *Jehu*, *Come and let us see one another in the face*, by the king doth plainly show, that he wanted only to try his valour or fortune with him. On the other hand, *Joash* had no less reason to trust to his own; *Joash*, soon after his accession to the crown, had been paying a mournful visit to the prophet *Elisha*, who was then lying on his death-bed, to represent to that holy person, the melancholy state in which he was going to leave the kingdom, which had already suffered the greatest calamities from the kings of *Syria*, during the two last reigns; and the prophet, touched with a sense of it, had prophesied to him, that he should gain three succeeding victories over that domineering nation*. *Joash* therefore, who had by this time given such signal proofs of his courage and conduct, by those three victories, which he had gained over the *Syrians*, and by recovering all the places which they had taken from his predecessors (Z), could not

* 2 Kings xiii. 14, & seq. See also Vol. II. p. 288.

(Z) It is not easy to determine the time when *Joash* won these three victories; but however, it is more than probable, that it was long before he received this proud challenge from *Amasiah*, when he was then in the 16th year of his reign (27). The text would even incline one to believe, that he began to beat the *Syrians* soon after the beginning of it (28). Archbishop *Usher* places it in the sixth and subsequent years of his reign, when having, as

(27) *Vid* Usher. *Ann. sub. A. M.* 3178. (28) *Vid.* 2 Kings xiii. 22, & seq.

not forbear expressing the utmost indignation at the receipt of this arrogant chartel. The answer he returned was couched in

he supposes, taken his son, the brave *Jeroboam* II. into consortship with him, he left the kingdom under his care, whilst he went out against the armies of *Syria* (29).

The manner, in which the good old prophet did foreshow these signal victories, is too remarkable to be past by. The king having exprest his sense for the loss of so great a protector, in the most pathetic terms, *Elisba* bid him take his bow and arrow in his hand, and put himself in a posture of shooting out of his window eastward towards *Syria*; which being done, he put his hand upon that of the king's and bid him shoot, and as the arrow went, he cried out, *The arrow of the Lord's deliverance, and the arrow of deliverance from Syria*; and then told the king, that he would beat the *Syrians* in *Apheck*, till he had quite consumed them. But when he bid him afterwards to smite upon the ground with another arrow, and the king had done so three times, the prophet was displeased at it, and told him, that if he had happened to have struck the ground five or six times, it would have been a certain sign of his totally defeating of his *Syrian* enemy; but since he had stayed his hand at the third stroke, he should gain but three battles against him (30). The thing happened accordingly, and *Syria*, after having been kept under, during *Joash* and *Jeroboam's* reign, began to recover itself again, after the death of the latter, as we have seen elsewhere †.

As for *Elisba*, he died soon after; and, before the year was out, some *Israelites*, going to bury a corps in the neighbourhood of *Samaria*, perceived a band of *Moabites* coming towards them, for fear of whom, they cast the dead body into *Elisba's* tomb and fled; but as soon as it had touched the bones of the dead prophet, the man revived and ran after them. What use a neighbouring church has made of this miracle, in favour of the relicks of their saints, is foreign to our subject: we have *Elisba's* panegyric in few words in the book of *Ecclesiasticus*, "*Elisheus*, says that
 "author, was filled with the spirit of *Elijah*; whilst he lived,
 "he was not over-awed by any prince, neither could any bring
 "him into subjection, no word could overcome him; and after
 "his death he prophesied, &c (31)". The *Jews* add, that the man thus miraculously raised was called *Sallum*, and that he begat sons and daughters afterwards. Some are of opinion, that he had been a wicked man, and, as such, unfit to lie near the sacred remains of that prophet; others think otherwise (32), neither is it worth enquiring which of the two is most in the right.

(29) *Ubi sup.* sub *A. M.* 3168. (30) 2 Kings xiii. 14. & seq.
 † See Vol. II. p. 288. (31) Eccles. xlviii. 12. & seq. (32) *Vid.*
Munst in 2 Reg. 13. sub not f.

in the most scornful and mortifying terms, under the allegory of a despicable thistle, which, having aspired to an alliance with the noble cedar, had, for his ambition, been crushed under the feet of a wild beast: he concluded with advising him to rest contented with his late petty victories, and not suffer his ambition to drive him into a desperate attempt, which would end, in all likelihood, in the total loss of his kingdom. But *Amasiah*, who was not to be humbled by words, was only the more exasperated at this answer, and hastened to go out against his rival: the two armies met in the neighbourhood of *Bethshemesb*, where *Judah* was totally routed. *Josephus* adds, that they were seized with such a panic, at the very first onset, that they turned their backs without striking one stroke, and left their king at the mercy of the conqueror¹. *Amasiah* was actually taken prisoner, *Amasiah* and *Joash* marched on with him and his own army to *Je-* *taken pri-*
rusalem, where he obliged him to buy his freedom, at the *soner.*
expence of all the gold and silver which were found either in the temple or in his own treasury; after which, having demolished about 400 cubits length of the city wall, and taken some hostages with him, he returned to *Samaria*. He did not outlive this victory above one year, after which he was succeeded by his son *Jeroboam*, the second of that name, after he had reigned 16 years. As for *Amasiah*, though he outlived his disgrace above 15 years, yet we read no more of him till the latter end of his reign; when, having discovered a conspiracy that was formed against him at *Jerusalem*, he was forced to flee to *Lachish*, where, notwithstanding his precaution, he was pursued and murdered by the conspirators. He was carried back upon horses to *Jerusalem*, and buried with his ancestors; and his son *Azariah* proclaimed in his stead².

IN the mean time, whilst *Amasiah* spent the remnant of his reign in a kind of inactive security in *Jerusalem*; *Jerobo-* *Jerobo-*
am II king
of Israel.

¹ Ant. l. ix. c. 10. ² 2 Kings xiv. pass. ad ver. 21. 2 Chron. xxv.

Some authors however, not content with the miracles that he wrought during his life, and after his death, have accompanied his birth with a remarkable one; namely, that one of the golden calves bellowed out these words, with such a loud voice, that it was heard from *Gilgal* to *Jerusalem*; *This is he that is to destroy the carved idols, and break the molten images in pieces* (33)

(33) *Vid.* Doroth. Epiphan. & Isidor. *de mare prophet.* & *Chron. paschal ap. Calm. sub voc. Elisee.*

am II

am II. the brave great-grandson of *Jehu*, seemed ordained by providence to restore the kingdom of *Israel* to its pristine splendor and greatness. His reign, which lasted 41 years, besides those 10 which he had spent in copartnership with his father, gave him time more than sufficient to perform that noble work, to which he was encouraged by the prophets *Jonah*, the son of *Amittai* (A), and *Hosea*, the son of *Beeri*, who were cotemporaries with him, and foretold, that he should compleat the deliverance of *Israel*, which his father had began, notwithstanding his cleaving to the idolatries of his predecessors. Accordingly, he took the *Syrian* capital, *Damascus*, and *Hamath*, with all their territories; both which had formerly belonged to *Judah*^a, and all the country on the other side of *Jordan*, from *Hamath* to the sea of the plain, or the dead sea^b. The particulars of all these glorious actions are unknown to us, having been written in the annals of the kings of *Israel*, long since lost. He died in the 41st year of his reign, and was buried with his ancestors in *Samaria*, and succeeded by his son *Zachariah*^c. *Jeroboam*'s reign was indeed a glorious one, with respect to his conquests, but it stands branded for various idolatries, and for the injustice, luxury, rapine, and other immoralities which reigned at that time; insomuch, that the prophets *Hosea* and *Amos*, who lived in his days, give us a very dreadful account of the disorders and debauchery, which were committed both in *Samaria* and in *Israel* (B), and were sent to foretel the sad and

^a See 2 Sam. viii. 6. 2 Chron. viii. 3. & Numb. xiii. 21.

^b 2 Kings xiv. 25, & seq. ^c Ibid. ver. ult.

(A) This is the same *Jonah*, or *Jonas*, as he is called in the gospel (34), who was afterwards sent to preach repentance to the *Ninevites* (35). *Usher* justly observes, that he was a native of *Gathbepher* (36), a town in the tribe of *Zebulun* (37) in *Galilee*, of the *Gentiles* (38), against that false affirmation of the *Jews*; That out of *Galilee* there never arose a prophet (39). It is uncertain, whether those glorious successes, which he foretold to the king of *Israel*, were committed to writing, and since lost, or, which is more probable, were only delivered by word of mouth. We have nothing left of him but the book that bears his name, which relates to his being sent to preach repentance at *Nineveh*, the metropolis of *Assyria*, and is therefore foreign to our present subject.

(B) The former of these prophets seems to accuse the *Israelites* (40) of the same enormities, as had been formerly committed in

(34) *Matt.* xii. 41. (35) *Jona.* iii. *pass.* (36) 2 *Kings* xiv. 25. (37) *Josh.* xix. 13. (38) *Isai.* ix. 1. (39) *John* vii. 52. *Vid* *Usher. Ann. sub d. M.* 3197. (40) *Hos.* x. 9. *Gibeab,*

and total ruin, which their sins would shortly bring upon the whole kingdom. *Amos*, in particular, was sent from *Judah*, where he was a common shepherd, to denounce the most severe judgments against *Israel*, even to the total dispersion of it ;

Gibeab, where the *Levite's* concubine had been abused to death (41). He speaks of their having multiplied their idols to a shameful degree all over the kingdom, for which, and for all their other abominable practises, he denounces a total ruin and desolation to the king and people ; which he also lived to see accomplished in the sixth year of *Hezekiab*, when *Israel* was carried away captive (42).

Hosea's prophecy begins with the command, which he received from God, to go and marry a common prostitute, and to adopt her spurious brood (43) ; a command, which has given so much offence to the pious, and has administered such occasion of ridicule to the libertines, that we hope it will not be thought improper to set the matter in a true light, for the benefit of those, who have not leisure, or opportunity, to consult the best commentators upon it. And here we may safely reject the solution of those subtle doctors, who pretend, that God may dispense with the laws of purity ; or of those, who look upon this marriage to have been transacted only in a vision, or that it is only a parable ; such evasions do often leave a greater difficulty, than they endeavour to remove.

Nothing is more obvious, than that the scriptures, we may add all languages, give to men and things the qualities they formerly had ; thus the blind and deaf are said to see and hear, the dead to live, sinners to be reformed, and publicans and harlots [not those certainly who continued such, but those who were converted] to enter into the kingdom of God, before the priests, elders, and outwardly sanctified *Pharisees* (44). Will it not therefore be more natural to think, with better commentators (45), that the woman, whom the prophet is commanded to marry, had been a common prostitute before she became his wife ? The priests indeed were forbid to marry such women, but none else ; and provided they were reclaimed by it from their wicked lives, there was nothing in such marriages unworthy of a prophet. On the contrary, it was the properest emblem of God's merciful dealings with the *Israelites*, whom he espoused and adopted, notwithstanding all their former wickedness, and from whom he might justly challenge the suitable returns of obedience, faithfulness, and gratitude ; but which if they failed of, they could expect nothing but divorcement and rejection ; such as a woman in *Gomer's* case would deserve, if she should relapse into her former vices, after she had been so kindly reclaimed from them (46).

(41) *Judg.* xix. 14, & seq. (42) *Conf. Hos.* i. 1. & 2 *Reg.*

xviii. 10. (43) *Hos.* *ibid.* *pass.* (44) *Mat.* xxi. 31, & *alib.*

(45) *Vid.* *de Lyra.* *Riber.* *Piscat.* & *al.* *in loc.* (46) *Vid.* *Pfeifer.* *Dubia. S. Script.* *Le Scene, Essay on a new ver.* p. 1. *cb.* 10.

it ; which he did under the types of grasshoppers, which destroyed all the fruit of the land ; of a devouring fire ; and lastly, of a plummet-line and a tottering wall, ready to bury the idols of *Israel* under its ruins ^d. For these prophecies he was accused to the king, by *Amaziah*, one of the idolatrous priests of *Bethel*, and by him commanded to return into *Judah* and prophesy there ; which he was forced to do, though not before he had denounced this heavy judgment against the messenger *Amaziah*, that his wife should become an open prostitute in the city, that his sons and daughters should fall by the sword, and himself die in a polluted land^e, namely, that of *Affyria* ; whither the ten tribes were soon after carried away captive, and he, in all probability, along with them (C).

Zachariah

^d Amos vii. pass.

^e Ibid. ver. ult.

We may add, that *Hosea*, or, as the original calls him, *חשׁוּעַ* *Hosheagh*, which word implies a Saviour, was a kind of type of Christ, who, we know, came to espouse to himself a church, consisting, not of righteous, or of those that thought themselves such, but of repenting sinners, of all kinds and nations, and to reclaim them from their sins by his precepts and example, as well as by his grace and holy spirit. This typical marriage might therefore have a view to him, as well as to the literal salvation of *Judah*, and ruin of *Israel*, with which his prophecies are filled. This may further appear to be the case, if we consider the names, character, and other circumstances. relating to the children which the prophet had by this woman ; particularly their changing of their names from *Lo-Ammi*, *thou art not my people*, into *Ammi*, *thou art my people* ; and from *Lo-Rubamah*, *she shall have no mercy*, to *Rubamah*, *she shall obtain mercy* ; as also, their becoming as numerous as the sands of the sea ; all which seem chiefly to relate to the conversion of mankind to the christian religion. But these are out of our province

Hosea is the first, whose prophecies we have had transmitted in writing ; he continued in the exercise of his prophetic office near the space of 70 years, during the reign of *Uzziah*, or *Azariah*, *Jotham*, *Abaz*, and *Hezekiah*. His prophecies are divided into fourteen chapters ; in the four first he exposes the various iniquities of the ten tribes ; from thence to the 12th chapter, he denounces the punishments impending on them, particularly their destruction by *Sennacherib*. The remainder is full of comfortable promises to the godly and penitent : what became of him at last, the text doth not tell us, and it is dangerous to trust to any thing else.

(C) As for *Amos*, as he was neither priest nor prophet, but only called, upon this extraordinary case, to the latter, it is probable, that, after his return into the land of *Judah*, he retired into the city of *Tekoa*, where he continued to prophecy against *Israel*, for silence-
ing

Zachariah succeeded his father *Jeroboam*: he was the *Zachariah*. great-grandson of *Jehu*; and so far was God's promise to this Year of last fulfilled, that the kingdom should continue in his family the Flood, to the fourth generation; but his threatnings against that king- 2227. dom did not lag behind, and we may date the downfall of Year be- *Israel* from the reign of *Zachariah*. From that time, we fore Christ 772. read of nothing but treasons and rebellions, of murders, anarchy (D), and universal desolation: *Zachariah* had scarce reigned six months, before he was publicly massacred by *Shallum*, one of his own domesticks, according to *Josephus* †, who seized upon the kingdom, and, after a reign of thirty days, was himself murdered by *Menahem*, *Zachariah*'s general, in the metropolis of *Samaria*. As soon as this last was seated upon the throne, he returned to *Tirzah*, a city in the tribe of *Ephraim*, formerly the residence of *Jeroboam* I. ‡, which place refusing to open the gates to him, he put all the inhabitants to the sword, and committed the most horrid cruelties on their pregnant women, that ever were done by the vilest barbarians. It was not long, however, before he saw himself invaded by *Pul* king of *Assyria* (E); and, as he was not in a condition to make head against him,

† Ant. l. ix. c. 11.

‡ See 1 Kings xiv. 17.

ing and expelling him out of their kingdom (47). He foretold: in particular, the calamities which they would fall into after *Jeroboam* II's death; the murder of his son and successor; the coming of *Pul* and *Tiglath-pileser*, kings of *Assyria*, against *Israel*, and the captivity of the ten tribes. Some other of his prophecies are levelled against *Syria*, *Tyre*, the *Philistines*, *Edomites*, *Ammonites*; and *Moabites*; and some against the kingdom of *Judah*. His style is plain and low, and his expressions such as one might expect from a rustick or a shepherd. Other particulars relating to his life and death, which we meet with in antient fathers, we omit, because we neither think them material nor certain.

(D) Our archbishop *Usher* (48) observes here, that there must have been an inter-regnum of eleven years and half, before *Zachariah* ascended the throne; without which supposition, it will be impossible to make his death and *Shallum*'s short-lived reign to coincide with the 39th year of *Azariah* king of *Judah*, in which it is said to have happened (49).

(E) The same prelate (50) thinks, that this *Pul* was the father of *Sardanapalus*, called from him *Sardan Pul*, as *Merodach* king of *Babylon* was called *Merodach-Baladan* from his father *Baladan*. *Pul*

(47) Amos ii. 13, & seq. iii. pass. & alib. (48) Ann. sub A. M. 3220. (49) 2 Kings xv. 8. 17. (50) Ub. sup.

him, he was forced to buy his friendship at the price of a thousand talents of silver, which he levied upon the wealthiest of his own subjects, whom he obliged to pay 50 shekels *per* head ; upon which *Pul* returned homewards, and *Menahem* reigned quietly the remaining eleven years of his life, and was succeeded by his son *Pekahiah*, in the 50th year of *Azariah* or *Uzziah*, king of *Judah* ^h.

Year of the Flood, 2238.
Year before Christ 761.
Azariah's piety ;
and success.

THE kingdom of *Judah* all this while enjoyed a perfect peace. *Azariah*, whom the people had set upon the throne, immediately after his father *Amaziah*'s murder, (that is, as the text expresses it) in the 27th year of *Jeroboam* II'd's reign ⁱ (F), was then but sixteen years of age, and was wholly directed by *Zechariah*, not the prophet of that name, who lived after their return from the captivity, but another, who is only known for the the great wisdom and piety of his counsels to the young monarch ; so that, during the life of that faithful counsellor, *Azariah* became equally conspicuous for his zeal against idolatry, for his pious imitation of his best predecessors, and for his great success against several of his neighbours, especially the *Philistines* ^k. He likewise for-

^h 2 Kings xv. 13, ad 22. ⁱ Ibid ver. 1. ^k 2 Chron. xxvi. 6, & seq. See Vol. II. p. 230.

is the first king of *Affyria* we find named in scripture from the time of *Nimrod*, and may be reasonably enough supposed to have reigned in *Nineveh*, at the time of *Jonah*'s preaching ; and to have been converted by him.

Those who follow the version of the seventy believe, that *Pul* was invited by *Menahem* to come to his assistance. One of the prophets upbraids indeed the king and people of *Samaria*, with sending to *Affyria* for help, for which he threatens them with being sent thither captives (51) ; but the original affirms, that he came against, or invaded, the land (52) ; and the book of *Chronicles* says expressly that God stirred up the spirit of *Pul* against him, as he did afterwards that of *Tiglath-pileser*, who carried away the two tribes and half beyond *Jordan* into captivity (53). *Josephus* reckons this invasion of *Pul* to have happened towards the latter end of *Menahem*'s reign (54) ; but *Usher*, whom we follow, places it in the beginning of it.

(F) That is, as the same *Usher*, and the margin of our bibles rightly observe, the 27th year from his being admitted co-partner with his father *Jehoash*, though but the 16th from his reigning sole monarch.

(51) Hof. v. 13. viii. 9 13. x. 6. 13. (52) 2 Kings xv. 19. & *alib. pass.* (53) *Conf.* 2 Kings xv. 29. & 1 Chron. v. ult.
(54) *Ant.* l. ix. c. 11.

tified his own metropolis, repaired the wall of it, which had been demolished by the king of *Israel*, and built several fortresses and magazines in several parts of his kingdom, and in those countries which he had taken from the *Philistines*, *Arabians*, and *Mebunims* (G). His army consisted of 307,500 brave men under the command of two expert generals, *Maasiah* and *Hananiah*, and of *Jehiel*, his scribe, or secretary of war, who appointed each band their respective turns, according to the muster-rolls. Besides these, he had also 2600 officers, all famous for their valour and experience; and a prodigious quantity of arms of all sorts to supply his army with, and which he kept in several strong store-cities all over his kingdom. To these he added the invention of new machines for throwing darts, large stones, and other destructive materials, from his towers and bulwarks; which are said to have been contrived by some of his expert engineers. Whilst he was thus employed in his military affairs, he did not forget the business of agriculture; on the contrary, the text says that he was a lover of it, that he had great herds of cattle, a great number of fields and vineyards, of husbandmen and vine-dressers; and that he built towers and cots, and digged wells every where for the convenience of his servants and cattle. So that whether we look upon him in peace or war, he seems to have arrived at the height of glory and wealth.

BUT all this he unhappily lost by one rash act, his attempting to infringe upon the priestly office, and to burn incense upon the sacred altar. He was, however, strongly opposed by the then high-priest *Azariah*, at the head of fourscore other zealous priests, who represented to him, in vain, that it was a province which belonged only to the sons of *Aaron*; the infatuated king would not desist from it, till he

(G) These *Mebunims* the *Chaldee* paraphrast renders במישר *במער*, *The inhabitants in the wilderness of Mahon*, which was in that part of *Arabia-petræa*, toward *Gerar* and *Pharan*; for which reason they seem joined with the *Arabians* of *Gur-baal*, who dwelt in another canton of the same province; and as both were in the same neighbourhood of *Egypt*, therefore the text adds, that *Uzziah's* fame was spread abroad, even unto the entering in of *Egypt* (55).

We ought to observe here, that these wars of the king of *Judah* are not recorded in the book of *Kings*, where his history seems strangely curtailed, but only in that of the *Chronicles* (56).

(55) *Vid.* Bochart. *Phaleg*. l. ii. c. 23. Le Clerc. *Com. in loc.* & al. (56) *Comp.* 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 1, & seq. & 2 *Kings* xiv. 21, & seq.

felt himself smitten with leprosy, in such a sudden and extraordinary manner, as made him sensible, that it was sent from God, as a punishment for his presumption. The priests, as soon as they perceived the first tokens of that polluting disease appear in his forehead, were going to force him out of the temple ; but *Azariah* was by that time struck with such terror and remorse (H), that he saved them that trouble, and made what haste he could, not only out of that sacred place, but even out of the city ; and went to live in a separate house, where he continued, infected with that distemper, secluded from common society, and deprived of the regal power, unto the day of his death ; and was buried in a se-

(H) The reason of *Uzziah's* being thus miraculously smitten with leprosy is only found in the book of *Chronicles*. *Josephus* (57) adds a very remarkable circumstance, which accompanied this punishment, if we may take his word for it ; namely, that, while the king persisted to threaten the priests who opposed his impious design, God sent a miraculous earthquake, which had this double effect, that it opened the roof of the temple, through the crack of which that ray of light got entrance which lighted upon his face, and covered it with leprosy ; and, 2. that it rent a mountain in two which stood at a small distance from *Jerusalem*, one half of which having rolled about four furlongs, stopt against another mountain, choaked the high-way, and covered the king's garden all over with rubbish.

Some of the prophets (58) do, indeed, speak of an earth-quake, which happened in *Uzziah's* days ; but, besides, that neither they, nor the sacred historian, mention any thing of its wonderful effects against that monarch, it is plain, *Josephus* must be out in his chronology, because he makes it to have happened towards the latter end of that monarch's life ; (for he says expressly, that he died of grief, soon after his misfortune,) whereas the former of the prophets above mentioned says, that the earthquake happened in the days of *Uzziah* and of *Jeroboam II.* Now it is plain, as the learned *Usser* observes, that this was long before *Uzziah* was smitten with leprosy, because his son *Jotham*, who took the government upon him immediately upon his seclusion, was not born till some time after *Jeroboam's* death (59). This remark will also hold equally good against the rest of the *Jews*, who, to make the earthquake and the king's punishment meet, affirm, that they happened in the 25th year of his reign, that is before *Jotham* was born. Both therefore *Josephus* and they, having joined two events together, to make the king's punishment appear more wonderful, which, it is plain from what has been said above, happened, the one about the middle, and the other towards the latter end of that prince's reign, that is, at about 25 years distance from each other.

(57) *Ant. l. iv. c. 12.* (58) *Amos i. 1. Zachar. xiv. 5*
(59) *Vid. Usser. An. jub. A. M. 3221.*

pulchre,

pulchre, apart, adjoining to that of his ancestors ^l. He died in the 52d year of his reign, and the 68th year of his age ^m, and was succeeded by his son *Jotham*, who had taken the government upon him immediately after his father's seclusion. The author of the *Chronicles* adds, that *Uzziah's* history was written by *Isaiah* the son of *Amos* ⁿ; but we find nothing now of him in the writings of that prophet, but his name ^o.

Two years before *Azariah's* death, *Pekahiah* succeeded his father *Menahem* in *Israel*; and, after two years reign, was killed in his own palace by *Pekah* the son of *Remaliah*, one of his generals, who ascended the throne about a year before *Jotham* succeeded his father in *Judah*. The character of these two princes was very opposite: *Pekah* was a wicked prince, and followed the steps of his predecessors, so that his reign proved troublesome and unsuccessful, and ended in a violent death: *Jotham* was 25 years old when his father died, he was a wise and pious prince, and appears to have inherited all his father's virtues without any of his vices, and was blessed with extraordinary success. *Pekah*, having made a league with *Rezin* king of *Syria*, made an attempt against *Judah*; but he was soon forced to go back and defend his own territories against *Tiglath-pileser* king of *Assyria*, who had invaded the land of *Naphtali*, took the most considerable towns of it, and carried that whole tribe captive into his own kingdom; whilst *Jotham* gained several considerable advantages against his neighbours, especially against the *Ammonites*, whom he brought under a yearly tribute of 100 talents of silver, 10,000 measures of wheat, and the same quantity of barley ^p; as we have seen elsewhere [†]. At length, having repaired and beautified the temple, fortified the city, and done many other publick acts, *Jotham* died in peace, after he had reigned sixteen years, and was succeeded by his son *Abaz*. As for *Pekah*, after he had had the mortification to see one whole tribe torn from him by a foreign power, and his kingdom, during the last ten years of his reign, reduced into anarchy and rebellion; he was murdered and succeeded by *Hoshea* the son of *Elah*, in the 20th year of his reign ^q, and about three years after *Jotham's* death.

HOWEVER, he was more successful; during those three last years, against *Jotham's* unworthy son, whose impieties

^l 2 Chron: xxvi. ^m 2 Kings xv. 2. ⁿ 2 Chron. ib. ver. 22, 23. ^o See Isai. i. 1. vii. 1. ^p 2 Chron. xxvii. 5. [†] See Vol. II. p. 108. ^q 2 Kings xv. pass. 2 Chron. xxvii. See also UssER. An. sub A. M. 3245. and the margin of our Bible on 2 Kings xv. 30.

Ahaz's
idolatrous
and un-
successful
reign.

made his reign as unfortunate and inglorious, as that of his father had been glorious and successful. He was scarce seated on the throne, before his kingdom was invaded by the joint forces of the kings of *Israel* and *Syria*. *Ahaz* was then under the utmost consternation, at the news of two such powerful enemies coming up against him, and seems to have expected nothing less than the total dissolution of the *Jewish* monarchy; when *Isaiah* the son of *Amos* (I), who had begun to prophecy even from the latter end of *Uzziah*'s reign^r, came to him from the Lord, to assure him, that those two princes should try their strength in vain against *Jerusalem*, which they were then about besieging^r. At the same time to assure him, that the final end of the *Jewish* monarchy, which he feared, was far enough off, he bid him ask a sign of God, though never so hard, and it should be granted to him. Here the king, whether out of respect, or despondency, and unbelief, refusing to ask for the promised sign, the prophet assured him, from the Lord, that before that time came, *a virgin should conceive and bear a son, and call his name Himmanu-el, or God with us, and so on* (K). No

^r See *Isai.* i. 1. ^r *Ibid.* vii. 1, 2, & seq. 2 *Kings* xvi. 5. See Vol. II. p. 289.

(I) *Isaiah*, called from the womb to be a prophet (60), and endowed with singular courage and eloquence for that important office (61), is affirmed by the *Jews*, and believed by many *Christians*, to have been the grandson of *Joash* king of *Judah* (62). His first vision was about the latter end of *Uzziah*'s reign (63); but his prophecies relate to his successors, namely, the first six chapters to *Jotham*, the six next to his son *Ahaz*, and the rest to *Hezekiah*; excepting, that several of them are interspersed, which relate to the Messiah, and to the fate of several foreign kingdoms. He is justly esteemed the prince of the prophets, for the inimitable loftiness and majesty of his style, as well as for the clearness of his prophecies.

He was highly respected by the good kings, especially by *Hezekiah*, who sent to consult him on all emergencies; and as ill treated by the bad ones, especially by *Manasseh*, by whom he is supposed to have been put to a cruel death, as we have hinted elsewhere †.

(K) This we take to be a much more natural sense of that prophecy, than to suppose, as some have done (64) that such a miraculous child was really born in *Ahaz*'s time, to assure him of the promised deliverance; for as there is not the least mention of such

(60) *Vid.* *Isai.* xlix. 1, & seq. (61) *Ibid.* i. 4. (62) *Ita Rabbim. omn. Vid.* & *Hieron. in Isai. pass.* (63) *Ibid.* vi. 1, & seq. † Vol. III. p. 313. not. D. (64) *Whitb. in loc. Literal prophec. & al.*

No sooner had the first part of the prophesy been verified, and the city been delivered from the impending ruin; than the impious *Ahaz* gave himself up to the vilest impieties and idolatries, in which he far outwent the very worst of his predecessors; burning incense to every deity, in groves, high places, and in the valley of *Hinnom*, and burning his very children in the fire, after the manner of other nations^t, till God was pleased at last to give him up to his two grand enemies. *Rezin*, to make himself amends for his ill success against *Jerusalem*, went and recovered *Eloth*, a considerable sea-port town upon the *Red-sea*, which *Uzziah* had

^t 2 Chron. xxviii. 3, & seq.

an extraordinary birth, so neither do we see that there was any necessity for it, in order to convince the desponding king, who could not be ignorant of that prophecy of *Jacob*, *that the sceptre should not depart from Judah—till Shiloh was come* (65); much less that he was to spring of the lineage of *David*. But what staggered *Ahaz's* faith, and made him fear that the regal power was going to depart from his family, was, that his two enemies had combined to set up a stranger upon his throne (66). All therefore that was wanting to dispel his present fears about it, was for the prophet to assure him from God, that this *Shiloh* promised to *Judah* and *David*, who was to fore-run the total excision of the *Jewish* polity, was to be born in a miraculous manner, and with a divine character, and other remarkable circumstances, such as, he might be easily satisfied, had not as yet happened in his kingdom.

As for that part of the prophesy which is commonly urged on the other side, namely, *Before this wonderful child shall know good from evil, the land which thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings* (67); we think, that if it be rightly understood, it will rather confirm our sense of the prophesy, and that the words ought to be thus rendered: *For*, (or rather, as the particle *כי* *Ki*, seems to import here,) *Nay before this child can know good from evil, this land which thou* (*קוצ* *Kotz*, not *abhorrest*, as our version renders it, but) *art so solicitous about, or givest up for lost*, shall be bereaved of both her kings; by which, we think, ought to be understood, not the kings of *Syria* and *Israel*, for the former could not be called her (*Canaan's*) king, and the latter had but a share in it at best, but the kings of *Israel* and *Judah*; as it really was before the coming of the *Messiah*.

However, though we have delivered this our own private opinion, we shall venture no further upon the argument, much less upon some other parts of this prophesy, lest we should be thought to expatiate too far out of our province.

(65) *Gen. xlix. 10. See Vol. II. p. 441, not. (G).* (66) *Isai. vii. 6.* (67) *Ibid. ver. 16.*

taken from him ; he repaired and fortified it, drove the *Jews* out of it, and peopled it with his *Syrian* subjects ; and from that time the *Jews* never could retake it from his successors *. What havock he made in his territories, we have already partly seen in the *Syrian* history †.

A great slaughter of his subjects.

THE king of *Israel* was still the more inveterate and successful of the two, and it is not easy to say, how far he might have carried on his conquests against him, had not a prophet been sent from God to put a timely stop to them. He had already killed in one single battle, 120,000 of his bravest subjects, besides *Maazaiab*, *Abaz's* son, and some of the noblest that were next his royal person ; and had likewise taken 200,000 captive women and children, whom they were carrying away to *Samaria* ; when *Oded*, that was the prophet's name, stopped them short, and asked them, whether they did not think it enough to have made such a horrid and universal slaughter of their brethren, unless they carried away a much greater number into slavery ? He added, that though the idolatries of *Judah* had drawn those heavy judgments upon that unfortunate tribe, yet if they persisted to carry those innocent prisoners into captivity, their cruelty would bring down much severer ones upon themselves. He concluded, with exhorting them to be contented with the rich plunder they had got, and to send their captives back to *Jerusalem* ; which they at length complied with. This speech did even work so far upon them, that they did not dismiss them without some signal tokens of pity and humanity ¢.

Edom and the Philistines invade him.

WHILST *Abaz's* affairs were in this dismal plight, the *Edomites* and *Philistines* did invade other parts of his land ; the former of whom carried away a great number of captives, and the latter recovered several considerable frontier towns from him *. In this extremity he had recourse to his old ally the king of *Assyria*, whom to gain to his assistance, he made no scruple to strip both temple and city of all the gold and silver. *Tiglath-pileser* received his presents, but, instead of coming to assist him against the confederate kings, he turned his whole strength against that of *Syria*, under a pretence of causing a diversion (L) ; and having killed *Rezin*, and seized upon

* 2 Kings xvi. 6. † See Vol. II. p. 290. ¢ 2 Chron. xxviii. from ver. 6 to 16. * Ibid. ver. 17, 18. See also Vol. II. p. 230.

(L) This is, at least, the best way to reconcile the book of *Kings* and that of *Chronicles*, the former of which says, that he came to *Abaz's*

upon his capital, *Abaz* came thither to pay a visit to him, upon what design is not easy to guess. Among the curiosities which he saw at *Damascus*, he was so taken with the elegance of a heathenish altar, that he caused a model to be taken from it, and to be sent to *Urijah* the high-priest, with orders, that he should cause one to be made after it, and to be set up in the temple. *Urijah* dared not disobey; but caused the altar to be made, and to be placed in the room of the old one, which had been set up by *Solomon*; which last was put by on the north side of it. At his return, the king, highly pleased to see his orders so punctually executed, offered up incense, and a vast quantity of sacrifices upon it; but he soon after caused the temple to be shut up, whilst he reared altars in every corner of *Jerusalem*, and every where else, to the *Syrian* gods, which he said had been so successful against him; and having abandoned himself to the most abominable idolatries, he finished his impious reign in the 36th year of his age, and was succeeded by his son *Hezekiah*; he reigned sixteen years, and was buried in *Jerusalem*, not in the sepulchre of *David*, of

2 Kings xvi. 2.

Abaz's assistance; and the latter, that he did not, but rather straightened him (68).

Some indeed (69) think, that *Abaz* put himself too much in his power, and was become a kind of dependent upon him, living in continual fear of being invaded by him. This is indeed far from improbable, since he left his successor under an obligation of paying a tribute to the *Affyrians*, whose general taxed him with rebellion for not paying it accordingly, as we shall see in the sequel. This made *Tremellius* conjecture to be the reason why he is said to have turned the outward entry, which led from the royal palace to the temple (70), namely, lest *Tiglath* should assault him that way, and so break into his palace (71). Another author (72) thinks that the same fear made him remove the מוסף *Mussac*, or covering of the sabbath, which he agrees, with us, was the throne on which the kings used to seat themselves during the service of the temple; and caused it to be hid, lest that prince should carry it away with him. There might indeed be some ground for it, if we had the least hint in the text of his coming towards *Jerusalem*; but as that is not the case, we may suppose, that *Abaz* did remove both that, and all that was valuable in the temple, only to convert it all to his own use.

This *Tiglath-pileser* is the same with *Ninus* the younger, who reigned in *Affyria* 19 years, as will be seen in its proper place.

(68) Conf. 2 Kings xvi. 7, & seq. & 2 Chron. xxviii. 20, 21. (69) Vid. Usser. An. A. M. 3265. (70) Tremel. in loc. (71) 2 Kings xvi. 18. (72) Calm. Hist. V. T. l. v. c. 44. & al.

which he was esteemed unworthy, but in some other place by itself².

Hoshea
king of
Israel.

His
trouble-
some reign.

Hezeki-
ah's good
reign.

Year of
the Flood,
2272.
Year be-
fore Christ
727.

THE kingdom of *Israel* all this while was in no better plight than that of *Judah*: *Pekah* had paid dear for his success against it, being murdered by *Hoshea* soon after his return; that is, in the fourth year of *Abaz* (M). This revolution, however, proved so distastful to the *Israelites*, that it caused a kind of anarchy, which lasted almost nine years; during which time, *Hoshea* found it a difficult task to keep himself upon the throne: and after he had quelled these commotions, and began to reign more peaceably, we do not find, that he made any hostile attempt, either against *Abaz* or his successor. He had indeed other business upon his hand, *Shalmaneser* had, by this time, succeeded *Tiglath-pileser* in *Assyria*, and whether *Hoshea* had been forced to make use of his assistance to settle himself upon his throne, or whether his predecessor had committed any hostilities against *Israel*, during his alliance with *Abaz*, *Hoshea* was by some means, not mentioned in the text, become tributary to *Assyria*², and was endeavouring to free himself from that yoke, by courting *So*, king of *Egypt*, to an alliance with him. This attempt proved the source of new troubles, which ended at last in the total excision of the *Israelitish* monarchy, as we shall see very soon.

IN the mean time *Hezekiab* had ascended his father's throne, in the 25th year of his age, and in the 12th, or as the text hath it, in the third year of *Hoshea*'s reign, that is, abating the first nine years of anarchy, mentioned in the last note. It was not difficult for him to discover the source of all *Judah*'s misfortunes, and the most effectual means to retrieve them: this is what he set about with the utmost diligence and application. He began with opening the temple, which his impious father had caused to be shut up, and commanded the priests and *Levites* to purify themselves and it, and to renew the daily worship of God, according to the law of *Moses*.

² 2 Chron. xxviii. ult.

² 2 Kings xvii. 3, & seq.

(M) The text says (73) in the 20th year of *Jotham*, but as he reigned but 16 years (74), it can mean no more than 20 years from the time that he began to reign; that is, in the fourth year of his son and successor. In the same manner we must understand what is said in another place (75), that *Hoshea* began to reign in the 12th year of *Abaz*; by which is meant, that he did not properly begin to reign till then, by reason of the stirs and tumults which arose after the murder of his predecessor.

(73) 2 Kings xv. 30. (74) *Ibid.* ver. 33. (75) *Ibid.* xvii. 1.
This

This good work was begun upon the first day of the year, it *The templ^e* being the sabdath ^b, and was finished on *Saturday* the 16th of *opened, and* the same month. The king then assembled the elders of *fu-* *purified.* *dah* on the next morning, and went with them to the temple, attended with the priests and *Levites*, and a numerous croud of people. Here they began to offer up the proper offerings to expiate the sins of the nation ; after which, they sacrificed such numbers of burnt and peace-offerings, that the priests who assisted at the ceremony, being insufficient for the service, were obliged to call in the *Levites* to their assistance, and these accepted the office with the utmost readiness and joy (N). All this while the air was filled with the sound of the trumpets, and other musical instruments, and with the voices of the singers, who accompanied the ceremony with psalms and hymns, suitable to that extraordinary solemnity, which was concluded with expressions of the utmost joy and satisfaction, both in the king and people. It could not indeed but be a pleasing sight, to see a king and nation so suddenly turned from the worship of the filthiest idols, to that of the living God ^c. One misfortune there was however, that the season was past for celebrating the passover ; that solemnity was to begin on the eve of the 14th day of that month, and it was now the 17th ; but their zeal pointed to them an expedient out of the law of *Moses*, where it is prescribed, that those, who, by reason of any legal impediment, could not celebrate that festival on the first, should do it on the second month [†]. The good king postponed it accordingly, and *A solemn* made use of that interval, to send circular letters through *passover* his whole kingdom, to invite his subjects to be present at that *celebrated.* feast, on the 14th of the next month. His piety went further ;

^b 2 Chron. xxix. 3, & seq. ^c Ibid. p. tot. [†] See Vol. III. p. 172, note (P).

(N) It appears by the text, that a great number of priests had proved tardy in obeying the king's command, so that they could not vacate at the service of the temple, for want of being purified, whilst the *Levites*, who had shewed a more than ordinary diligence in complying with it (76), were honoured with that office, from which their inferior rank excluded them. What part they did bear in it, doth not appear ; but we may reasonably suppose, that they helped to kill and prepare that vast number of victims, which were then offered ; whilst the priests were taken up with making the proper aspersions with the blood, and offering the fat and flesh of them, as they received them at their hands.

(76) 2 Chron. xxix. 34. xxx. 15, & seq.

K 2

and

Israel in-
vited to it
by the
king.

and the miseries, under which the idolatrous *Israelites* groaned, inspired him with a desire of endeavouring, at least, to work a reformation in that unhappy kingdom: to this end he wrote a most pathetic letter to them, which he sent by proper deputies, wherein he discovered to them the source of all their misfortunes, and exhorted them to return to the worship of the true God, and to present themselves before him at the ensuing solemnity, as the most effectual means, not only to avert his future judgments, but even to obtain from him the gracious recalling of their unhappy brethren, whom the kings of *Assyria* had carried into captivity ^d (O).

Several of
them come
to the
feast.

WHILST the king's messengers took their progress from *Dan* to *Beersheba*, the *Jews* were taken up with burning and demolishing all the idols, altars, and other idolatrous monuments, which had been reared in *Jerusalem*, and flung them into the brook *Kedron*, so that that metropolis was thoroughly purged, before the appointed festival was come. By this time the city was filled with people, not only from all the parts of the kingdom, but also from that of *Israel*, out of the tribes of *Asher*, *Zebulun*, *Manasseh*, and *Issachar*. These did not indeed come in such numbers, there being many even of these four tribes, as well as of the other five, who made a jest of the king's pious invitation; not that *Hoshea* did in any way oppose it, for it doth not appear that he did: On the contrary, as he is recorded to have been far less wicked than any of his predecessors^e, it is probable, the bad situation of his affairs may have induced him to embrace any means, that would render providence more propitious to him. However, those of his subjects, who came to the feast, either had not had time enough to purify themselves, or, which is as probable, the very memory of those necessary preparatives had been quite obliterated in *Israel*, during so long an interval of disuse, so that they ventured to eat the passover with the rest, without regard to the illegality of it. Some therefore acquainted *Hezekiah* with it, but the king, who had nothing more at heart than to cherish their pious zeal, easily overlooked that circumstance, and only prayed to God to do the same. How-

^d 2 Chron. xxx. 6, & seq. ^e 2 Kings xvii. 2.

(O) This shews, that *Tiglath-pileser*, or his successor, had invaded part of *Hoshea's* kingdom; and it is probable, that it was at this time that he laid it under a tribute; unless we will suppose with some authors (77), that it had began in *Pul's* time: see the next note.

(77) *Vid. Calmet. Hist. V. T. Tom. iii. Ch. 47. ad fin.*

ever, for the sake of those of his own people, who were also unpurified, among whom were several priests and *Levites*, he ordered the festival to be celebrated another seven days, that none might be excluded from it. This solemnity, the like to which had not been observed since the latter end of *Solomon's* reign ^f, inspired the people with such uncommon zeal, that, as soon as they were dismissed from it, they went about destroying all the old relicks of idolatry, each in their respective countries, the king himself encouraging them by his example, till he had utterly cleared his kingdom from them. Even the very brazen serpent, which *Moses* had caused to be set up in the wilderness ^g, did *Hezekiah* cause to be broken in pieces, because he found, that the people had offered incense to it, and in contempt called it *Nehushtan*, that is, a piece of brass ^h.

His next care was to restore all the branches of the worship of God, to make an exact scrutiny into the genealogies of the priests, *Levites*, and musicians, in order to settle their several classes, according to *David's* model. He provided for their maintenance by reviving the laws of *Moses*, concerning the first fruits, tythes, redemption, vows, and such like, relating to the *Levitical* revenues, and appointed proper officers for receiving them, so that by *October* following, by which time all the fruits are brought in, they had received their income, and proper distribution had been made of it among them ⁱ. *Hezekiah*, all this while, was blessed with success equal to his piety; and as soon as he found himself strong enough to free himself from the tribute, which the *Affyrians* had forced from his predecessor, he withheld his hand from paying it, and turned his forces against the *Philistines*, over whom he got such considerable advantages, that he regained, with usury, all that they had gotten during *Abaz's* unhappy reign [†].

Hezekiah's success.

It fared quite otherwise with the kingdom of *Israel*, and *Hoshea*, little thinking how near it was come to its final period, was only thinking how to free it from the *Affyrian* bondage. But *Shalmaneser*, who kept, no doubt, a watchful eye over him, did soon discover and break all his measures. To work his overthrow more effectually, and that he might leave no enemy behind to stop his progress, he took care to secure the land of *Moab*, by razing their two chief cities ^k, according to *Isaiab's* prophecy denounced three years before ^l, and laying waste all that land, and that of *Israel*, till he was come

Israel invaded.

^f 2 Chron. xxx. pass. ^g Num. xxi. 8. & seq. ^h 2 Kings xviii. 4. ⁱ 2 Chron. xxxi. pass. [†] See Vol. II. p. 230. ^k Ibid. p. 96. See also *USHER's* Ann. sub A. M. 3280. ^l Isai. xv. 1.

Samaria to the gates of *Samaria*, and had laid close siege to it. *Hoshea*, **besieged** who had not been able to make head against him, had how-
and taken. ever so well fortified himself in that city, that it held out almost three years against the *Assyrian* king. The text gives us no further particulars, either of this siege or war, except that, after the taking of that metropolis, the rest of the kingdom was forced to submit to the conqueror, and that both the king and all his subjects were carried away into captivity, and disposed of into the same provinces of that empire, whither their brethren had been sent in a former reign (P); but we have a dreadful account of it in some of the prophets, who describe the distress of the people in the strongest terms ^m. The *Assyrians* committed the most horrid cruelties against their captives, ripping up their pregnant women, and dashing their children against the ground ⁿ; and, having reduced *Samaria* into a heap of rubbish ^o, and laid waste all the land, returned home laden with the spoil of *Israel*. As for the land into which the ten tribes were carried, it has been sought in vain by the learned of all ages; what the most probable conjecture is concerning it, will be best seen in the next chapter. This was the sad and fatal end of the *Israelitish* kingdom ^p, after it had stood divided from that of *Judah* 254 years ^q. It happened in the 6th year of *Hezekiah*, and in the 9th of *Hoshea*. A great number, however, of the *Israelites* did escape with their lives, some into *Egypt*, and a much greater number into the kingdom of *Judah*; where they

^m Hof. pass. ⁿ xiii. 16. • Micah. i. 6. & alib. ^p 2 Kings xvii. pass. ^q Vid. UssER. Ann. in A. M. 3283. See also Vol. III. p. 435.

(P) The first book of the *Chronicles* tells us, that God stirred up *Pul* and *Tiglath-pilneser*, kings of *Assyria*, against the impious *Israelites*, and that the latter did carry away the two tribes and half from beyond *Jordan*, and sent them into the countries of *Hala*, *Habor*, and *Hara*, and to the river *Gozan* (78). And the book of *Tobit* adds, that the tribe of *Naphtali*, of which *Tobit* was, being carried away by *Enemessar*, who is the same with *Shalmaneser*, was placed in the province of *Media*, and himself in the capital of it, called *Rages*, where he left ten talents with his kinsman (79). What those countries were, which we mentioned out of the *Chronicles*, and how they are understood, belongs to another chapter; but it is plain by this, that there was at least a double invasion of the land of *Israel* by the *Assyrians*, and a double captivity.

(78) *Cb. v. ult.* (79) *Cb. i. pass.*

weaned

weaned themselves by degrees from their former idolatries and rebellion, and became subjects to *Hezekiah* and his successors. On the other hand, the *Assyrians*, *Josephus* says *Shalmeneser*¹, but it was more probably his successor, sent colonies from several of their provinces, but chiefly from *Cuthah*, to repopulate the land of *Israel*, from whence these new inhabitants came to be called *Cutheans*^c (Q).

Hezekiah, all this while, had enjoyed a profound peace in his kingdom ; and *Sennacherib*, the new king of *Assyria*, contenting himself with the tribute which both he and his predecessor paid to him, had suffered him to enjoy the fruits of his piety and conquests ; but as soon as he found him to fail in it, he came against him with such a powerful army, and took from him such a number of fortified cities, in so short a time, as seemed to threaten nothing less than the total ruin of the whole kingdom. *Hezekiah*, who saw his error too late, had no way left to retrieve it, but by a speedy submission ; he sent an embassy to *Sennacherib*, acknowledging his fault, and promising him to submit to whatever terms he should impose upon him ; and accompanied it with the richest presents, for which he was forced to strip the temple and his own treasury of all their silver and gold: This wrought so well upon the conqueror, at least for the present, that he returned with his army, without inflicting any other penalty, than a yearly tribute of 300 talents of silver, and 30 talents of gold. But this respite, though so dearly bought, did not

¹ Ant. l. ix. c. 14. ^c 2 Kings xvii. 24. Vid. JOSEPH. ub. sup.

(Q) The text adds (80), that these new colonies were like to have been destroyed by lions, *Josephus* says by pestilence (81), upon their very first settlement, for their disregard to God ; so that they were forced to send into *Assyria*, to desire the king to send them some *Israelitish* priests, to instruct them how to worship and appease him. This being complied with, they set themselves immediately about it, but without forsaking the worship of their own gods, which they had brought from their respective countries. And here began a new kind of religion, not unlike that of the *Israelites* ; consisting in the worship of the true God, and of a number of false deities. Hence sprang that mutual hatred between the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, the former abominating even the name of the latter, and these always disclaiming any kindred with them in time of adversity, though forward enough to claim it in time of prosperity (82).

(80) 2 Kings xvii. 25, & seq. (81) Ant. l. ix. c. 14. (82) *Id. ibid.*

last long ; for the treacherous *Assyrian* king, who continued still at *Lachish*, did soon after send his army, under the command of *Tartan*, *Rabsaris*, and *Rabshakeh*, directly against *Jerusalem* ; so that *Hezekiah* saw himself in much greater danger than ever of losing his kingdom and liberty, if not his life.

WHILST these were coming against him, the king made all proper preparations for a brave defence ; he fortified the city, repaired the wall of it, surrounded it with another wall, fenced it with towers, and laid in good store of arms and provisions for the siege. He likewise caused all the fountains about the city to be stopped, and the course of the brook *Gihon*, which watered all that region, to be turned another way, to cut off, as much as possible, all supply of water from the enemy. This done, he called together all his chief officers to one of the gates of the city ; and exhorted them, in a grave and pious speech, to rely wholly upon God, to behave with becoming valour, and by no means to be discouraged at the number and strength of the faithless *Assyrians* †. It is not, indeed, easy to determine, whether all this was done before his recovery from a dangerous illness, or after it, more probably the latter, and that his imminent danger, and the treachery of *Sennacherib*, brought it upon him ; for about this time he was seized with a dangerous disease (R), and forewarned by the prophet *Isaiah* to set his affairs in order, since he would certainly die of it. The good king, who, about a year or two before, had received a severe reproof from that prophet, and probably also about the same time from *Micah* the *Morashite*, for trusting too much upon *Egypt*, and seeking for help from thence ‡, received the dreadful summons with inexpressible grief, not doubting, in all likelihood, but that he had provoked God by it to shorten his days, he being then but in the 38th year of his age §. *Josephus* attributes this excessive sorrow to another cause, namely, his dying then without an heir to succeed him ¶ ; which is not at all improbable, because his son was but twelve

† 2 Kings xviii. 13, & seq.

‡ Comp. 2 Kings xviii. 21.

§ Chr. xxxii. 24, & seq. *Isai.* xxx, & seq. & *Jerem.* xxvi. 18.

¶ Comp. 2 Kings xviii. and the last note.

W Ant. l. x. c. 1.

(R) This disease, if we may guess at it by the remedy which the prophet applied to it, and by the speediness of the cure, seems to have been a kind of quincy, or imposthume in his throat, which was happily broke by the lump of dried figs.

years

years old when he ascended the throne *. As soon, therefore, as the prophet was gone, *Hezekiah* turned himself towards the wall, and addressed himself to God in the most humble and pathetic terms, accompanied with a flood of tears, which proved such powerful advocates with the divine mercy, that the prophet, who was scarce got out of the palace, was commanded by God to return, and carry the dying monarch the joyful news of his recovery, which would prove so speedy that he should be able, within three days, to go to the temple, and pay his thanks to God for it. And, as a farther proof of the efficacy of his prayer; *Isaiah* was bid to assure him, that his life should be prolonged fifteen years, and himself and his kingdom be delivered from the impending danger † (S).

THESE glorious promises did not, however, gain credit with the desponding king; he could not easily reconcile two such different messages from the same prophet, and therefore thought, that he had a right to insist upon some more signal proof to assure him of the last. The prophet soon obtained, by his prayers, such an authentic proof, as should at once convince, both him and his whole kingdom, that it was backed with the divine sanction. It was a retrogradation of ten degrees of the sun's shadow, by the dial of the royal palace (T); after which a cataplasm of dried figs was effectually

* See 2 Kings xxi. 1.

† 2 Kings xx. 1, & seq. Isai. xxxviii.

(S) This sickness of the king is, indeed, postponed in the sacred history, and related after that of his deliverance from the *Affyrian* host (83); but it is plain, that it must have happened before it; 1. because the prophet assures the king from God, both of that deliverance, and of his recovery; and, 2. because he promises him an addition of fifteen years reign (84). Now *Hezekiah* reigned but twenty nine years in all (85), from which the fifteen being subtracted, it is plain, that he fell ill in the 14th year of his reign, which was the year in which the king of *Assyria* began to invade his kingdom (86).

(T) The text runs literally thus in the original; *and the Lord brought back the shadow of the steps, or degrees, which was gone down by the dial, or degrees of Abaz, ten degrees or steps* (87), which we purposely take notice of here, as we did before of a parallel

(83) 2 Kings xx. 1, & seq. Isai. xxxviii. 1, & seq. (84) 2 Kings *ibid.* ver. 6. (85) *Ibid.* ch. xviii. 2. (86) *Ibid.* ver. 13. *vid.* Usser. *sub A. M.* 3291. p. 70. (87) 2 Kings xx. 11.

tually applied by the prophet's direction ; and the king, thus happily recovered by the time appointed, composed that noble psalm,

miracle †, to shew, that the sacred historian had expressed him in such terms, as were within reach of the vulgar, and yet very compatible with the solar system now commonly received.

It is true, that *Isaiab*, who relates the story in almost the same words, and mentions only the shadow, when he put it to the king's option, whether it should go backwards or forwards, doth add, that the sun went back ten of the degrees which he had gone (88). But it is plain, that he intends no more than the rays of it. Thus the psalmist says ; *the sun shall not hurt thee by day, nor the moon by night* (89) ; and in *Jonab*, that *the sun beat upon his head* (90), by which can be only meant his beams. There is nothing more common than that expression in all languages, the sun comes in at such a window, or such a part of the house, and the like. The words, therefore, of the prophet may be naturally rendered thus, *and the beams of the sun* (being miraculously inflected) *caused the shadow to go back over ten of the degrees, or steps, which it had past, upon Abaz's dial, or flight of steps*. This was miracle sufficient to convince the doubtful king, without magnifying, or rather multiplying, it, as many of the fathers, and others after them, have done.

For to suppose, as they do, that the whole fabric of the universe went back, or even that the earth alone did so, was not only needless, because the business was not to lengthen the day, as it was in *Joshua*, but only to put the shadow back so many degrees : but it seems to carry a further absurdity ; for either this extraordinary motion must have been caused all at once, which, considering the velocity of the earth's motion, much more that of the universe round it, is scarcely conceivable ; or if it was done gradually, it would hardly have been perceived, in case *Hezekiab* had chosen to have the shadow go forward instead of backward. By the tenor, however, of the whole history, it seems, as if the thing was done in an instant, and not gradually. What need then is there to suppose, that God did interpose his miraculous power, to cause such a retrogression, even in the bare earth, when the end might be answered by the sole inflection of the sun's rays ? To say that either of them was equally easy to an omnipotent power, is too unphilosophical to deserve an answer, because it were absurd to suppose, that God acts with less economy in his supernatural, than he doth in his natural, works.

This hypothesis of the inflection of the rays, which is now the most received, because attended with fewest difficulties, will save us a great many needless enquiries, such are those that fol-

† See Vol III. p. 72. not. (G).
(89) Psai. cxxi. 6. (90) Jonah iv. 8.

(88) Isai. xxxviii. 8.

psalm, wherein he expresses the exquisiteness of his anguish and grief, acknowledges the infinite mercy of his divine deliverer,

low ; What portion of time is implied by those ten degrees : How much the day was lengthened by it : Whether this miraculous irregularity was afterwards recovered, and the course of nature was again hastened by the same miraculous power to its pristine harmony, either by subtracting as much from the night as had been added to the day, or by any other way : Whether the miracle was felt all the world over, or only in *Judæa* : And many more of the like nature.

The *Jews*, indeed, who are ever ready to help us at a pinch, do tell us, that God, who had already shortened one day by ten hours, when wicked *Abaz* died, that there might be no mourning made for him, did only restore the universe in *statu quo* upon this occasion. But such an expeditious way of answering all those enquiries will scarcely be allowed of by any but *Jews*. However, archbishop *Usher*, who believed, that the whole frame of heaven went backward at this time, doth yet observe, that the divine providence so ordered it, that the constant and ever self-like motion and harmony of the heavenly bodies, did receive no hindrance from it ; he proves it by three previous eclipses of the moon, out of *Ptolemy*, whose calculation, being traced back from this time, coincides as exactly with the *Chaldean* account, as if no such retrogression had happened in nature (91) ; But is not this multiplying the miracle without any necessity ?

But what confirms still farther our opinion, that all the whole miracle consisted in the bare reversion of the sun's beams, is, that if either the sun or the earth be supposed to have gone back so many degrees, it must have been perceived all over the world. But the contrary seems plain to us, from the embassy which *Meredach-Baladan* sent to *Hezekiah*, to inform himself about this miraculous phenomenon (92) ; for if it had been seen at *Babylon*, there would have been no necessity for sending into *Judæa* to know the truth of it ; and it is hardly to be supposed, that he sent thither to be informed about the cause of it. The *Babylonians* were much better astronomers than the *Jews*, or rather, these last were known to be perfectly ignorant of that science, as we have seen elsewhere †. It seems then much more probable, that this retrogression was only felt about *Judæa* ; and if so, it cannot be better accounted for, than by supposing an inflection of the sun's rays.

We need not add, that if it had been felt all the world over, or even beyond *Judæa*, we should certainly find some footsteps of it in profane history, it being hardly to be supposed, that so re-

(91) *Sub A. M.* 3291. p. 71.

(92) *Vid.* 2 Chron. xxxii. 31.

† See *Vol. III.* p. 426.

liverer, and promises to be everlastingly thankful for it. The next part of the prophet's promise, the deliverance from the

markable a change could go unobserved, or unrecorded, at a time when the world did yield so many good astronomers and historians; or that the memory of it should be since entirely lost, when we can find so many footsteps of the sun's standing still in *Joshua's* time, that is, upwards of 730 years before (93). For these reasons, we shall wave all farther enquiries which result from the other side of the question, and only add some few remarks concerning the most probable figure of the dial in the text.

And here let it be considered, 1. That the original, מעלות *Megbaleth*, doth signify no more than *steps* or *stairs*; 2. That the *Septuagint* and *Chaldee* paraphrasts render it, the former ἀναβαθμους, and the latter by אבן שעות *a stone of time*, accordingly; 3. That the *Jews* did not reckon by, or had even a name for hours, before the captivity (94); 4. that the invention of *gnomon* dials is reckoned of much later date, it being attributed to *Anaximander*, who did not flourish till almost 200 years after *Hezekiah*; and lastly, That there is not a word of a sun-dial in all the writings of *Homer*: All these will at least amount to a strong presumption, that it must have been a kind of steep ascent, leading up to the gate of the palace, and marked at proper distances with figures, shewing the division of the day; rather than a regular piece of dial-work.

We have indeed a much finer description of it in *Grotius*, out of one Rabbi *Eliab Chomer*, who pretends, that it was a regular globe placed in the center of a hollow hemisphere, on which were drawn, at proper distances, the several lines which divided the day into 28 parts (95); but who can believe, after what has been observed above, that such a curious and compound piece of art could be the product of those early times? for our part, we cannot think, that even this flight of steps was originally designed by the architect to serve both for that and for a sun-dial: on the contrary it seems to us more probable upon the whole, that the latter use was owing to observation. Some ornaments, such as pyramids, obelisks, flower pots, and the like, might have been placed upon the rails or battlements of the ascent, whose shadow being in time observed to go over those steps, at certain periods of the day, might naturally induce some curious observer to mark down the several portions of the day; first into four parts, according to the *Jewish* custom of dividing it, and then into as many subdivisions as was thought proper; so that all that we think is meant in the text before us, is, that the shadow of the obelisk, or whatever other ornament did serve instead of a *gnomon*, went back again over

(93) *Josh. x. 12. See also Vol. III. p. 72, & seq.* (94) *See Vol. III. p. 427.* (95) *Vid. Grot. in loc.*

the *Assyrian* power, did not remain long unfulfilled. The generals presented themselves at the foot of the city wall, to demand a parly with *Hezekiah's* ministers; and as soon as these appeared upon the battlements, attended with vast crouds of people, who came to hear the purport of their message, *Rabshakeh* addressed himself to them in a haughty and threatening speech, filled with the bitterest invectives and opprobrious language, not only against the king, but even against the God of *Israel*. It was spoken in the *Hebrew* tongue, to inject the greater terror into the listening people; and when they were desired to speak in *Syriac* to them, instead of complying with their request, they only renewed their threatnings of reducing the kingdom to the worst extremities, unless they prevented it by a timely yielding of themselves captives to the great *Sennacherib* *.

THIS vapouring speech was, by the king's order, answered only by a deep silence; but the *Assyrian* generals being soon after informed, that their master was forced to go back to defend his own territories against *Tirhakah*, king of *Ethiopia*, who was then invading him; they left *Jerusalem* and marched directly after him. But before *Sennacherib* departed Sennacherib's from *Lachish*, he sent a threatening letter to *Hezekiah*, to assure him, that if he still persisted in his refusal of yielding himself his captive, he would shortly come again with double proud letter. fury against him, and make him severely feel the effects of his own folly and vain confidence in his God, whom he should find as weak and impotent against his irresistible power, as those of many other nations had hitherto proved. As soon as the king had read the letter, he went up to the temple, accompanied with his chief ministers, and spread it before the Lord, and in the humblest terms, besought him, that he would make good his late promises, and vindicate his honour

* 2 Kings xviii. 17, to the end. 2 Chron. xxxii. 9, & seq. Isaiah xxxvi. 2, & seq. xxxvii. 1. ad 10.

ten of those steps, which it had already past. But what portion of time the shadow did usually take in going over those steps, is impossible to determine; however, though we have ventured to deliver this our opinion, as the result of what we find written upon the subject; yet, for the satisfaction of such of our readers, as desire to be further informed about it, we shall refer them to the authors quoted in the margin (96).

(96) Cyril. Alex. & Hieron. in loc. & in *Isaiab* xxxviii. 8. Scalig. Grot. Vatabl. Munst. Salmas. Gaspar. Sanctius, Le Clerc, Calmet, & al.

against

His mira-
culous o-
verthrow.

against his insolent and blasphemous enemy, who had dared to level the God of heaven to the senseless idols of the more senseless heathen. He had scarce ended his prayer, when he received a gracious answer by the prophet *Isaiah*, importing, that though *Sennacherib* would certainly bring back his forces against *Jerusalem*, yet God would so protect it against them, that they should not shoot an arrow against, nor open a trench before it; that this proud insulting enemy should be forced to flee with shame and loss, and fall at length by the sword in his own land. This prophesy was likewise soon after verified. *Sennacherib* returned against *Judah*, flushed with his late victory over the *Ethiopians*^a, and breathing death and destruction, against the whole kingdom; but before he could have time to commit any hostilities against it, the best part of his army was smitten by an angel in one night, *Josephus* says with pestilence^b, insomuch that 185,000 of them were found dead by the next morning. This dreadful judgment did so alarm the proud *Assyrian* monarch, that he retired with the utmost confusion and speed into his own capital, where he was soon after assassinated by two of his sons, and succeeded by a third^c. Thus was *Isaiah's* prophesy exactly fulfilled against that blasphemous tyrant^d, and the kingdom delivered from the most imminent danger. As for *Hezekiah*, though one would expect, that so many extraordinary blessings would have inspired him with sentiments of the deepest gratitude, yet they wrought a quite different effect upon him; so that, instead of acknowledging the amazing goodness of his great deliverer, he suffered himself to be so elated, that he brought a train of evils upon himself and kingdom, which, however, upon his repentance, were adjourned till after his death^e. *Hezekiah* was a pious prince, but vanity seems to have been his predominant passion, and to have been swelled to an unreasonable height by such a wonderful series of successes; and God made use of the following juncture, at once to make him sensible, and to cure him of it.

THE king had, about this time, received a special embassy from *Berodach*, or, as *Isaiah* calls him, *Merodach-Baladan*, king of *Babylon*, to congratulate him upon his late success and recovery, and to inform himself about the prodigy of the sun's retrogression^f; and, as his success and the spoils of his enemy had made him exceedingly rich, he took a par-

^a See *Usher's Ann.* sub A. M. 3292. ex *Isaiah* c. xviii. & xx. ^b *Ant.* l. x. c. 2. ^c 2 *Kings* xix. 1, & seq. to the end. 2 *Chron.* xxxii. 1 ad 22. *Isaiah* xxxvi, xxxvii. ^d *Ibid.* ^e 2 *Chron.* xxxii. 25, 26. ^f *Ibid.* ver. 31.

ticular pleasure in entertaining the embassadors with a sight of all the wealth, grandeur, and strength of his court and kingdom (V). This brought *Isaiah* to the king, who had no sooner acquainted him with his own weakness and ostentation, than he received this dreadful message from God ; that those very *Babylonians*, whose eyes he had glutted with all the glory of his kingdom, would, in a short time, not only strip it of all that was valuable in it, but even carry away captive some of his off-spring, and make them eunuchs in their monarch's palace ; at which *Hezekiah* was brought to such a sense of his oversight, that he acknowledged the mildness of the sentence, since he was suffered to end his days in peace ^g. Among others of his public acts, he is recorded to have made a large pool and a conduit, to supply *Jerusalem* with water ; and to have been an encourager of husbandry, himself having numberless flocks and herds in his own pasture-grounds, besides vines, and other grounds. He died in peace, in the 54th year of his age and 29th of his reign, according to the words of the prophet, and *was buried in the chiefest of the sepulchres of the sons of David*. His funeral obsequies were performed with uncommon magnificence, not only in the city, but also throughout the whole kingdom ^h (W).

Year of
the Flood,
2306.
Year be-
fore
Christ,
693.

Manasseh was but 12 years of age when he succeeded *Hezekiah* ; and, whether he was naturally vicious, or fell into the hands of wicked counsellors, we may date the ruin both ^{Manasseh's wicked reign.}

^g 2 Kings xx. 12, & seq. *Isaiah* xxxix. ^h Comp. 2 Kings xx. 20. & 2 Chron. xxxii. 32, & seq.

(V) The jubilee year seems likewise to have been about this time (97) ; at which solemnity there flocked a vast concourse of people to *Jerusalem*, which could not but add very much to the magnificence of that court and metropolis ; because upon such occasions the wealthy men of the kingdom were used to pour their rich presents into the temple, especially after such signal successes and deliverances as they had lately had ; and the text says, that they did so accordingly (98).

(W) Besides the prophets *Isaiah* and *Micah*, of whom we have had occasion to speak, *Nabum* did likewise prophesy in the days of *Hezekiah*. It is he, who foretold the dreadful destruction of *Niniveh*, which happened afterwards in the days of *Josiah*, and describes it in the most lively colours, comparing it to that of *No*, a populous city in *Lower Egypt*, lately taken by the *Affyrians*, who committed the most horrid cruelties against her inhabitants (99).

(97) *Vid.* *Usser. in A. M.* 3295. (98) 2 Chron. xxxii. 23, & seq. (99) *Nab. pass. Ec.* i. 8. & seq.

of

of the kingdom and religion from the fatal day of his ascending the throne. He seems not only to have strove to outdo all his predecessors in wickedness, idolatry, tyranny, and sacrilege, but even to have shewed an impious emulation to undo all that his pious father had done, and to act in direct opposition to him. *Hezekiah's* first care had been to root out all idolatry out of his kingdom, and to restore the worship of God, and the service of the temple, to its pristine order and splendor. His graceless son, on the contrary, made it his study to banish religion and morality out of it, and to revive all the old idolatry, and to introduce new and unheard of deities, idols, and ceremonies; besides witchcraft, sorceries, and every wicked custom, that was used among the *Heathen* far and near. *Baal* became now the favourite object of his worship; the sun, moon, planets, and a vast multitude of other heathenish gods, had also their altars and groves erected to them, both in *Judah* and in *Jerusalem*. *Moloch* and the valley of *Hinnom* became more frequented than ever; the impious king encouraging his subjects to sacrifice their children there, as *Ahaz* had done before. But the most execrable piece of wickedness and sacrilege, was his introducing the vilest of idolatries into the very temple of God, and causing a graven image of the grove, a filthy idol, worshipped with the filthiest ceremonies, to be set up in the most sacred (X) place; as if he had designed to drive the God of *Israel* out of his habitation, and to disclaim at once all those great blessings, which he had promised to *David* and *Solomon*, and to all that did worship him there¹.

Idolatries.

Sacrilege.

FOR these abominations he was often and severely reprov'd by several prophets, who foretold him, that he was provoking God to bring such dreadful desolations upon him and his kingdom; that *Jerusalem* would become like a dish, that is wiped clean and turned upside down. But these threatnings

¹ 2 Sam. vii. 13. 1 Kings viii. 29. ix. 3, & al. pass.

(X) Some think, that he did even cause the ark to be taken out of the most holy place, to make room for his molten idol; because it is said in the *Chronicles*, that *Josiah* did order the *Levites* to deposite it again into its place (100); but from the words which do immediately follow, *it shall be no longer a burden upon your shoulders, or unto you*, we are more inclined to think, that the priests had timely conveyed it out of the sanctuary before the idol was brought in; and that it had been kept in their custody till *Josiah's* reign.

(100) 2 Chron. xxxv. 3.

were so far from reforming, that they hardened him the more, and made him seek only for the most violent means to silence not only those prophets, but all that dared to express a dislike to his impieties. *Jerusalem* became soon after the scene of *His murders and tyranny.* the most horrid cruelties, which *Manasseh*, now become a tyrant of the first magnitude, caused to be exercised on prophets and priests, nobles and people, indifferently, till he had filled that metropolis with blood and with butchered bodies, from the one end to the other ^k. At length providence was pleased to put a signal stop to his bloody career, by delivering him into the hands of some of the chief commanders of the *Assyrian* army, who came upon him so suddenly, that, seeing no way to escape, he went and hid himself in a thicket. *His miserable captivity.* He was, however, soon brought out of it, and loaden with chains, carried away into *Babylon*, and there cast into a dungeon by *Esar-haddon* or *Assaradin*, king of *Assyria*, who, according to *Ptolemy's* canon, had made himself master of *Babylon* about six years before, and was by this time become sole monarch over both empires ^l.

THE text doth neither tell us how this was done, whether by an open invasion, or, which seems more likely, by some sudden incursion, nor in what year of *Manasseh's* reign it happened; the *Jews* affirm, that it was in the 22d year, in which they are followed by the generality of our annalists. However that be, the distressed king soon opened his eyes to all his miscarriages and impieties, which his prosperity would not suffer him to see; and, in the bitterness of his soul, did send so many deep sighs to heaven, so humble an acknowledgment of his fault, and such earnest prayers for mercy and pardon, that he at length obtained both that, and a happy deliverance out of his captivity (Y). How long his imprisonment *Restored to his liberty.*

^k See 2 Kings xxi. 1. ad 16. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1. ad 10. ^l See USHER sub A. M. 3323.

(Y) These remarkable circumstances are not mentioned in the book of *Kings*, which says only that he reigned fifty five years, without taking notice either of his captivity, repentance, or reformation. All these particulars are only found in the *Chronicles* (1).

Archbishop *Usher* observes (2), from the following chapters out of the same author, that the kingdom of *Israel* had not been so far emptied of its inhabitants, but that there was a considerable remnant of them left behind, the far greater part of whom were carried away captive about the same time, and perhaps by the

(1) *Ibid.* xxxiii. 11. & seq. (2) *Sub A. M.* 3327. same
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His repentance and reformation. ment lasted (Z), or by what means he regained his liberty, the text doth not say ; thus much is plain from it, that from the greatest sinner, he returned the greatest penitent (A), and from the bloodiest tyrant, became one of the best monarchs. So that after his return, he bestowed his whole time and application in repairing the damages, which his impiety

same forces, which took *Manasseh* prisoner. This last and total captivity, that prelate thinks to have been foretold by *Isaiah* about sixty five years before against *Israel*, under the name of *Ephraim* (3). We read, indeed, of several *Israelitish* tribes being invited to the passover at *Jerusalem* in a succeeding reign, but we take them to be those who came and sheltered themselves in the kingdom of *Judah*, during the siege of *Samaria*, to escape being carried into bondage by the *Affyrian* king ; as we hinted under the last reign.

(Z) Some will have it, that it lasted as long as *Esar-haddon* lived, that is, as our chronologers compute it, about six years (4). *Josephus* only says, that the king of *Babylon* gave him his liberty after some time, but doth not say how long (5) ; but the general opinion is, that he was set free in the very same year that he was taken prisoner. This is also the opinion of the *Talmudists*, who place both his repentance and imprisonment in the 34th year of his age ; and this seems the more probable of the two, because the author of the book of *Kings* makes no mention of this captivity, but allows him his fifty five years reign, as if no such thing had happened to him.

(A) We have a prayer among the apocryphal books of the old testament, intituled, *The prayers of Manasseh king of Judah, when he was holden captive in Babylon*, which, if it was penned by him, expresses the greatness of his guilt, repentance, and misery, in the strongest terms ; particular, with respect to the last, it has this expression, That he was so loaded with iron bands, that he could not lift up his head. But we have a more authentic proof of these, the wonderful change that was wrought in him ; though we should be loth to deny, that this prayer was composed by him, during his imprisonment, because we find an expression in the book of *Chronicles* (6), which shews, at least, that there was some such prayer of his composing kept upon record ; and it is scarce possible to pen one more expressive of his misery and repentance, than this we are speaking of.

It was also about this time, or soon after it, that the siege of *Bethulia* happened, at which *Holofernes* was treacherously murdered by *Judith* ; but as the story is apocryphal, and has no connexion with the history of the kings of *Judah*, we shall say no more of it here.

(3) *Isai. vii. 8.*
T. sub. A. M. 3310.
xxxiii. 19.

(4) *Vid, Usher. sb. sup. Calmet. Hist. V.*
(5) *Ant. l. x. c. 4.*

(6) 2 *Chron.*

had caused, both in religion and in his kingdom. One of his first cares was to clear the sanctuary and the court of the temple of those idols which he had caused to be set up there, and which the priests had not had the courage or power to remove during his absence; and to restore the service of it to its antient order and splendor. He then sent circular letters throughout his kingdom, exhorting his subjects to follow his example, and to demolish all the groves, altars, and idols, which had been reared during the former part of his reign, and this was readily complied with also by the people every where; only the high places were left untouched, the king wanting either power, courage, or zeal to go through with these, by reason of the people's obstinate fondness for them. He took the same care to repair and fortify the city and other places of his kingdom; and having reigned peaceably about 33 years after his return from *Babylon*, he died in the 55th year of his reign, and 67th of his age. He was buried in his own garden, probably by his own choice, the sense of his former miscarriages not suffering him to think himself worthy to be deposited among his ancestors; and was succeeded by his son *Ammon* ^m.

His death.
Year of
the Flood,
2356.
Year be-
fore Christ
643.

Ammon was but 22 years old when he came to the crown, so that he could have observed nothing in his father's example, but the greatest tokens of piety and goodness; and yet so infatuated was he, that he gave himself up to all the vile idolatries of the former part of his reign. He began even to give some early proofs, that he designed to outdo him in his most abominable debaucheries; but before he had reigned two years, a conspiracy was formed against him by some of his chief officers, who assassinated him in his own palace, and buried him in the same garden with his father. They did not, however, go long unpunished: the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, who had had no share in this rebellion, rose up in arms immediately upon the news of it, and having revenged their king's murder by that of the conspirators, they placed his son *Josiah* upon the throne, who was then about eight years of age ⁿ.

*Ammon's
idolatry,
and death.*

It is amazing to think how the whole kingdom could be so soon over-run with all kind of wickedness and idolatry, in the short time of *Ammon*'s reign, after it had been so thoroughly purged from them by his father; and yet it was grown to such a degree of impiety, when *Josiah* came to the crown, that the prophet *Zephaniah*, who was cotemporary with

^m 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11 ad 20. ⁿ Ibid. ver. 21, to the end.
² Kings xxi 19, & seq.

him, gives us a most dreadful catalogue of the licentiousness and irreligion that then reigned through the whole kingdom. Among the princes, judges, and magistrates, reigned injustice, oppression, cruelty, and all manner of debauchery ; among the priests, pride, avarice, corruption, and a shameful traffic of religion ; among the people, ignorance and irreligion, men swearing with the same breath by the Lord and by *Malcom* ; altars reared every where to *Baal*, to the whole host of heaven, and to all the other deities of the heathen^o ; the very sanctuary itself was again polluted by the filthy idol of the grove, and its court furnished with male prostitutes, and with women who wove hangings, and tents to hide the unnatural and abominable ceremonies of its votaries^p.

Josiah's
good reign.

IN this sad and horrid condition was the kingdom, when the infant monarch took the reins of it ; so that it required nothing less than a miracle to reform it. But a *Josiah* had been miraculously promised above 300 years before, by a prophet sent on purpose to *Jeroboam* at *Bethel* †, one who was to work the greatest reformation that ever was done in the land, since it was to reach through the two kingdoms ; and this *Josiah* was the person designed by God for that glorious work. However, his tender years would not permit him immediately to undertake any thing, except perhaps advising with such pious counsellors, as could best instruct him, both about what was to be done, and the properest means of accomplishing it. He married in the 15th year of his age, and in the 16th he had a son and a successor born unto him, whom he named *Eliakim* (B) ; after which he set himself about his premeditated design, with a zeal, diligence, and intrepidity, which, considering his years, and the arduousness of the task, could be owing to nothing less than a supernatural impulse. His extraordinary success and expedition,

• Zephani. pass. i. 1, & seq.
seq. † See before, p. 19.

^p Vid. 2 Kings xxiii. 4, 6, &

(B) Probably in full confidence, that God would prosper his design, **אֱלִיָּאִים** *Eliakim* signifying, *God shall establish, make to prosper*, &c the text doth not indeed mention the time of his birth, but it is easily inferred from his being 25 years old when he began to reign (7), for his father died in the 39th year of his reign (8), and was succeeded at first by *Jeboabaz*, who was younger by two years than *Eliakim*, whom *Pharaoh-necho* set upon the throne some three months after (9).

(7) Vid. 2 Kings xxiii. 36.
xxiii. 31, & seq.

(8) *Ibid* xxii. 1.

(9) *Ibid.*

and

and the universal destruction he made, both in *Judah* and *Atotal re-formation* *Israel*, not only of all the idols, altars, groves, and other idolatrous monuments, but also of the high places, which several of his predecessors had in vain attempted to abolish, *in his kingdom.* do shew indeed, that he was assisted by the same divine power, that had inspired him with the design. This last kind of worship was not indeed an idolatrous one, because it was directed to the God of *Israel*, to whom the priests, the sons of *Aaron*, offered sacrifices upon those altars, which had formerly been reared by *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*; but it was afterwards expressly forbid by the law of *Moses*, and the tabernacle and temple ordered to be the only places for such sacrifices, unless it was otherwise commanded by inspired persons, and upon some particular occasions, as we have elsewhere hinted *. The more effectually therefore to cure this obstinate evil, *Josiah* caused all those places to be polluted with dead mens bones, and ordered all those priests, who had vacated at that unlawful worship, to be for ever excluded, both from all sacerdotal functions, and from the privilege of eating of any holy things. He likewise ordered all the wooden idols, altars, and other combustible materials, which had served to any idolatrous purposes, together with the chariots and horses, which had been dedicated to the sun (C), the vessels where the perpetual fire was kept to his honour,

* See Vol. III. p. 289. not. (H).

(C) These chariots and horses, the text says (10), stood at the entrance into the house of the Lord; but whether they were real, or only carved, or molten, is not easy to determine. The antient *Persians*, we are told, did indeed use to consecrate white horses and chariots to the sun, with which they adorned their processions (11); in which they were imitated afterwards by other nations (12). We can see no reason, therefore, why so many learned commentators should scruple to suppose, that the *Jews* had adopted this, among other far worse heathenish idolatries, and rather choose to fancy, that these chariots and horses were only carved, or cast, and set up in a chapel dedicated to the sun, or barely carved in bass-relief, or even painted against the walls of it; especially, considering how soon the prophet *Amos*, and from him *St. Stephen* (13), charges them with having carried about the tabernacle of *Moloch*, that is of the sun, as we have shewed more than once, and the star of their god *Remphan*.

(10) *Ibid.* ver. 11. (11) *Vid.* Herodot. lib. 7. Xenoph. Q. Curt. Ovid. *fast.* lib. 1. Justin. l. 1. c. 10. *Vid.* & Bochart. Hieroz. pt. I. l. 2. c. 10. & al. (12) *Vid.* *Hide Rel. vet. Pers.* Kopping. *Antiq. Rom.* (13) *Amos* v. 25. *Acts* vii. 43. Vv inat

nour; the image of the grove, and all that he found of that nature in the temple, to be burnt, and the ashes of them to be thrown over the graves of their votaries, and those that could not be burnt he caused to be flung into the river *Kidron*.

FROM *Jerusalem* he went to the mount of *Olives*, called also the mount of corruption, from the great number of idolatrous altars, which had been set up there by *Solomon*, and repaired from time to time by several of his impious successors, and demolished and defiled them all. He did the same at the valley of *Hinnom*, a place infamous for the horrid cruelties that were practised by the worshippers of *Moloch*; and thence marched directly to *Bethel*, the place where *Jeroboam*, the first king of *Israel*, set up one of his golden calves; which he destroyed, together with the groves, idols, and altars, causing the bodies of the idolatrous priests to be dugged up and burnt upon them. It was upon this occasion, that having observed a kind of monumental inscription upon one of the tombs, he was informed, that it was that of the prophet, who came from *Judah* to denounce to *Jeroboam* that total destruction of idolatry, which he was then fulfilling; whereupon the good king ordered, that a particular regard should be paid to his ashes; by this means those of the lying prophet, who had been the cause of his disobedience and untimely death, and had ordered his body to be buried close by him, escaped being disturbed, and perhaps being burned with the rest. After this, *Josiah* took a circuit through all the cities of *Israel*, many of which lay almost desolate, and destroyed every where the idols and altars, which either the *Israelites*, or the *Assyrian* colonies, had set up, and put all their idolatrous priests to death; and having thoroughly purged both kingdoms from every kind of idolatry, he returned to *Jerusalem*, and set himself about

What convinces us farther, that these were real chariots drawn by horses, and bearing some image of the sun, is, that the text expressly says here, that *Josiah* did not burn chariots and horses, as he would have done, if they had been only carved or painted, but that he took away the horses, and burnt the chariots (14). The reader may, if he pleases, see what we have observed concerning this kind of idolatrous processions, in another place, out of some verses of the 16th psalm †.

(14) 2 *Kings* xxiii. 11. † *Vid. Vol. III. p. 16. not. (O).*

restoring the worship of God and the usual service of the temple (D).

By this time *Josiah* had attained to the 26th year of his age, and 18th of his reign, and beheld with regret the dilapidations of that sacred place, which made it necessary to have them repaired before all things. To this end, he ordered the great coffer, into which the poll-money and free-will offerings used to be deposited, to be opened, and the money to be distributed among such faithful overseers, as would set about the work out of hand; and to encourage them to be doubly diligent in it, he told them, that he would depend upon their fidelity for their right management of the money committed to them. Whilst this was doing, the high-priest, who probably presided over the work, sent word to the king that he had found the book of the law (E), which he had

The temple repaired.

The book of the law found.

(D) It is very likely, that the king was encouraged to this good work by the prophet *Jeremiah*, who began to prophesy in the 13th year of his reign (15). *Jeremiah* was a prophet altogether miraculous, being chosen to this office even from the womb, and called to the exercise of it whilst he was but a child; he was the son of *Hilchiah*, not the then high-priest of that name, as some have imagined, but of the race of *Ithamar*, and lived at *Anathoth* (16), a place within two or three miles from *Jerusalem*, it being the seat of one of their ancestors (17); so that it is hardly possible, that he should be unknown to so pious a prince. It is true, we find nothing like it in his writings; but it must be remembered, that he delivered his prophecies at first only by word of mouth, and did not begin to pen them down till the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*; but we find him very early, at the gates of the temple, denouncing God's heavy judgments against *Judah*, and exhorting them to avert his anger, by abandoning their impieties and idolatries (18). As he continued to prophesy till the taking of *Jerusalem*, and was often consulted by several kings and nobles, we shall have occasion, more than once, to speak of him in the sequel.

Zephaniab did likewise prophesy in the same reign, and much to the same purpose, with what we mentioned of *Jeremiah*; the main scope of their prophecies being chiefly levelled against the various abominations committed in *Judah* and *Jerusalem* (19); and both were probably designed to exhort the people to imitate the king's zeal and piety, and to prevent their murmuring against or obstructing his reformation.

(E) This is generally agreed to have been the archetype, written by *Moses*, and by him ordered to be deposited, with the ark, in

(15) *Jerem. i. 2.* (16) *Ibid. & ver. 5, 6.* (17) *Ibid. 1 Kings. ii. 26.* (18) *Jerem. c. vii. & seq.* (19) *Zeph. i. 1, & seq. ii, iii. pass.*

sent to him by the secretary of the temple. *Josiah* delayed not to read it ; and when he found what dreadful judgments were

the most holy place (20), but which some pious high-priest had caused to be thus hid, in the reign of *Ahaz* or *Manasseh*, to prevent its being destroyed with all the other copies of it ; for it plainly appears by the tenor of the history, that this was the only perfect one left (21).

But it is much disputed, whether it was the whole *Pentateuch*, emphatically called *חֻקֵּי תוֹרָה*, *Hathorah*, the law ; or only *Deuteronomy*, or even barely the 28th, 29th, 30th, and 31st chapters of it. *Josephus*, by calling it the sacred books of *Moses* (22), seems to declare entirely for the first ; others have declared for the second (23), because the book of *Deuteronomy* is a kind of repetition or epitome of the *Mosaic* law ; lastly, a late commentator, among some others, holds the last of these three opinions (24), and thinks, that nothing more is meant here, than that short summary which is found in the 28th and three following chapters of that book, in which are contained all the blessings and curses, which so alarmed the pious monarch. This is, indeed, that part, which, we observed elsewhere, *Moses* enjoined their future kings to write, and preserve a double copy of, to regulate their conduct by (25), and which he commanded *Joshua* to set up upon mount *Gerizim* (26) ; perhaps it might also be all that he ordained to be read by the priests, in the audience of all the people, every seventh year, at the feast of Tabernacles (27), though it is called the law in all those places.

But if either this short epitome, or even the whole *Deuteronomy*, was all that the high-priest found hid in the temple, when was the rest of the *Pentateuch* recovered ? If it be said, that there might be some copies of this last still extant, than this summary must have been in it ; and it will be surprising, that some one or more should not have been brought to so good a king, after he had given such signal proofs of his piety and zeal, and if any such had been presented to him, he must either have shamefully neglected the reading of it, or if he had not, he could never have been under such surprise and fear, at the reading of that which the high-priest sent to him. We therefore think, with the far greater number of *Jews* and *Christians* (28), that it was the whole *Pentateuch* ; and that there might be still several imperfect and mutilated copies dispersed here and there, which might be now rectified by this prototype, after it was now brought to light.

(20) Deut. xxxi. 24, & seq. (21) *It. Jud. fer. omn. vid. lib. Nitzachon.* (22) *Ant. l. x. c. 5.* (23) *Procop. Gazen. & al. ap. Patric. in loc.* (24) *Calmet. Comm. in loc. & Hist. V. l. 1. c. 8.* (25) *See Vol. III. p. 36. in fin. not. F.* (26) *Ibid & alib.* (27) *Ibid. p. 39.* (28) *Vid. Munst. Grot. Jun. Usser. Le Clerc. Patric. Prideaux. & al. mult.*

were denounced in it, against those very abominations, with which he had found the whole land over-run at his first coming to the crown, he rent his cloaths, and expressed the most lively tokens of grief, not doubting, but both he, and his whole kingdom, would soon feel the effects of those threatenings. There lived at that time, in one of the colleges of *Jerusalem*, a famed prophetess named *Huldah*; to her therefore *Josiah* dispatched some of his prime officers, with the high-priest at their head, to inquire, what would be the fate both of the king and people, seeing they had incurred the curses contained in that sacred volume; and these brought him word back from her, that God would not fail to inflict all those severe punishments upon his faithless and ungrateful subjects; but that as for himself, the concern and remorse which he had lately expressed for it, had so far suspended the divine vengeance, that he should be happily gathered unto his fathers in peace, before the nation felt the dire effects of them.

It was in the same year, and probably upon the reading of that sacred book, that *Josiah* became sensible, that they had been guilty of a shameful neglect of the three grand fe-

If it be asked, how the king could run over those five books so quickly, as to come presently to those blessings and curses, which are contained in the very latter end of the last of them; it may be answered, that that might be the very reason; for as their manner was to write upon volumes of a considerable length, which were rolled up round one or two sticks, it might so happen, that these last chapters proved on the out side, and that the king, impatient to know the contents of it, might have curiosity to read in it, before he had unfolded a round or two. We are, however, very far from rejecting the notion of the *Jews*, who believe, that providence directed him to that very part (29). Something like which we find happened under the gospel (30).

What appears most surprising is, that all the copies of the scriptures, which the good king *Hezekiah* seems to have caused to be written and dispersed about his kingdom (31), should be so soon vanished, that neither *Josiah* nor the high-priest had ever seen any of them, till this one was brought to light. All that can be said in the case is, that *Manasseh*, during the former part of his reign, had made such havock of them, that if there were any left, they were only in few private hands, who preserved them with the utmost caution and privacy. The *Jews* do even add, that he caused not only the scriptures, but all the books that had the name of God in them, to be destroyed.

(29) *Vid.* MUNST. *in loc.* PRID. *Connect.* lib. 1. (30) Acts viii. 26, & seq. (31) *Vid.* Prov. xxv. 1.

The passover kept.

festivals enjoined by *Moses*. To retrieve this fault, he assembled all the heads of the people from all parts of the two kingdoms to the temple, where, having mounted the royal tribunal, he acquainted them, how they had happily recovered the volume of the *Mosaic* law, and read it himself before them ; he then acquainted them with his design of expiating, as much as possible, their former neglect, by a more careful observance of it ; and, as the solemn feast of the passover was near at hand, which he was resolved should be celebrated with the utmost solemnity, he exhorted them to follow his example, and to prepare themselves for that grand festival. Whilst the people were purifying themselves, *Josiah* commanded the priests to make a more strict search into the temple, and to cast out and destroy all the prophane and idolatrous lumber that was found in it, and to bring the ark, and all the sacred utensils, which had been removed out of it in some former reigns, and to depose them in their former place and order : All these were readily complied with both by priests and people ; after which they went, in due time, about killing the paschal lamb. This is again noted to have been observed with greater zeal and magnificence, than had been done by any of his predecessors since *Samuel's* time. After this, the king took a second progress through the kingdom, to purge it of all those abominations, which he might chance to have overlooked at the first circuit ; he expelled all the wizards, enchanter, and such like dealers in dark practices, out of the land ; settled courts of judicature every where, giving strict charge, both to the magistrates, and also to the priests and *Levites*, to see that the people were instructed in, and kept obedient to, the law of *Moses*.

Thus did that good monarch endeavour, with the sincerest zeal, to restore the pure worship of God through his dominions, and to clear it from all the dregs of superstition and idolatry ; in hopes, if possible, to avert his impending judgment from falling upon them. But for all this, the text observes, that his anger was not abated in the least against the people ; and we need not wonder at it. They were, as their whole history shews, ready for every market. They could so far comply with their pious monarchs, as to shew an outward zeal for God, and a dislike for idolatry ; but what proves their want of sincerity, whenever they acted such a part, is their readiness to relapse into the vilest abominations, whenever they met with any encouragement for it under a wicked reign. These forced reformati-
not

¹ 2 Kings xxii, & xxiii. pass. 2 Chron. xxxiv, & xxxv. pass.

not but render them more odious in the sight of God, so that, having denounced a total destruction against the land, by his prophet *Zephaniah*† and by the prophetess *Huldah*, he hastened to take the good prince to himself, according to his promise, that his eyes might not behold the dreadful calamities that were to fall upon his nation.

Josiah had by this time reigned 31 years in profound peace, *Josiah* when *Pharaoh-Necha* came up against the *Assyrians*, or rather mortally *Babylonians*, as far as the city of *Carchemish*, (F) which was wounded situate upon the river *Euphrates*‡. It is not easy to say, whether *Josiah* looked upon the design of this expedition to be do. at Megid- levelled against his own territories; or, which is still more probable, whether the kings of *Judah* were under a kind of Year of the Flood, 2389. Before Christ, 610. tribute and obligation to those of *Babylon*, ever since *Manasseh* had been restored to his kingdom; which would have made it a breach of faith in *Josiah*, to have suffered an enemy of theirs to pass through his territories, in an hostile expedition against them; or, lastly, whether he had entered into some alliance with them; he came with a powerful army against him, and encamped in the valley of *Megiddo* (G). Here *Pharaoh* endeavoured in vain to dissuade him from concerning himself in the war between him and the *Babylonians*, by assuring him by his ambassadors, that he had no hostile design against him; *Josiah* would not be persuaded, but disguised himself, and drove directly against him. The text seems even to intimate, as if his chief design had been to fight him in person; but before he could reach him, he received

† Zeph. i. 1, & seq.

‡ See 2 Chron. xxxv. 20.

(F) This place, *Isaiab* tells us, had formerly belonged to *Sennacherib* (32), and was now under the *Babylonians*; for these had, ere now, reduced the *Assyrian* empire under their yoke, as we have hinted in some former note.

(G) This valley being in the tribe of *Manasseh* (33), *Josiah* might not only resent his passing through' his territories without his leave, but also think, that his design was to invade them, notwithstanding all his protestations to the contrary, and his pretended commission from God to make war against the king of *Babylon* (34). It is likely, indeed, that this last pretence from an *Egyptian* prince could not make any great impression upon him, because he had only his bare word for it; and, if real, might be supposed to come, not from the true God, but from his *Egyptian* deities. But *Josiah* was given up to die by this expedition, and was suffered to rush into it, without consulting the Lord about the justice or success of it.

(32) *Cb.* x. 9. (33) *Vid.* Josh. xvii. 11. (34) 2 *Cb.* xxxv. 20;
N 2 a mortal

a mortal wound, and was forced to be put into another chariot, and brought out of the field of battle. He died as soon as he had reached *Jerusalem* ^u, in the 39th year of his age, greatly lamented by all his good subjects; particularly by the prophet *Jeremy*, who is supposed to have composed that most excellent elegy, known to us by the name of the *Lamentations*, upon his death ^w; wherein he expresses the mournful state of the kingdom, with an energy and pathos, which we can better feel than describe. This is the only poetic piece of that kind in holy writ, for length and method; the composition is of the acrostic kind, and as the subject of the whole is mourning, which is always most naturally and freely vented and expressed, when confined to number, so here every verse is a sentence, which abounds still with some new, strong, and lively image of the deepest grief (H). There was indeed the greatest cause to lament so good a prince's fall, since with him expired at once the religion, happiness, and glory of the nation.

Jehoahaz
his short
reign.

Josiah was succeeded by his son *Jehoahaz*, whom the people set upon the throne, in the 23d year of his age; not in right of succession, for he was the youngest of *Josiah's* (I) sons,

^u Comp: 2 Kings xxiii. 29. & seq. & 2 Chron. xxxv. 20, & seq. See also Vol. II. p. 46. ^w Vid. Hieron. præf. in thræn. UssER. & al.

(H) The text says indeed, that *Jeremiah* composed a lamentation, which was sung by a number of singing men and women, both at his funeral, and passed into use afterwards upon all mournful occasions, and that they are written in the *Lamentations* (35). And *Josephus* add (36), that they were still extant in his time; by which one would be induced to think, that he meant the same with those we have now under that name.

But as *Josiah's* death was sudden and unexpected, it is hardly credible, that such a long elegy as this, could be composed, and set to music, against his funeral; and it is more probable, that that which accompanied his obsequies was much shorter, such perhaps as *David* made upon the death of *Saul* and *Jonathan* (37), and was since lost; and that this we are speaking of was composed in some subsequent reign, or perhaps, more probably, upon occasion of the *Jerwish* captivity (38); we find likewise, that the prophet *Ezekiel* was commanded by God to compose such another *Lamentation* upon this last occasion ^{*}, though not equal to it in beauty and eloquence.

(I) It appears by the first book of *Chronicles* (39), that *Josiah* left four sons, the youngest is there, and by *Jeremiah*, called *Shallum*,

(35) *Ibid* ver. 25. (36) *Ant. l. x. c. 6.* (37) 2 Sam. i. 17, & seq. (38) *Vid. int. al. Lament. i. 3.* * Ezek. xix. 1, but
& seq. (39) *Cb. iii. 15.*



sons, but by downright faction. He began to give them early proofs, that he designed to reign as wickedly as some of his predecessors had done, but it was soon put out of his power: however, *Jeremiah* was at first sent to him from God, to exhort him to imitate his father's piety, instead of making a shew of bewailing his death; adding, that if he did not, he should be carried away captive and die in a strange land*. *Deposed.* *Pharaoh-Necho* came accordingly against *Jerusalem*, in his *and* return from the *Assyrian* expedition, and dethroned him in the third month of his reign; and having set his elder brother *Eliakim*, whose name he changed into that of *Jehoiakim* (K), upon the throne, and laid him under the yearly tribute of 100 talents of silver and one talent of gold; he put the captive prince in bands at *Riblah*, and carried him into *Egypt*, where *carried captive in-* he ended his days† (L). *Jehoiakim to Egypt.*

* See *Jerem.* xxii. 1, & seq. † *2 Kings* xxiii. 31, & seq.
2 Chron. xxxvi. 1, 2, 3, & 4. *Ezek.* xix. 1, 2, 3, 4.

but is the same with *Jehoabaz* (40); it is plain, moreover, that he was at least two years younger than his brother *Eliakim*, who was twenty-five years old when he succeeded him, which he did three months after. Archbishop *Usher*, who thinks, that the people chose him in haste, lest *Pharaoh-Necho* should surprise them without a head, supposes, that they exchanged his name *Shallum*, which they thought unfortunate, because the only king of *Israel* of that name had been murdered in the first month of his reign, for that of *Jehoabaz*, which they thought carried a more promising omen (41).

(K) The same learned prelate supposes this change of names to have been designed by the *Egyptian* king, as an acknowledgment, that he owed his victory over the *Assyrians* to the God of *Israel*, by whose command he had undertaken that war against them (42); being a kind of abbreviation of יהוה-יָקִים, *Jehovah-Jakim*, that is, the God of *Israel* hath or shall make it to prosper, &c. But, as it was the custom of conquerors to give new names to those whom they thus brought under tribute, in token of subjection, this last seems as likely to have been the motive of that change.

(L) It is not easy to guess what induced the *Egyptian* monarch to shew such preference to *Eliakim*, and to use *Jehoabaz* with such severity. It can hardly be supposed, that he laid so much stress upon the right of primogeniture, as to punish this last for having usurped his brother's crown; perhaps the *Jews* have found out, for once, the reason of it from the words of *Ezekiel*; the prophet represents that young prince as a courageous undertaking youth, under the figure of a young lion ready for the prey, and concludes with

(40) *Jerem.* xxii. 11, 12. (41) *Sub A. M.* 3371. (42).
Sub A. M. 3394. p. 82.

Jehoiakim's wicked reign.

Jeremiah accused.

Uriah put to death.

Jehoiakim was nothing terrified by this from following his unhappy brother's steps, nor the people from conforming to his wicked ways ; for this *Jeremiah* was ordered by God, in the very beginning of his reign, to denounce his severe judgments against them, unless they repented. The time chosen for this was the feast of tabernacles, when there was the greatest concourse of people from all parts of the kingdom, and the place the court of the temple. He threatened them, among other things, with the destruction of the city and temple ; and for this he was seized by the priests and people, and accused as a seditious person, worthy of nothing less than death. He was, however, acquitted and set at liberty by the more equitable princes and elders of the court ; who, being persuaded that he spoke by divine command, reminded his accusers of some other prophets, who had formerly denounced the same heavy judgments unpunished and unmolested ^a. *Jeremiah* was not the only one who was sent upon this dangerous errand ; *Uriah*, another prophet, was forced to fly towards *Egypt*, for having dared to utter much the same prophecies against *Judah* and *Jerusalem* ; but the king was so exasperated at him, that he sent some of his men to fetch him back ; and, as soon as he was come to *Jerusalem*, he ordered him to be put to death, and his carcass to be thrown among those of the viler sort. *Jeremiah* had doubtless undergone the same fate, had he not had a powerful protector with the king, *Ahikam*, the son of *Shaphan*, who had formerly been in great credit and authority under *Josiah*, who found means to screen him from the fury of the king and people ^a ; though he had foretold, about the same time, the accession of *Zedekiah* to the crown of *Judah*, and of *Nebuchadnezzar* to that of *Babylon* ^b.

^a Jerem. xxvi. 1, ad 19. xxvii. 1, ad 11.

^a Ibid. ver. 20, ad fin.

^b Ibid.

this expression ; *The nations heard of him, he was taken in their snare, and brought into Egypt, laden with chains* (43).

From this passage they conclude, that as soon as he had got himself chosen king, he put himself at the head of an army, resolved to revenge his father's death, and that he was overpowered by him ; but whether *Pharao* came against him to *Jerusalem*, or *Jehoabaz* went out against him to *Carchemish*, they are not agreed ; but either of these was enough to induce the conqueror not only to dethrone, but to carry him away prisoner, lest he should in time undertake the same exploit against him (44).

(43) Ch. xix. 2, 3, 4. xxiii. 33.

(44) Vid. Sanct. & Munst. in 2 Reg.

ABOUT four years after, finding, that his prophecies had *The Baby-* had no effect either upon the king or people, he foretold the lonish cap- destruction of *Jerusalem* and of the temple, and the *Babylonish* captivity under *Nebuchadnezzar*, which he said would *foretold*. last seventy years, soon after which that monarchy would be at an end, and the land become desolate (M). And in the same year, being shut up in prison, either for that or some former prophecy, he caused *Baruc*, who was his scribe to write from his mouth the tenor of the same threatnings, and to go and read them in the hearing of all the people, who were then assembled at the temple, it seems, upon some solemn fast (N), *Baruc* obeyed, and some of the chief ministers, being informed of it, got the roll from him and brought it to the king, who was then sitting by the fire. He had scarce read a column or two in it, before he cut it in pieces, and *Jehoiakim's impiety* flung it in the fire, notwithstanding the endeavours of those that were present to prevent it. *Jeremiah* and his messenger had doubtless felt the effects of his fury, had they not, as it were by a miracle, been kept out of his reach; however, his impiety did not go long unpunished. The prophet was ordered to write the same denunciations again, which were

• Ibid xxv. 1, 2, & seq.

• Ibid xxxvi. 1, & seq.

(M) This captivity was likewise foretold, though not in such plain terms, by *Isaiab* (45), under the type of *Tyre*; and also by *Habakkuk*. This last, expostulating with God about the incorrigible hardness of the *Jews*, is answered, that they would be shortly invaded and captivated by the *Chaldeans* (46). He likewise foretold the vast successes of *Nebuchadnezzar*; and when he repined at the prosperity of that wicked prince and people, he is answered, that they also should in due time become the scorn of other nations, and a prey to those whom they had subdued.

(N) Probably that of expiation, which, as we observed elsewhere, happened on the 10th day of the month *Tisri*, answering to the latter end of our *September*; for it is here observed to have been towards winter; and we do not find, that they had any other fast before the captivity †; neither do they seem to have been sensible enough of their approaching calamities, to have appointed one for that purpose. It is indeed said there, that it was in the 9th month, that the king flung the book into the fire (47); but that interval may easily be supposed to have elapsed, before those nobles were acquainted with the matter, or could find a proper time to inform the impious king with such disagreeable news.

(45) *Ch. xxiii. 15, & seq.* (46) *Habak. i. 2, & seq.* † *Vid. Vol III. p. 201. & Usser. sub A. M. 3397. p. 83.* (47) *Jerem. xxxvi. 22.*

promised. soon after fulfilled, by the coming of the *Babylonish* king with a powerful army, and a more effectual commission from God, against him and his whole kingdom ; as we shall see in due time.

NEITHER were idolatry, and contempt of God's worship, the only crimes with which *Jehoiakim's* reign is branded ; he added to them the most horrid cruelties and tyrannies, rapines and bloodshed ; building and adorning the most sumptuous palaces, by violence and oppression ; perverting justice, inventing crimes against the innocent to put them to death, and many more such like impieties : besides his being deaf to the admonitions of so many prophets. For these *Jeremiah* pronounced at last this dreadful sentence against him ; that he should be given up into the hands of his most dreaded enemy, even of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that he should die unpitied and unlamented, that he should have the sepulture of an ass, and that his carcass should rot upon the ground ^e. By this time also two singular predictions of that prophet had been fulfilled, which ought both to have added weight to the rest, and opened the infatuated prince's eyes to his imminent danger. *Jeremiah* had, some time before, forewarned him from relying upon the assistance of the king of *Egypt*, whose army was still at *Carchemish*, since it would be totally overthrown by the more successful arms of the young *Nebuchadnezzar* ^f, the prince pointed out by providence to subdue, among many other nations, that rebellious one of the *Jews*. This happened accordingly in the fourth year of *Jehoiakim's* reign, when that young victorious prince, having been taken into partnership of the empire with his father, and sent against the king of *Egypt*, gave him an entire defeat at *Carchemish*, took the place, put the whole garison to the sword, and beat back the troops that came to its assistance [†].

Jerusalem taken. THIS victory proved the unhappy prelude of *Judah's* misfortunes : the conqueror marched directly against *Jerusalem* and took it (O) ; rifled the temple of its most precious fur-

^e Ibid. ver. 30. 31. comp. with ch. xxii. ver. 13. to the end.

^f Ibid. xlv. 1, & seq. † See Vol. II. p. 47, & seq. Uss. sub A. M. 3397.

(O) This *Usser* proves to have happened in the ninth month. from the anniversary fast which the *Jews* have kept ever since in memory of that calamity. This is the more worth observing, because the seventy years captivity, foretold by *Jeremiah*, must be reckoned from this epocha (48).

(48) *Fid. Uss. ub. sup.*

niture,

niture, and the royal palace of its most hopeful and beautiful young princes, to be made eunuchs in his own court, according to *Isaiah's* prophesy to *Hezekiah* ^a; and the city of all its choicest youths, whether for blood, learning, wit or beauty, to be likewise sent to *Babylon*. Among these last was *Daniel* and his three companions: *Jehoiakim* was at first put in bonds, and designed to be sent away with the rest; but, upon his submission, and promise of paying a yearly tribute to him, the king changed his mind, and left him as a kind of viceroy under him over the kingdom. But, whilst *Nebuchadnezzar* was taken up with his other conquests he found means to rebel against him, after a three years subjection, and continued about three years without paying him any tribute: this rebellion cost him dear, for that prince, exasperated against him, instead of coming in person, sent an army into *Judæa*, consisting of *Syrians*, *Chaldeans*, *Ammonites*, and *Moabites*, who wasted the whole kingdom, carried away 3023 prisoners; among whom, *Josephus* says, was the prophet *Ezekiel* ^b; but it is more likely, that he stayed at *Jerusalem* till the next reign; took and murdered the unfortunate *Jehoiakim*, and dragged his carcass out of the city kim's gates, where they left it unburied, according to *Jeremiah's* death. prediction (P).

HE

^a Dan. i. 2, & seq. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. ^b Ant. l. x. c. 8.

(P) This last circumstance of the king's death is only inferred from the tenor of the prophesy above mentioned; for neither the book of *Kings*, nor that of the *Chronicles*, make mention of it; the former of which doth even say, that he slept with his fathers (49); by which must be only meant, that he died as they did. *Josephus*, who relates this story a little differently, and throws the fault upon the perfidy of the *Babylonians*, doth however own, that his body was cast out of the city, and left exposed in the field (50). Other *Jews* think, that he died as they were carrying him prisoner into *Babylon*, and that they left his body in the high-way, without farther care (51).

The last quoted place out of the *Chronicles* says, that his acts and abominations were recorded in the book of the kings of *Israel* and *Judah*. These abominations may be reasonably supposed to be his idolatries, murders, oppressions, and rebellion; but the *Targum* mentions, moreover, his having the image of *Baal* upon his forehead; others say, that he had several charms and stigmata

(49) Conf. 2 *Kings* xxiv. 6. 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 8. (50) *Ant.* l. x. c. 8. (51) *Abailan.* ap. *Patric.* in 2 *Kings* xxiv. 6.

Jehoiachin's wicked reign,

Year of the Flood, 2400.

Year before Christ 599

and captivity.

Zedekiah's reign.

HE was succeeded by his son *Jehoiachin*, called also *Jechoniah*, and in contempt *Coniah* (Q), who, was then but 18 years old; whether he took the crown contrary to *Nebuchadnezzar*'s mind, or endeavoured to shake off his yoke, the text doth not say, but only observes, that he was as wicked as his father. However, that monarch came up against him before he had reigned three months: *Jehoiachin* came out to him, not in an hostile but submissive manner, attended with his mother and his whole court; but they found him inexorable, and were all sent away captives into *Babylon*, and died there, according to the prophet's prediction, mentioned in the last note. The temple, palace, treasury, and the whole city were a second time ransacked, and stripped of all that was valuable in them; even many precious ornaments and utensils of the temple, which had continued there ever since the time of *Solomon*, became a prey to the conqueror: he likewise transported 10,000 men, famed either for their valour or wisdom; besides 1000 of the best artificers in gold, silver, and other metals and materials; in a word, he left scarcely any behind, but the very common people to cultivate the land. Among his captives of note was the famed *Mordecai*, and, as is most generally believed, the prophet *Ezekiel*. After this he set *Mattaniah*, who was the son of *Josiah* and uncle to the unhappy *Jehoiachin*, upon the throne, and changed his name into that of *Zedekiah*; and, having laid him under a certain tribute, and taken an oath of fidelity and subjection¹, returned to his dominions.

Zedekiah began to reign in the 21st year of his age, and proved as impious as his late predecessors; however, he continued faithful to the king of *Babylon* some few years, during which, he received some embassies from the kings of *Ammon*, *Moab*, *Edom*, *Tyre*, and *Sidon*, who were all under the same yoke with him; seemingly indeed to congratulate him upon

¹ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13. Ezek. xvii. 12, & seq.

found upon his body, which proved, that he dealt in devilish arts (52); and much more to the same purpose.

(Q) He is called by this last name in *Jeremiab*, who uttered this dreadful prophesy against him (53).—That he should be given into the hand of the king of the *Chaldeans*; — that he and his mother should end their days in a strange country, wishing still in vain to return into their own land: as it happened accordingly not long after.

(52) *Vid. de his Auct. tradit. Hebr. in paralip. Hieron. in loc Eupolem. ap. Euseb. Tostat. & al.* (53) *Cb. xxii. 24, & seq.*

his accession to the crown, but in fact to enter into a confederacy with him against the *Chaldeans* †. The young prince gave but too much heed to their proposal; but *Jeremiah*, who was warned of it, sent to every one of the ambassadors chains and yokes, which he bid them carry to their respective masters, advising them in the name of God to submit themselves willingly to the king of *Babylon*, and not provoke him to lay a much severer yoke upon them, by giving credit to their lying sooth-sayers and star-gazers *. There were at the same time in *Jerusalem* several pretended prophets, who endeavoured to persuade the too credulous king that in spite of *Jeremiah's* predictions to the contrary, the captivity would be shortly at an end, and that the sacred vessels which had been carried away, would be all restored to the temple; to which *Jeremiah* replied, that those few, on the contrary, which had been left behind, would be carried off with the rest. Thus, for some years, there was nothing scarcely to be heard but victory and deliverance on the part of the false prophets, and desolation and ruin from the mouth of *Jeremiah*. This raised him many a bitter enemy, not only in *Judæa*, but even in *Babylon*: for he had taken the opportunity, as often as *Zedekiah* sent his yearly tribute thither, to write letters to the captives, exhorting them to bear their yoke patiently, and not to expect a deliverance before the seventy years were expired; and they, in return, wrote letters into *Judæa*, to desire that he might be apprehended and punished, as a dangerous enemy to his country, who uttered, not what the God of *Israel*, but what the king of *Babylon*, dictated to him †.

THIS contest lasted some years, during which, his enemies had in vain essayed to stop his mouth, by causing him to be apprehended and imprisoned. The infatuated king was at length persuaded, by his false prophets, to shake off the *Babylonish* yoke, and that rash enterprise completed both his own and his kingdom's ruin, and hastened the total destruction of the temple and city. He was then in the ninth year of his reign, when *Nebuchadnezzar* came with a powerful army, wasted the whole country, seized upon his fortresses, and at length laid close siege to *Jerusalem*, before *Zedekiah* could make any provision either for his own defence or escape ‡. It was then that, seeing his error too late, he sent privately for *Jeremiah*, to consult with him what

† See Vol. II. p. 96.

* Jerem. xxvii. pass.

† Ibid.

‡ 2 Kings xxv. 1, & seq. Jerem. xxxix. 1. & JOSEPH. Ant. l. x. c. 10.

to do ; but the prophet only told him, that the city and temple would certainly be destroyed, and himself and all his subjects carried into captivity (R) ; which answer did so exasperate the king, that he ordered him to be immediately carried into prison *. In the mean time *Pharaoh-Hophra*, or *Apries*, came with an army against the besiegers : *Josephus* says, that *Zedekiah* had made an alliance with him, before he ventured to throw off the yoke ° ; if so, he was the only one that kept it with him ; for as for all those other princes, who sent their embassadors to him at the first, it is plain, that they were so far from assisting him, that they rather became his enemies and accusers. However that be, *Nebuchadnezzar* did not think fit to let the *Egyptians* come up to him, but raised the siege for the present, and marched directly against them. This spread such an infatuation among the people in the city, that, looking upon themselves as already out of all danger, they ventured even to force into their service those very servants whom they had but lately dismissed, it being the sabbatic year ; not so much out of regard to the law of *Moses*, as out of the fear they were in, of their revolting to the *Chaldeans*. The king, however, was not so sanguine, but sent to desire *Jeremiah* to put up his prayers to God for him and the nation ; but was answered by him, that the *Chaldeans* would renew the siege with fresh vigour, and that his *Egyptian* allies would leave him to their mercy, and return into their own country. Soon after this, the prophet attempted to make his escape, but was caught in his flight, and brought before the princes, who ordered him to be scourged and flung into a dungeon. In the mean time, *Nebuchadnezzar*, having routed the *Egyptians*, returned to the siege, and carried it on so vigorous-

* Jerem. xxxiv. 1, & seq.

° Ubi supra.

(R) About the same time, *Ezekiel* prophesied at the captivity (54) much the same things that *Jeremiah* did at *Jerusalem* ; only with this difference seemingly, that the one said, the king should never see *Babylon* ; whereas the other said expressly, that he should be carried thither prisoner, and end his days there. This seeming contradiction, *Josephus* tells us (55), staggered the king's faith, and made him give less heed to them ; but the difficulty was rather how to reconcile *Ezekiel* to himself, who adds, *that he should die there*, though he did not see it. However, *Nebuchadnezzar* found out the way of doing it, by putting out that unfortunate prince's eyes.

(54) Ezek. xxi. 1, & seq. xxiv. 1, & seq.

(55) *Ant. l. x. c. 10.*
ly,

ly, that the inhabitants began to labour under such great scarcity of provisions, that they found it impossible to hold it out longer. During this last siege, the king sent often to *Jeremiah*, in hopes of receiving at length some comfortable news; but neither his resentment, nor the grievous things which he was made to suffer, could make him send a better answer, than that they must be all carried away into captivity. Happy had it been for them if they had taken his counsel, and tried to soften their conqueror by a timely submission; but instead of it, the king, to avoid the threatened captivity, endeavoured to make his escape by night, attended by his nobles and guards. The *Chaldeans*, who were soon apprised of it, pursued after them, and brought them back to their exasperated monarch at *Riblah*; where he glutted his revenge upon the unfortunate king of *Judah* with the utmost cruelty, by causing all his children to be butchered before his eyes, and ordering them immediately after to be *ah's misery* put out, that no object might afterwards obliterate the idea *able end.* of that bloody scene. This happened towards the end of the eleventh year of his reign; he was soon after sent into *Ba-* Year of *ylon*, loaden with chains, and ended his days in a prison. the Flood,

IN the mean time, the *Chaldeans* having entered the city, 2411. fell to plundering the temple, palaces, and noblemen's houses, and seized every where upon the richest spoil. Year before Christ *buzar-adan*, who commanded them after *Nebuchadnezzar's* 588. departure, caused the two brazen columns, that stood in the court of the temple, to be broken in pieces (S), and all the gold, silver, and costly furniture to be taken away, whilst *The city plundered,* the rest of his army made the same havock in the city; and on the third day after his entrance into it, which was the tenth of the fourth month, answering to our *August 27^p*, and a sabbath day; he ordered the temple, palace, and the

^p UssER. sub A. M. 3416. p. 91.

(S) The same which *Solomon* had caused to be made by the famous *Hiram* (56), and which we have spoken of in the description of the temple. These together with the large molten sea, lavers, and many more of the like nature, though all of them master-pieces in their kind, had hitherto been spared by other conquerors, but became now a prey to the fury or avarice of the *Babylonish* general, who caused them to be all carried away, with a vast multitude of other sacred utensils, such as cauldrons, censers, tables, tongs, forks, and many others, whether of gold, silver, or copper.

(56) 2 Chron. iv. 11, & seq.

whole

and burnt. whole city to be set on fire, and burnt to the ground. The walls, towers, and other fortifications were next ordered to be demolished, and all the *Jews*, down to the very common people, to be carried away prisoners, except some few of the baser sort, whom he left to till the land ¹. As for *Jeremiah*, *Nebuchadnezzar* had given his general such charge concerning him, that he was well treated and set at liberty, and went and lived with *Gedaliah* (T), whom that general left as a kind of governor over the miserable remnant left behind.

THIS was the dreadful end of that glorious kingdom, and of the *Israelitish* monarchy, after it had stood 468 years from the time that *David* began to reign over it, 388 years from the revolt of the ten tribes from it, and 134 years from the excision of the *Israelitish* commonwealth ²; and had continued under the sun-shine of the divine protection, which nothing could have eclipsed, but their almost constant and horrid ingratitude, and invincible itch of imitating the idolatries and witcheries of other nations: crimes, which though become as abominable to God, as they were universally practised by mankind, yet seem to have flowed from a purer source, though corrupted by degrees to this vast height, by the amazing degeneracy of mankind; but for this we shall refer the reader to the Appendix here annexed. How the *Jewish* captives fared in *Babylon*, will be seen in next chapter: all that remains to be taken notice of, with respect to the *Jews* that were left in *Canaan*, is, that treacherous and bloody action, which was committed upon *Gedaliah*, the *Jewish* deputy, by one of the princes of *Judah*.

His name was *Ishmael*, he had escaped the common fate, by taking timely refuge with the king of *Ammon*. After *Nebuzar-adan*'s departure, he observed, that great numbers of dispersed *Jews* flocked to *Gedaliah*, who gave them a kind

¹ 2 Kings xxv. pass. 2. Chron. xxxvi. 11, & seq. Jerem. xxxix. pass. JOSEPH. Ant. l. x. c. 11. ² See USSER. ubi sup.

(T) This *Gedaliah*, was the son of *Abikam*, a person in such credit in all the latter reigns, that he had been able to screen that prophet from the resentment of the king, and fury of the people; so that it is very probable, *Jeremiah*, in gratitude to his father, obtained this favour for him from *Nebuzar-adan*. And this might also be the motive that induced him to go and live with him in *Judæa*, rather than to go into *Babylon*, when that general put it to his option, not without some considerable encouragements, to invite him to the latter.

reception,

reception, and plenty of provisions to subsist upon, till they could come to till the land ; and being moved with envy, and instigated by the *Ammonitish* king, came to him with ten resolute fellows to *Mizpah*, with a design to assassinate him. *Gedaliah* was indeed warned of his intent, but was so far from giving credit to it, that he entertained him with all the tokens of friendship and respect, and gave thereby the treacherous *Ishmael* an opportunity of murdering both him and all the brave *Chaldeans* he had about him. Two days after, meeting with about fourscore *Israelites* clad in mourning, who were going to bewail the ruin of the city and temple, and to offer up their devotions there ; he by some means enticed them to *Mizpah*, where he murdered them, and threw their carcases into a well. He was returning into the land of *Ammon*, with a number of prisoners which he made at *Mizpah*, among whom were some princesses of *Judah*, whom the *Babylonish* general had left with *Gedaliah* ; but was pursued by *Jobanan* and some other *Hebrew* captains, who rescued all the prisoners, and forced him to fly for his life, with only eight of his men.

THIS barbarous action made the *Jewish* officers, and the rest of the people, so afraid of the *Chaldeans* resentment, that they began to think of fleeing into *Egypt* for safety. They consulted *Jeremiah* about it, who gave them this answer from the Lord ten days after, that if they tarried in *Judæa*, they should be protected from the *Chaldeans*, but that if they persisted in their design of going down into *Egypt*, they should all inevitably perish there, and share in the dreadful calamities of that perishing kingdom. This speech, however, was so far from deterring them, who were always bent upon disobedience and contradiction, that, suspecting him to have been instigated by *Baruc*, rather than inspired by God, they both ventured to go down, and to force them also to go along with them. As soon as they had reached the city of *Taphnes*, *Jeremiah* began to foretel the taking of that place, and the desolation of that kingdom by *Nebuchadnezzar* ^c ; which happened accordingly soon after, as we have seen elsewhere [†], and shall have occasion again to mention in the next chapter. What became of *Jeremiah* is not known ; some suppose him to have been stoned by his countrymen ; but that is mere guess-work, and it is not material enough to enquire further about it.

^c 2 Kings xxv. 23, & seq. 2 Chron. ubi sup. ad fin. Jerem. xl, & seq. pass. [†] See Vol. II. p. 51.

An APPENDIX,

Concerning the Rise and Progress of IDOLATRY and
WITCHCRAFT.

WE hope our readers will not think it amiss, if we close this *Jewish* history with a short enquiry into the origin and progress of those two epidemic evils, *idolatry* and *witchcraft*, which had so long and so universally infected the world, and more particularly the *Israelites*; and proved so obstinately rooted in the latter, as to bring a total excision of one of their kingdoms, and so long and severe a captivity upon the other.

WE shall, however, forbear descanting upon the manifold opinions of the learned about this matter, because we think, that they have gone a great way for the causes of it, and overlooked those more natural ones which were just at their elbow. But here, with respect of the first of these evils, we would be far from rejecting that probable opinion of some judicious men^a, which fetches its origin from the promise, made to *Adam*, of the seed of the woman, or the Messiah and Mediator; from the progenitorship of whom *Ham* and *Canaan* having been excluded, for their irreverent behaviour towards their naked father, our authors suppose *Canaan* might be induced to obliterate and revenge that loss and disgrace, by corrupting the true meaning of the prophecy; and instead of one mediator, to be born in after-ages of the line of *Shem*, to introduce the worship of a multiplicity of them, not of human race, but of some superior nature, among their posterity. And if it be at least a very probable opinion, that it was this very Messiah who appeared in some visible shape, and had frequent intercourses with *Adam* and the patriarchs; or though even these apparitions were, as others will have them, only those of angels, deputed by God, and speaking in his name †, but from whose intercourse he and his cursed posterity may be reasonably supposed to have been excluded; how natural was it for him to arrogate a superiority over his rival, as well in the number and frequency, as in the intimacy and excellence of those heavenly visitors, by rearing an infinite multitude of altars to them. Thus for instance, *Egypt* was the place, where *Ca-*

^a Vid. int. al. ALIX. in Pentateuch. not. (T). & p. 487. not. (S).

† See Vol. II. p. 371.

naan, if not *Ham*, fixed his abode ; and how thriving a soil it proved for them, needs not to be repeated here ; whereas the holy patriarchs, who offered their sacrifices to the true God, upon those altars only, which they occasionally reared in those places where he appeared to them, having but a very small number of them, appeared vastly inferior to them in this respect in the eyes of an ignorant world.

BUT though this accounts probably enough for the rise of polytheism, yet it leaves us wholly in the dark about the more absurd and unnatural worship of stocks and stones, under various figures of the planets, and of several parts of the animal and vegetable creation ; which is more particularly the subject of our present inquiry. For we cannot see, which way these can be said, in any sense, to have been introduced in consequence of the former. As for those who derive them from the custom of deifying their heroes, and erecting statues and monuments to them, which came in time to be worshipped, instead of the prototypes, we can by no means agree to them ; because it doth not appear to us, that those *Apotheoses* began any thing so early as the times we are speaking of ; they seem rather to have been introduced in consequence of the notion of polytheism ; so that we must seek elsewhere for the source of idolatry. For as for what we have said on this head in the history of *Egypt* *, the reader may remember, that we did not give it as our particular opinion, but either as the best account, which the priests of that nation could give for their various kinds of worship to *Herodotus*, or as the conjectures of that, or other authors, concerning their superstitious and nonsensical mythology.

BUT as to us, we rather think, that the origin and progress of idolatry is plainly pointed out to us, in the account which *Moses* gives us of *Laban* and *Jacob's* parting †. The reader may remember, that these two, after a sharp contest, being ready to depart, the one into *Mesopotamia*, and the other into *Canaan*, agreed to bind themselves and their posterity, by a solemn oath on both sides, to live in peace and friendship with each other. Now the way they took to ratify and perpetuate the memory of this covenant, was the rearing up a heap of stones in the place ; which seems, therefore, to have been founded upon some antient and common custom of that nature, and well known to them both, and only differently interpreted by them, according to their different religions. *Jacob*, who was a worshipper of the true God, called this monument *Galeed*, or *Gall-bed*, a heap of

* See Vol. I. p. 455, & seq.

† Gen. xxxi. 44, & seq.

witness, that is, an authentic record, of his having appealed to the God of heaven for the faithful performance of the agreement on his part : This was the pure original sense of this ceremony. *Laban*, on the other hand, interprets it according to the corrupt theology of his time and country, in terms to this effect ; this heap be both a *Galeed*, or *record* of our mutual oath, *המזפה* *Ve-hammitzphah*, and also a *watchman*, or rather a *watch-tower*, from which the gods, that is, that of *Abraham*, and that, or those, of *Nabor*, may behold and punish the aggressor, when we come to be at such a distance from each other, that there will be none else to see and judge between us.

It is true, indeed, that *Laban's* words might be capable of a more figurative construction, did not the outcry which he made after his gods ^c shew him to have been such a thorough-paced idolater, as to be incapable of being understood in any other sense. This made *Jacob*, who doubtless could best judge of his meaning, carefully avoid swearing by any other oath than by the Dread, that is, by the God, of his father *Isaac* ^d.

HOWEVER, not to lay greater stress upon this than we need, it is plain, that if such a custom as this was once introduced, of erecting monuments in memory of any solemn covenants, the transition was easy into the notion, that the Godhead, or rather some deity, took its residence in it, in order to punish the first aggressors ; and how soon this might be improved by an ignorant and degenerate world, till not only birds, beasts, stocks, and stones, but sun, moon, and stars, were called into the same office ; though used perhaps at first, by the designing part of mankind, as scare-crows, to over-awe the ignorant : This is indeed the most that it ever did, even whilst idolatry was at the height ; whilst the more cunning sort laughed at it, and only made it to serve their own ends.

THE next improvement might be that of witchcraft, and the same kind of policy might oblige those *Machiavels* to wink at, if not to encourage, a numerous herd of inferior knaves, as must naturally be bred out of the dregs of this corrupt theology, under the denominations of astrologers, enchanter, forcerers, teraphim-makers, retainers of familiar spirits, soothsayers, fortune-tellers, and many more of the same nature, who were all greedily resorted unto by the populace upon all occasions ; though, in matters of greater mo-

^c Gen. xxxi. 30, & seq. pass.

^d Ibid. ver. 53.

ment, they were forced to receive their directions from their principals.

HITHERTO we have avoided meddling with the common opinion, which makes the devil the cause of all these mischiefs ; if he was really so, what we have said will only shew how easy it was for him to compass his end. But tho' the scriptures seem plainly to intimate some kind of intercourse between some men and women, and some kind of spirits, as in the case of the *Egyptian* conjurers, and the witch of *Endor* ; yet we do not find, that the devil is any where charged with having debauched mankind into idolatry or witchcraft, how glad and ready soever he might be to encourage them, after men had once introduced the notion of them into the world. This we purposely take notice of, because the hypothesis we are speaking against supposes such an extent of power in him, as would be highly derogatory of the divine goodness, whilst it left the bulk of mankind under a kind of inevitable necessity of falling into all his snares, with those little assistances they had, either from the dim light of reason, or the the book of nature.

THERE is, indeed, a great deal of difference between supposing, that the devil first blinded mankind, and then led them into all manner of wickedness ; and saying, that men having shamefully corrupted themselves, proceeded from one wickedness to another, till at length, being given up to their abominable lusts, they became the slaves of that evil spirit, and were easily enticed by him into this excess of impiety.

WE may add, that mankind, if we except the families of a few patriarchs, carrying their views no farther than this life, their insatiable desire after wealth, their care of preserving it, an unaccountable itch to pry into futurity, and the like, did naturally lead them into all that variety of superstitious trash we have been speaking of. Could any thing therefore more effectually cure the *Israelites*, too prone to imitate them in all these, than to make their worldly happiness rise and fall, according as they shewed the greater abhorrence or fondness for every thing that bordered upon idolatry and witchcraft.

THUS then the antient and truly religious custom of ratifying oaths and contracts by such monuments, which was only an appeal to God's all-seeing eye, insensibly degenerated into the grossest and absurdest idolatry, under the multiform notion of guardian idols or gods, protectors of houses, lands, kingdoms, &c. Thence sprung the trades of conjuring each respective deity to its particular idol, and use ; of foretelling things by a pretended intimacy with those deities ; the art

of star-gazing and astrology ; of making teraphims, idols, and other charms, offensive and defensive, under their proper constellations ; with the whole train of heathenish superstition, forbid under such severe penalties by the *Jewish* law-giver.

BUT if this should not sufficiently account for the origin of witchcraft, what we shall add concerning one branch of it, as yet unmentioned, may perhaps do it more effectually ; we mean the heretofore so much boasted craft of enchanting serpents, insomuch, that we read of whole nations that pretended to it, and some learned fathers seem to express such an admiration of it, as if they had really seen, or had been some other way fully convinced of it. But the notion must have been of much older date, since the psalmist, speaking according to the vulgar opinion, compares the sad mischiefs of an evil tongue to the poison of the deaf adder, that stoppeth her ears against the charms of the most cunning enchanter ^e. What pains hath it not cost some antient fathers ^f, and of late, especially, the learned *Bachart* ^g, to find out a serpent that answered the character given here by the psalmist. Deaf ones we need not be at a loss for ; we have a sort in *England*, which, though not exactly of the same colour with those of our author, but rather of a reddish copper hue, seem to be quite deaf, and their bite is reckoned mortal : but *David* speaks of one that stoppeth her ear to the charmer's voice and this has given occasion to various conjectures, which may be best seen in the author himself. For our part, we see no reason to understand these words literally, any more than if he had compared an evil tongue to the voice of a syren, the claws of a harpy, the eyes of a basilisk, or of any other fabulous creature ; we hope, that in neither case there is now any necessity, either for disproving the reality of such creatures, or for vindicating the sacred poet's allusion to them. All that we pretend here, is to enquire, how the notion of this pretended art came to be introduced, and so universally received in the world ; and this cannot, we think, be done, without fetching its origin from the old serpent in paradise ^h.

AND here we need not observe, how much every circumstance in the history of his seducing the woman ; his being, according to the common version, called the most subtle of all creatures, his being chosen by the devil, as the fittest in-

^e Psal. lviii. 4. 5. ^f ORIG. EUSEB. in Ps. lix. AUGUST. de Genes. ad litt. lib. ix. Respons. ad quæst. 44. vid. & SCALIG. de Animal. lib. 1. ^g De Animal. sacr. lib. iii. c. 6. ^h Gen. iii. 1.

strument to deceive her, the curse pronounced against him by God, and the enmity entailed between his and her seed, might contribute to the notion of serpents being infected with some diabolical pestiferous quality, which made them thus strangely destructive to mankind. But what we would first of all take notice of is, that though, in our former account of our first parents seduction †, we followed the current of all versions, which represent that reptile as the most subtle of all living creatures, yet the term **חָרָם** *Harum*, which *Moses* there makes use of, signifies quite another thing, namely, in its primitive signification, *naked*; accordingly he says, in the preceding verse, that our first parents were **עֲרוּמִים** *Harumim*, *naked*; so that in a figurative sense, it may properly enough signify a harmless inoffensive creature. It seems even probable, that the sacred historian takes notice of this circumstance, as one main reason of *Eve's* being so easily deceived by it; for what could be more fit for the devil's purpose than such a one, which was furnished with neither legs, claws, horns, or any one single part, even for its own defence? had it indeed been really the craftiest of all animals, *Adam* could not but have known it, seeing he gave them all names according to their natures; and then *Eve* could not but have been particularly mistrustful of him, so that he would have been the last that the devil would have pitched upon to tempt her. Hence we would observe, 1. That it was chiefly this naked, defenceless, and inoffensive appearance, though adorned perhaps with all those beauties of shape, colour, and wings, which we mentioned before under that head *, that gained credit with her; and, 2. That whenever the same term is used afterwards to signify *cunning*, as it sometimes doth; it is only the word *Harum*, *naked* or *simple*, ironically applied.

HERE was then a creature, which, from being originally harmless and inoffensive, became the most dangerous and deadly one in the whole creation: a wonderful change of nature, to all outward appearance, without change of shape; a power to kill infused into it, without the addition of any offensive part; inflicting a sure and speedy, a painful and unaccountable death, and yet not able to give the body a greater wound, than that of a seemingly slight prick. What could an infant world attribute all these surprising effects to, but to some deadly occult quality, which the devil left behind him with it? or what could be more apt to cultivate that notion, if not to give the first rise to it, than the enmity en-

† See Vol. I. p. 119.

* Ibid. p. 123.

tailed between mankind and the serpent, after the prophetic sense of it had once been obliterated with the far greatest part of the world ? and whence should they expect a remedy against this supposed preternatural evil, but from pretended preternatural means ? so that though we are far from thinking, that it sent men to the devil for help, for charms, and enchantments, yet it might easily induce those who first found out a cure for the bite of those venomous creatures, to assume to themselves some supernatural skill, in order both to gain greater credit and admiration among the people, and to prevent their prying too narrowly into their secrets. How much farther these pretended enchanters improved this notion of a preternatural, or diabolical vertue in serpents, above all other creatures, is plain, from that vast variety of surprising tricks, which they attributed to them¹; one of which, and that not by far the most extraordinary, was that of stopping their ears, that they might be proof against all enchantments; and it is this, we shall now endeavour to account for.

It is not to be doubted, but these cunning artists had acquainted themselves, as far as they could, with all the various kinds of serpents ; some of which, such as our common snakes, being found to be perfectly harmless, might serve them to amuse the ignorant, by pretending, that they had charmed them into that inoffensive familiarity, which they beheld with the utmost wonder ; others of a more dangerous nature, such as the viper or adder, but which only bite when hurt or provoked, might be either tamed by degrees, and by gentle usage, or rendered harmless by breaking those two teeth, through which they inject their poison ; the latter therefore might be used as an amusement, and the former to try experiments, to find out remedies ; and both together to deceive the world, by shewing their pretended capacity, or incapacity, to hurt or kill, according as they were, or were not, enchanted. But as they found their remedies ineffectual in many cases, and against the bite of some kinds of serpents, they had no other way to save themselves, than by pretending, that those had a particular virtue, which was proof against their charms ; and as the deaf kind is the most deadly, and hitherto found to be incurable, nothing could be more natural, than for the pretended enchanters to affirm, that their charms consisted in the sound of certain words, pro-

¹ Vid. Auct. sup. citat. & POMPONAC. de incant. TRITHEM. Steganogr. TLEXIR. Hist. Pers. DELRIO. Disquisit. magic. & al. mult.

nounced in the hearing of those reptiles, which could therefore have no effect against them, because they had the skill of turning a deaf ear to them. Hence came the notion of their hearing but with one ear, which they stopped either with the end their tail, or by laying it close to the ground, whenever they found themselves in danger of being enchanted ; and many others, equally absurd, invented on purpose to account for the pretended superiority of skill in this creature, above that of the enchanter.

Thus we hope, that the history of *Jacob* and *Laban* makes it at least very probable, that idolatry, with all its long train of vain and absurd, of vile and abominable attendants, was at first foisted into the world from the primitive notion of God's omnipresence ; which, through the degeneracy and ignorance of the world, which could not perhaps comprehend the possibility of the deity being present and attentive to every part of the creation, branched itself out into that infinite multitude of deities, of various sizes and natures, as best suited with their corrupt notions and morals. We may add, that the righteous line of *Shem* is not the only people, who are recorded to have preserved this pure and primitive notion, since, as we observed formerly †, the inhabitants of *Thebais*, or *Upper Egypt*, did worship none but the *Cneph*, or supreme deity, whilst the lower part of the country was immersed in the grossest idolatry. How far the early notion of good and bad spirits might further contribute to corrupt this pure and primitive sense of God's omnipresence, and degenerate by degrees into a belief that they were, if we may be allowed the expression, the eyes and hands of the deity, and the instruments of his favour or justice, we need not say ; and if this was the case, how easy was it for the corrupt physiologists of those times to turn them all into deities, and even assign them their several provinces over every creature, according as they found it beneficial or hurtful to mankind. Hence proceeded, most likely, the worship of *crocodiles*, *ibis*, *rats*, *onions*, *garlick*, and many more among the *Egyptians* ; and of the *heavenly bodies*, both by them and the rest of the world *.

Now there is nothing more plain, than that all this infinite variety of superstitions was owing to that insatiable desire after those various kinds of happiness, which their vitiated taste made them seek after, according to their different inclinations, from those imaginary dispensers of them. So that if the *Israelites* could but have kept themselves wholly free

† See Vol. I. p. 28.

* Ibid. p. 24.

from it, it would have proved the most effectual means, perhaps, of recovering the rest of mankind, by setting before their eyes a whole nation, enjoying the height of grandeur and happiness, not from those fancied deities which engrossed the worship of other nations, from whom they were so far from expecting any blessings, that they had both them, and their stupid votaries, in the greatest contempt and abhorrence ; but under the influence of the only supreme creator of heaven and earth, whom alone they acknowledged to be the bountiful giver of all good. Here then was at once the source of their guilt and unhappiness, that they thwarted, instead of complying with, the designs of providence ; and by their shameful imitation, confirmed other nations in their delusions and idolatry, whom they were designed to cure by their utter detestation of them.

BUT there was still a farther aggravation of their guilt and impiety, the inhuman cruelties which were practised at the worship of some, and the filthy and unnatural ceremonies which were used at that of others, of these false deities. All these may be reasonably supposed to have been invented by crafty and designing men, merely to gratify the depraved appetites of a senseless vulgar, in order to make it subservient to their more latent views ; but when they came to be adopted by God's peculiar people, in spite of all his most express prohibitions and threatnings, they carried a much higher degree of guilt in them, because they tended to cast a double dishonour upon him, among those wiser heathens, who were ignorant of his laws against them, and yet abhorred them, as being manifestly contrary to his nature. For what opinion could they have of the God of *Israel*, or how could they believe him to be the supreme being, and yet suffer his people to commit such abominations ? What must even the very *Israelites* themselves think of him, if they could suppose, that he would indulge them in those very impieties, for which he had so severely punished the nations, whose land they now inhabited ?

To all this let us add their obstinate unbelief, which hardened them against the most pathetic remonstrances, and dreadful threatnings of their prophets, whom God still sent to them upon all such defections ; and who never appeared in greater number, than they did toward the approaching captivity, which their multiplied impieties were hastening upon them, and proved at last the only effectual means of curing them at once of their idolatry and unbelief. Whether the severity of their thralldom, the monstrous variety of superstition, which they beheld among the *Babylonians*, or the

continued

A MAP of the Kingdoms of JUDAH and ISRAEL according to this History



continued exhortations of *Ezekiel* and other prophets, who were with them in the captivity, contributed most to this extraordinary change, we will not pretend to say ; but this is plain, that ever since their return from thence, they always expressed the greatest abhorrence to those two crimes. Yet even in these two respects, they seem rather to have gone into the other extreme, and to have strove only to atone for former faults, by running into others, if not equal in guilt, yet at least equally dangerous. For the truth of this, we need but refer the reader to what we have had frequent occasion to observe concerning them. Thus, for instance, idolatry, once their most favourite vice, has been since had in such adhorrence among them, that they would not stoop before a statue, though it were to pluck a thorn out of their foot * ; and may we not reasonably suppose, that it was in order to make amends for their former unbelief, that they so greedily swallowed down such a number of monstrous fables, of which, those we have quoted in this history out of their *Talmud*, are but a small scantling ; and prefer that pretended oral law or tradition, wherein they find such plenty of materials to exercise their faith, to the sacred writings, wherein they find little or nothing like it ? well might our Saviour charge those of his time with *straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel* † ; and an honest rabbi of theirs advises them to insert the decalogue in their *Talmud*, as the only means to prevent the shameful and almost universal breach of it amongst them.

HOWEVER, it behoves us to spare and pity them in this respect, since it was their unaccountable fondness for these traditions above the sacred writings, that inspired them with that bitterness and malice against the *Messiah*, the redeemer of mankind, which made them persecute him to that slavish death, from which we derive our freedom and assurance of a better life ; especially, since their continuing to this day in unbelief affords us so irrefragable an argument for the authority of the Old Testament, and consequently for the truth and divinity of the New ; into which we are not without some sure hopes of their being admitted in God's good time ‡.

* See Vol. III. p. 157, note (F). † Matt. xxiii. 24. ‡ Vid. Rom. xi. pass.

C H A P. VIII.

The History of ASSYRIA.

S E C T. I.

The description of ASSYRIA.

Its name.

WE have already accounted for the name of this country, declaring it to have been derived from *Ashur*, its first planter after the flood ^a, and have observed ^b, that its name extended very far westward over the whole country of *Aram*, or *Syria* (A), which at this time gives appellation to most of the country between the *Euphrates* and the *Mediterranean*. Eastward, southward, and northward it must also have extended its name, where-

^a See Vol. I. p. 360.

^b Vol. II. p. 232.

(A) *Bochart* (1) divides the *Affyrians* into two sorts, those properly so called, beyond the *Tigris* and derived from *Ashur*, and those on this side of the *Euphrates*, who derived their name from צור *Sur*, or *Tyre* (2), by means of an article prefixed thereto, as in הצורים *Hassurim*, but whatever there may really be in this, it will, upon examination, be thought to be of no great weight. The descent of the two nations is so different, the one from *Ashur*, the other from *Aram*, and their distance from each other so wide, that we can never think so slight an accident, as an article prefixed to *Sur*, should cause the potent and antient nation of the *Aramites*, or *Syrians*, to be called by all the nations about, *Affyrians*; and particularly, when there is so much to be said against it, as may be found in the next note.

(1) *Phaleg*. l. 4. c. 34.

(2) See Vol. II. p. 232.

ever its monarchs had established themselves by the fortune of their arms (B).

IF we consider the monarchy of *Assyria* geographically, we have already done much towards a description of it, in what we have formerly said of the several countries, whose histories go before, and which may, in this light, be considered as provinces of *Assyria*, and more we shall do towards this work in our descriptions of several other countries, whose histories are to follow, and which the order we have hitherto observed requires us to defer to the places naturally belonging to them; and the same order obliges us here to confine ourselves to the *proper Assyria*.

THE precise extent of this country may not exactly be known, and it might be labour quite in vain to attempt to settle it; but taking it to have been the same with the province of *Curdestân* at this day, it lay eastward of the *Tigris*, and extended almost north-east and south-west from the springs of that river and the lake *Van*, to the province of *Khuzestân* in *Persia*; or, according to *Ptolemy*, it lay along the eastern banks of the *Tigris*, from mount *Niphates* to mount *Zagros*, being bounded on the east by mount *Choatras*. Such was its situation and boundaries, as should seem, and is agreed upon by geographers; but for its exact extent

(B) Where-ever this monarchy extended itself, it is apparent, that it extended its name together with its dominions; so *Mesopotamia*, the *Aram-Nabaraim* of the *Jewish* writers, is said (3) to have been called the *Mid-Assyria*; and so also *Babylon* and *Chaldea* were reckoned to be a part of that country (4), as well as the rest, we may suppose, that owned subjection to the kings of *Nineveh*. In conformity to this, we are told by *Trogus Pompeius* (5), that the *Assyrians*, by contraction, came to be called *Syrians*. It was the first great monarchy, and its name grew venerable in process of time, even to those who had formerly suffered by its power; and hence out of vanity, or from a long settled custom, the nations round about affected to call themselves *Assyrians*, or else others affected to call them so, or thirdly, they may have been commanded so to denominate themselves by the conqueror. To dismiss this, we would take notice, that there seems to be nothing more uncertain, than what the *Greeks* and *Latins* mean by *Assyria* and *Assyrian*; they are of such comprehensive latitude with these writers, as to take in all the country and people between the *Mediterranean* on the west, and the river *Indus*, on the east.

(3) Arrian. *Exped. Alexand.* l. 7. p. 453. (4) Ammian. *Marecl.* l. 23. c. 20. (5) Just. l. 1. c. 2. See Vol. II. p. 237.

we choose to pass that over, as a thing uncertain, and not within the compass of our knowledge.

THIS country, which must, in its happy times, have been a land of plenty (C), has almost ever since the fall of its empire been decaying; a misfortune which has been particularly incident to it, by the very nature of its situation, which has, at times, made it the seat of war between potent empires and nations; and it is now become a wilderness, a desert, excepting some little land that may be cultivated about the few and inconsiderable towns which stand within its borders, so that there is but little to be said of its productions and properties.

WE have already said as much of the first postdiluvian state of this country and its antient cities, *Nineveh* and the rest, as we have been able to gather, so that we have here nothing to do, but to refer back the reader to what of that kind is in the former part of this work ^d, and proceed to the division and arrangement of it by the *Greeks*.

Ptolemy ^e divides *Assyria*, begining from the north-west to the south-east, into the several provinces of *Arrapachitis*, *Adiabene* (D), *Arbelitis*, *Calacine*, or *Calachine*, *Apolloniatis*,
an

^c RAUWOLF's Trav. p. ii. c. 9.

^d See Vol. I. p. 278.

^e Lib. vi. c. i.

(C) A land of plenty and pleasure it must undoubtedly have been; but this may not have been the country designated in scripture (6) by a *land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of oil-olive, and of honey*, as *Bochart* thinks (7), and *Rauwolf* (8); for *Rahshakeb's* words, who speaks of this (9), may, as is most likely, have been understood, as of some of the new conquered provinces of *Assyria*, and not of *Assyria* itself, properly so called; so that this does not amount to a positive proof of what is asserted concerning the fertility and amenity of the *Proper Assyria*; though indeed it must be confessed to be a very strong circumstance to make us believe, it was no ways inferior to the country or countries intended by the text above; we may easily conceive the conqueror would have seized on the best for himself, and not have bestowed it on the foreign captives he made and transplanted.

(D) The whole country has been sometimes called by the name of this part of it. So *Pliny* observes (10), that the country of *Adiabene* was in former times called *Assyria*; the same says *Ammianus Marcellinus* (11), who (12) derives the name from two rivers of the country, called *Diaba* and *Adiaba*, rejecting the common

(6) 2 Kings xviii. 32. (7) *Phaleg. l. 4. c. 19.* (8) *In his travels, p. ii. c. 9.* (9) 2 Kings ubi sup. (10) *Hist. Nat. l. v. c. 12.* (11) *Ubi sup.* (12) *Ibid.*

and *Sittacene*, but there is no pretending to set bounds to these several divisions, or assigning to each the cities, that may, in former times, have belonged thereto. Nor are these all the parts of *Assyria* mentioned by antient geographers: we have the name of *Aturia*^f, or *Atyria* (E), as a part of this country, as also *Artacene* (F) and *Chalonitis*^g (G).

AMONG

^f STRAB. l. xvi. incunt.

^g PLIN. l. 6. c. 26.

opinion, which derives it from the Greek word Διαβάειν *transire*, διὰ τὸ εἶναι πλείους ποταμούς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ δυσχερετέραν ποιεῖν τὴν διάβασιν, *because of the many rivers which make it difficult to travel or pass* (13). Thus it is also, that *Suidas* (14) accounts for this name; to which he adds fabulouly, that here is the mouth of *Avernus*, which sends up so pestiferous a vapour, that no bird or beast may take in the least scent of it, but death must be the unhappy consequence; and that hence also it was called *Adiabene*, or *Impassable*. To pass over other obscurities concerning the derivation of this name (15), *Bochart* (16) gives it an *Assyrian* or *Chaldean* origin, forming it from the *Chaldee* הדיב, or הדיבב *Hadiab*, or *Hadyab*, as it is called by the *Talmudists* and the *Chaldee* interpreter; as also הדיבבא *Hadjaba*, or *Hadjava*; whence he deduces (17) *Ammianus Marcellinus's* (18) *Adiavena*, which whence it became the name of this part of *Assyria* may be observed anon.

(E) This also, though apparently but a small district of this country, extended itself over the whole, and, according to *Bochart* (19), was a name synonymous with *Assyria*, allowing only for the difference of dialect; the former being the *Hebrew*, and the other the *Chaldee*, way of writing this name; the *Chaldees* constantly converting the *Hebrew* ש *Sin* into the ט *Tau*; so that what the *Hebrews* pronounce *Assyria*, they pronounce *Atyria*. Whatever there may be in this, the *Greeks* plainly took *Aturia*, or *Atyria*, to be no more than a province or district of *Assyria*. *Strabo* (20) divides *Aturia* from *Arbelitis* by the river *Lycus*; whence it is plain, it was by the *Greeks* reckoned as a part only of this country, however the name may have been common to all of it.

(F) This is supposed to have derived its name from the city of *Erech* (21), or *Arec*. This is the opinion both of *Scaliger* and *Casaubon* (22); and if so, we have nothing to do with it at present, for it was not in this country, but in the land of *Shinaar* (23), on this side the *Tigris*.

(G) This may have been the same with *Cala* and *Calacine*, for which we must refer to what we have already said (24) before, only


(13) *Vid.* Bochart. *Phaleg*. l. iv. c. 19. (14) *Ad vocem* Αδιανην.
 (15) *Vid.* Cellar. *Geogr. Antiq.* Vol. II. l. iii. c. 17. (16) *Phaleg*.
ubi sup. (17) *Ibid.* (18) *Ubi sup.* (19) *Phaleg*. *ubi sup.*
 (20) *Lib.* xvi. incunt. (21) *Genes.* x. 10. (22) *Vid.* Cellar.
Geogr. Antiq. *ubi sup.* (23) *Genes.* *ubi sup.* (24) *See Vol. I.*
p. 280, in the notes.




observing,

AMONG the rivers of *Assyria*, we may justly reckon the *Tigris* (H), not only because it bathed all the western skirts of this country, but also because all the other rivers of this kingdom fell into this; as also, because the great cities of this kingdom ^h, *Nineveh*, *Ctesiphon*, and others, were situated thereon. The other rivers of less note were, the *Lycus*, the *Caprus*, and the *Gorgus* (I), at almost an equal distance from

^h Vid. CELLAR. Geogr. Antiq. tom. II. l. 3. c. 17.

observing, that the *Callonites* of *Polybius* (25) may have been the same.

(H) Said to have borrowed this name from the number of tigers on its banks; and the rather, as there are two other rivers in this country, the *Lycus* and the *Caprus*, which seem to borrow their names from a cause of the same nature, the one being denominated from a wolf, the other from a goat (26); others derive it from a *Persian* word, signifying an *arrow* *; by this, and the former, importing it to be rapid and violent in its course: But this is contradicted by *Pedro de la Valle* (27), who says, it is a slower stream than the *Euphrates*; and *Thevenot* (28) seems to assign a reason why the *Tigris* should not be so very swift, saying, it is not only more crooked and full of meanders than any he ever saw, but also choaked up with islands and great banks of stone. *Bochart* derives it from its old *Hebrew* name *Hiddekel*; and the *Arabs*, at this day, call it  *Dijlat*. The inhabitants hereabouts call it *Hiddekel* to this day (29).

(I) The *Lycus* and the *Caprus*, according to *Bochart* (30), are the two rivers *Diaba* and *Adiaba*, or *Diava* and *Adiava*.  *Diava*, he observes, is *lupus* or *lupinus*, *wolf*, or *wolfish*;  *Diava*, being *Chaldee* for a *wolf*; and hence he derives the *Greek*, *Lycus*, which signifies the same. *Hadiaba*, the name of the other, he derives, or at least is ready so to do, from an *Arabic* word signifying *swift*; but this is a most obscure point; and therefore we proceed to take notice, that these two rivers are now called, or supposed to be so, the great *Zab* and little *Zab*. According to *Bochart* (31), this latter name is corrupted from *Diaba*, or derived from the *Hebrew*  *Zeeb*, which differ but in dialect. *Thevenot* (32) calls these rivers *Zarb*, but speaks as of but one, which he saw fall into the *Tigris*; he calls it a large river, makes it above half as broad as the *Tigris*, and observes, that it is very rapid, that its water is whitish and very cold, which he would seemingly ac-

(25) *Lib. v. c. 54.* (26) *Vid. Cellar. ubi sup.* * *Vid. Gregor. passim. p. 189.* (27) *In his travels.* (28) *In his travels, part 2. c. 13.* (29) *Rauwolf's travels, part 2. c. 9.* (30) *Phaleg ubi sup.* (31) *Ibid.* (32) *In his travels to the Levant, part 2. c. 13.*

from each other, and supposed to have been all between the two cities of *Ninus*, or *Nineveh*, and *Seleucia*.

CONCERNING the natural and artificial rarities of this once famous land we have nothing material to say, and therefore must here close up this section.

S E C T. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade, of the ASSYRIANS.

ASSYRIA, which stands foremost of all in profane ac- *Antiquity.*
counts, is in scripture the second most antient kingdom after *Babel*, or *Babylon*. It was founded by *Ashur*, and not by *Nimrod*, as some have contended (K), who embrace

count for by its falling from the mountains of *Cardestân*, and being merely snow-water. This agrees very well with *Bochart's* thoughts of the smaller of the two rivers above, the *Adiabâ*, which he would have to derive its name from the swiftness of its course; but for dimension, might, one would think, better agree with the larger. And here, by the way, our traveller illustrates, in some sort, a passage in the *Nubian* geographer (33) who, as he is translated, says, the two *Zabs* are great rivers, and, when united, equal to above one half of the *Tygris*; though he says a little before, their mouths were six and thirty miles from each other. It is asked, how in this case these two rivers ever should unite? and whether or no the true meaning might not be, that both together would be more than half of the *Tygris*, or fill the same river one half fuller than it would be without them? *Thevenot* seems to answer this question by affirming they do.

Bochart (34) also seems to think the *Gorgus* and the *Caprus* are two names in *Ptolemy* for one and the same river; and particularly, because he finds none but the two above mentioned elsewhere; but *De Lisle's* maps have three, one to the northward of the two *Zabs*, which is the westernmost of the three, and therein differs from *Ptolemy's* maps, which make the *Gorgus* the easternmost; we leave the reader to make his choice. *Hardouin* would have this river to be the *Zerbin* of *Pliny*, (35). *Cellarius* (36) knows not what to say to it, observing only that γοργός is *Velox*, which might have tempted *Bochart* to think it the same with his *Adiaba*, which he would have to be denominated from its swiftness.

(K) The text (37) which mentions the first foundation of this kingdom is variously interpreted, either, *out of that land went forth*

(33) *Clim.* 4. part 6. (34) *Ubi sup.* (35) *Hist. Natur.*
l. 6. c. 26. (36) *Geogr. Antiq. Vol. II. l. 3. c. 17.* (37)
Genes. x. 11.

embrace the *Ctesian* system ; and was in the beginning a kingdom distinct from *Babylon*, though in process of time they coalesced into one, in consequence of mutual conquests. *Ashur* departed from the land of *Shinaar*¹ upon *Nimrod's* usurpation,

¹ Genes. x. 10.

Ashur, and builded *Nineveh*, as it stands in our Bibles, as well as in the best versions of the *Greek*, the old *Latin*, and the *Dutch* ; or, *he* [meaning *Nimrod*] went out into *Ashur* and builded *Nineveh* ; as it stands in the margin of our Bibles, and as it is translated by *Vatablus*, *Junius*, *Bochart*, *Cocceius*, *Schotan*, *Heidegger*, *Spanheim*, and *Le Clerc*. Now the whole of the controversy (38) turns upon this, whether the word *Ashur*, in the text, signifies the son of *Shem*, or whether it signifies the country of *Assyria* ; for both ways it is often assumed in scripture. Those who are for the last interpretation, are judged to force the text, being obliged to supply a defect in the *Hebrew*, by inserting a particle [into] to serve their purpose, while those who vindicate the other follow the natural order and construction of the words of the original as they stand. But not to dwell on these grammatical niceties, we chuse to recur to such arguments as may be reasonably offered to set this matter in a clear light.

It is on all hands allowed, that the land of *Ashur*, or *Assyria*, derived its name from *Ashur* the son of *Shem* ; and, according to what we read in scripture (39), it must have been, that he went out of the land of *Shinaar*, where all the descendants of *Noah* were at the time of the dispersion, in order to plant or take possession of the country since called by his name ; and can any thing be more natural, than to suppose, that the text before us is meant of this migration of his ? And who is so likely to have founded *Nineveh* and the other cities as himself ? except we can imagine it likely, that *Nimrod* made a conquest of this country before *Ashur* had well settled himself in it. If this had been the case, the country, it is likely, would have been known by his name, rather than by that of his great uncle. We elsewhere (40) read, indeed, that *Ashur* founded *Babel* ; but no where is it ever suggested, that *Nimrod* went into *Assyria* and founded *Nineveh*.

It is objected as an improbability, that *Moses* should introduce a passage relating to a branch of *Shem*, when he was professedly writing about that of *Ham* ; but this is frivolous. Parentheses of this sort are common enough in scripture ; as in that concerning *Mephibosheth* (41), and in that concerning *Hiram's* fleet (42), introduced in the midst of other discourse. A late author (43) affirms, the scripture expressly calls the land of *Assyria* the land of *Nimrod*.

(38) *Vid.* Perizon. *Origin. Babylon.* c. 4. p. 39. (39) *Ubi sup.*
 (40) *Isai.* xxiii. 13. (41) *2 Sam.* iv. 4. (42) *1 Kings* x.
 (43) *Bedford, in his Script. Chronol. demonstr.* p. 773.

on, and built *Nineveh* and other cities, as *Rehoboth*, *Calah*, and *Resen*; in ^k *Nineveh*, it is likely, he resided, and thus erected a new kingdom, which borrowing his name, was called *Asshur*, or *Assyria*. According therefore to our chronology, we have nothing to object against the antiquity of the *Assyrian* kingdom, though as delivered by *Ctesias* ¹ and others, who some how or other happen to exceed him, as, for example, *Syncellus* ^m, if barely the antiquity of it be considered: which would not well stand by the *Hebrew* computation. But by the *Samaritan*, which we embrace, this boasted *Assyrian* monarchy, instead of running up too far,

^k Gen. x. 11.
p. 165.

¹ Apud DIONOR. SICUL.

^m Chron.

Bochart shewed him the way, and this would go hard against us, if the thing really were so; though if it was really the case, we might cite the text in *Isaiab* in the note above, in opposition to the text in *Micah*, which seems to favour this notion. *Micah* expresses himself thus (44), *They shall waste the land of Assyria with the sword, and the land of Nimrod in the entrances thereof*. By this the *land of Nimrod* seems to be quite distinguished from the *land of Assyria*: So far is this text, as pretended, from proving they are but one and the same; for the *and* is sometimes taken disjunctively; but in the passage before us nothing requires it. Several expositors (45), both *Jewish* and *Christian*, understand thereby the two countries of *Assyria* and *Babylon*, which were both united in the *Assyrian* monarchy about the time of this prophecy; for *Manasseh*, the son of *Hezekiah*, under whom *Micah* flourished, was carried away captive to *Babylon* by the army of *Assyria*, when *Esharaddon* was king both of *Assyria* and *Babylon*, as will be seen in the course of this history.

The author (46), we have been contending with, resolving to wrest the thing his way, and citing the text in *Isaiab*, which we think makes for us, viz. *Behold the land of the Chaldeans; this people was not till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness*, takes the liberty of inserting the word *Nimrod* after the word *Assyrian*, distinguishing it by an *Italic* letter and a comma after it, as if it could be a part of the text. This is entirely inexcusable in him, who is quite angry (47) with Sir *Isaac Newton*, for a little presumptive addition of the same sort (48). Sir *Isaac Newton*, indeed, had an hypothesis to serve, and so has our author; so that one would have thought, he might have over-looked a liberty in Sir *Isaac*, which he resolved to take himself; except he imagined Sir *Isaac* had not the right to do it he had, which he would be a little puzzled to make out.

(44) *Cb.* v. 6. (45) *Perizon. ubi sup.* p. 47. (46) *Bedford, ubi sup. in his preface to the reader*, p. 3. (47) *Ibid.* (48) *In his Chronol. of anc. kingd. amended*, p. 68, § 217.

will fall short by about 358 years, as will appear by this. The whole interval, according to us, between the flood and the birth of Christ is 2997 years : the beginning of *Cyrus's* reign is, by common consent, fixed to 559, or 560 years before Christ : if to this number 350 years be added for the duration of the empire of the *Medes*, according to *Ctesias*, and 1300 more for the duration of the *Assyrian*, according to the same historian and his followers, the first year of the reign of *Ninus*, the first pretended monarch, will coincide with the 2209th year before Christ, or 789 years after the flood ; whereas, according to us, *Asbur* built *Nineveh* and founded the *Assyrian* kingdom about the year 431 after the flood, or 358 years earlier ; so that with us, its defect, not its excess, in point of antiquity, may be made an objection to the prophane account of this monarchy. In a word, we have no objection to the antiquity of the *Assyrian* kingdom, which may claim place among the first ; but then we make a wide distinction between this simple kingdom and the grand monarchy, which reared its head many ages afterwards, and that, for reasons to be found in the ensuing section.

Govern-
ment.

BEING so destitute as we are of sufficient authorities and instruction, we can say nothing in particular of the government of this people, except what may be gathered from the conduct and deportment of their princes, in the very little we have of their history. That they were a small kingdom under hereditary chiefs for many ages is not to be doubted, no more than that their government was very simple, in conformity to what has been observed and related of their neighbours, the *Syrians* ^a and *Mesopotamians* ^o (L). When, in
after-

^a See Vol. II. p. 254. ^o Ibid.

(L) There is a difficulty which offers itself with regard to *Mesopotamia*, which seems to have been very early united under one monarch, and to have affected to rule over its neighbours by the violent means of conquest, when *Chusban-rishathaim* came over the *Euphrates*, and made conquest of the children of *Israel*, exacting from them tribute for the space of eight years (49). Who this *Chusban-rishathaim* was, and how he came to be so great a king, as he seems to have been at first, is a great obscurity. But by the scripture (50) it appears, this *Mesopotamian* kingdom, as formidable as it may have been at first, soon mouldered away, and perhaps became extinct, by the successes of *Othniel* against it (51). *Le Clerc* (52) observes,

(49) See Vol. III. p. 451.
(52) In *Judic. cap.* iii. 6.

(50) *Judg.* iii.

(51) *Ibid.*

there

after-times, they rose up to the sublimity of empire, their government seems to have been truly despotic, and the empire to have been hereditary, which is all we can safely say of it.

We have nothing to build upon, or to say in particular of *Laws.* their laws. We would presume, they were few and vague, depending upon the arbitrary will of the prince; for these emperors affecting even divine honours, as will be seen in their history, and setting themselves above all the gods of the people they vanquished ^p, and sometimes requiring, that none other under heaven should be worshipped but themselves ^q, and even presuming to pass sentence on the whole world ^r by the word of their own mouth; it cannot but be imagined, there could not be any settled form of law for the government of this people, except we suppose their kings to have approached so very near to the divinity they would have imperiously arrogated, as never to change, but to continue always the same, which cannot be supposed.

THEIR religion is also pretty much in the dark: in ge- *Religion.* neral we know, they were idolaters, and that they had their idols and their temples. *Nisroch* is likely to have been their principal God, at least at one time; but *Selden* declares *, he knows nothing at all of him (M), and therefore any enquiry

^p 2 Kings xviii. 33, &c. ^q Judith iii. 8. ^r Ibid. ii. 2.
* De Diis Syris Syntagm. ii. c. 10.

there is no mention made of this *Chusban-rishatbaim*, in the *Ctesian* series of *Assyrian* kings; and that, according to *Eusebius's* computation, he should have been cotemporary with *Belochus*, the nineteenth *Assyrian* king according to him (53); and tho' *Josephus* (54) calls him *Chusarth* king of *Assyria*, misled by the *Ctesian* history, he does not see, why we should depart from scripture to pin our faith upon him. It is impossible even to suppose such an inaccuracy in the scriptures, as the calling of this man an *Aramite* of *Mesopotamia*, if he had been an *Assyrian*. All we would add is, that this *Mesopotamian* kingdom or monarchy was a transitory thing, and that it, in all likelihood, soon broke into the many petty royalties we have observed there in the preceding part of this history many ages afterwards (55).

(M) All that can possibly be said of him is mere conjecture. *Beyer* (56), who takes upon him to supply, in this respect, what is wanting in *Selden*, supposes, he may have been *Saturn* or *Belus*,

(53) See the series of the *Assyrian* kings in the following section.
(54) *Antiq. Jud.* l. 5. c. 3. (55) See *Vol. II.* p. 254. (56) In *Additam. Seld. Syntagm. ii. cap. 10.*

quiry after so palpable an obscurity may be needless. *Nergal* was not properly, as should seem, an *Assyrian* deity, and we shall resume him when we come to treat of the antient *Persian* religion : *Adramelech* may perhaps be properly termed a god of this country, and is said to have been represented as a mule, or a peacock^f (N) : *Anamelech* (O), in like manner, is said to have been represented as a horse, or a pheasant, or a quail^g ; but these are all *Rabbinical* dreams, and to be considered accordingly. For this small part of their religion, and something more which we shall recollect in the religion of *Babylon*, which may have been the very same, we are beholden to the scriptures and the *Jews* ; the rest we must more immediately trace out elsewhere, and accordingly look-back to the superstitions of the *Philistines*, *Syrians*, and *Phœnicians*.

Derceto (P), who, according to *Ctesias*^u. must have been an *Assyrian* deity, has been supposed to be the *Philistine* *dagon*, but we have denied it^w, and already given the reasons for our rejection of this notion^x ; and though we have ventured to call her the goddess of *Ascalon*^y, we considered the country then subjection to the *Assyrians*. *Derceto*, as the *Greeks* call her, (what her *Assyrian* name may have been we cannot guess) is plainly an *Assyrian* deity, of an inferior order, and particularly in subjection to a goddess our author^z calls *Venus*, who may have been the *Syrian* goddess at *Hierapolis*^a, or the *Phœnician* *Astarte* on mount *Aphac*^b. Thus we conjecture ; but this *Assyrian Venus* will be more regularly spoken of, when we are to treat of the religion of

^f Vid. eund. Ibid. c. 9. ^g Vid. eund. ibid. ^u Apud
DIONOR. SIC. l. 2. ^w See Vol. II. p. 199. ^x Ibid.
in the notes. ^y Ibid. p. 200, in the text. ^z DIODOR.
SICUL. l. 2. ^a See Vol. II. p. 257. ^b Ibid. p. 315, & seq.

or, with *Kircher* (57), that he was represented in the form of a ship, in remembrance of the ark ; but this is mere fancy, as we shall have occasion to shew in the course of this history and that of *Babylon*. He is in the *Septuagint* called *Mesarach* and *Asarach*.

(N) Hence he is thought to have been related to *Juno* (58).

(O) Both *Adramelech* and *Anamelech* are supposed to have been the same with *Moloch* (59).

(P) She is called by other names, as *Adergatis*, *Atargata*, *Atargatis*, and the like ; but we shall forbear saying any further of her till we come to treat of the *Babylonian Venus*.

(57) *In Pantheo*.

(58) *Beyer. Additam. ubi sup. c. 9.*

(59) *Selden. De Diis Syr. Syntagm. ii. c. 9. See Voll. II. p. 99.*

Babylon, which was doubtless the same with that of *Assyria*, being derived from one origin, as the two nations were considered to have been by *Ptolemy*, who calls the kings of *Babylon*, in his astronomical canon, *Assyrians*. We shall therefore only for the present observe, that the *Assyrians* ^c and *Syrians* ^d paid particular devotion to fishes, in memory, as we are told, of the goddess *Derceto* of *Ascalon*, who was wholly, or partly, metamorphosed into a creature of that sort ^e; and that they honoured *Semiramis* in the form of a dove, or pigeon, either because she was nursed by them when exposed after her birth ^f, or because they attended her at her death, when it is fabled, she was changed into a bird of that sort ^g, which is all we have to say of the *Assyrian* religion in this place, except we repeat, that *Semiramis* was sometimes represented, as supposed ^h, with a pigeon on her head, and called the *Sign*; as also that she was represented without that distinction, and in a particular posture of pointing to the great goddess ⁱ, for a reason already given ^k; as also, that *Sardanapalus* was deified, and represented in a particular habit ^l; so that it may hence appear, they deified all their kings in general, whence must have sprung a very multifarious idolatry, which is at present very much in the dark to us.

THEIR customs, their arts, their learning, and their trade, *Their cus-* must certainly have differed but little, if at all, from what *toms, arts,* will be found of the same concerning the *Babylonians*, so that &c. we shall suspend what might be gathered in relation thereto, till we come to the *Babylonian* affairs, only referring the reader back to the language of *Syria*, and the alphabet of *Their lan-* the *Syrian* character, for the language and character of this *guage and* people, which we have declared to have been the same ^m. *alphabet.*

S E C T. III.

Of the ASSYRIAN Chronology, to the Fall of the Empire.

WE shall doubtless be excused, if we are very ample, and even diffuse, in our researches after the *Assyrian* chronology, it being not only of the greatest importance towards fixing the chronology of ancient kingdoms,

^c DIODOR. SICUL. ubi sup. ^d See Vol. II. p. 259.
^e DIODOR. SICUL. ubi sup. ^f Idem ibid. ^g Idem ibid.
^h See Vol. II. p. 258. ⁱ Idem ibid. ^k Ibid. ibid. ^l Ibid.
p. 259. ^m Ibid. p. 266.

but also for vindicating the authority of scripture, which is quite averse to the common prophane account.

The causes, why the antient prophane history is so monstrously corrupt and false, in what regards Assyria, &c. BUT first we would premise, that the causes, which may have induced or misled historians so to err, when they treat of the antiquities of nations, were apparently two, ignorance and vanity. Their ignorance must have principally proceeded from the loss of records, and the neglect of the earliest people, of the more antient nations, to keep any sort of register of what concerned them. The world was peopled by succession, and the progress of wealth, power, and learning was gradual; taking rise in the more early parts, so that nothing is more natural to assert, than that some nations began to keep records before others were in being.

SOME nations there were who never kept any records at all, as may have been the case of the *Scythians*, and as appears by their contest with the *Egyptians* for antiquity °; and those who did, could not possibly do it at once, or from the beginning, for want of letters and other material conveniencies; and besides, supposing them to have been ever so early in a condition to register their affairs, they could for a long time have had nothing worth the preserving, and much less the reading. The first ages must have been employed in husbandry, and providing for the necessities of life; mankind increasing into multitudes, and nations growing populous, contests, it is likely, arose between them about property and dominion, and these broils may for ages have diverted their thoughts from any thing else. In short, we must suppose the world to have been in a calm of peace, and some nations to have made great progress in learning, before we can, with any reason, suppose any historical monuments, truly such, to have been taken in hand; and ere this, the traditions concerning the origin of the world, and the rise of themselves, may have been quite perverted, or totally lost.

BUT supposing there may have been other nations besides the *Jews*, who had preserved their primitive traditions entire, they may have perished by various means. These nations may have, as it were, become extinct, or their records may have been destroyed by the malice, or, what is the same, the zeal of parties, whether religious or civil. Kings have been known to deface the memory of their predecessors, that they might, without a rival, be admired by posterity, of a humour with that *Chinese* emperor who reigned

about 209 years before Christ †, or, perhaps, to establish an æra as *Nabonassar* ^P, who may also have had an ambition to appear the headmost of the *Babylonish* kings ; but, by the way, this seems not to have been the case with him, as we must have occasion to observe, more than once, hereafter.

SUCH may have been the interruptions of the regular descent of history to us ; though wars, whether foreign or domestic, must have been more particularly fatal to the archives of all nations in general. It has been, almost ever, the policy of conquerors to destroy them, to obliterate the remembrance of what the vanquished may formerly have been, as also to remove all monuments, which, by the sight of them, might excite to rebellion and revolt. Conquerors also there have been, who have been moved merely by ignorance or superstition to do the same ; as may be observed of the *Mohamedans*, where ever their arms have prevailed. And though it may be said, that the *Romans* were, in this respect, favourable to the *Greeks*, we do not understand, that these last were over and above indulgent to those they conquered, the *Egyptians* excepted, whom they may have spared for the same reasons the *Romans* spared them ; because they beheld them as their masters in literature and knowledge.

IF then we call to mind the many revolutions which every nation has in its turn undergone, we need not wonder, why the antiquities of the several parts of the world are so utterly unknown, or, what is next of kin to it, so deeply involved in the mist of fable.

THE *Babylonians*, or *Chaldees*, are allowed once to have had a regular body of genuine history from the origin of things, and, by the fragments of it, we understand it to have been agreeable to what we read in the mosaical writings, which perhaps may have been taken from the *Chaldeans*, from whom the *Jews* were descended. But this *Babylonian* account has been long since destroyed, and absurd tradition and ridiculous tales have taken its place ; which is the more to be regretted, as we are assured by *Josephus* ^q, it was a most valuable remain.

FOR us to have received any tolerable account of the origin and remote history of nations, they should, from the beginning, have communicated their records with each other ; and the historians of every country should have been as sedulous in collecting and digesting the affairs of the neighbouring kingdoms, and states, and actions they knew, as of their own :

† MARTIN Hist. Sinic. l. 6. p. 239. COUPL. Tab. Chron. Sinic p. 17. ^P SYNODALL. p. 207. ^q CONTR. APION.

and in this case, nothing but an universal ruin could have made the desolation, their succeeding generations have beheld as well as we. But the nature of things would never allow of this, as may be observed by those who are conversant in very antient transactions; and particularly that ridiculous vanity, which may be said to have begun with the world, and will, it is likely, end with it, has at all times rendered it impracticable.

A country no sooner began to flourish and refine, than vanity, that darling folly of men and nations, took birth, and increased with its splendor and prosperity; and presently it could admit of no competitor, but must look on all its neighbours round with contempt; and this doctrine infused into the natives, a national pride is contracted, than which nothing is so unpardonable, nothing more repugnant to reason and good sense, and nothing, in the main, so destructive to the peace and happiness of mankind. And this vanity, added to the complete ignorance of what has past aforetime in the historians, for the most part, of antiquity, has been productive of the monstrous births which are a reproach to the science.

WE might point at many glaring instances of the ill effects of what we are here complaining of; but shall on this head just touch upon the *Greeks*, to whom we are chiefly indebted for the antient prophane history, confining ourselves to what at present is before us, till we shall have occasion to resume them hereafter. They, we may aver of them, were more infected with this folly of vanity, or, at least, as much as any nation, that has ever subsisted under the sun. It is plain they despised the history of all other nations besides their own, never concerning themselves therewith any farther than it interfered with themselves, and even then they introduced it rather to adorn their own character, than to preserve any thing to us by way of information.

AND this in nothing appears more plainly, than in their slighting, and even destroying the *Persian* records, when they became masters of that empire. No one of their historians, that we are aware of, ever consulting them to complete a series of the *Persian* affairs: nor was there a nation they were solicitous about but the *Egyptians*, who affected a deep silence, and cared not to tell them any thing very much to the purpose. Some of the *Greeks* indeed, whose good sense got the better of their national pride and prejudices, as *Eratosthenes*, *Hecataeus* the *Abderite*, and *Menander* the *Ephesian*, may be quoted as exceptions to what we have been saying, as well as some foreigners, such as *Berosus*, *Manetho*,

metho, and some others, who were encouraged to write the histories of their respective countries for the use of the *Greeks*. But all this but adds weight to the guilt of that assuming people. It is plain, they did not in the least regard them ; for not one of them has reached our days, nor so much as one *Greek* that had made any large extracts from them, if we except *Josephus* and the *Christian* chronologers, *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and *Syncellus*, if they may be allowed to have been of the number.

No polite nation has ever been more egregiously faulty, in mixing truth with fiction ; and yet they seem to have thought no nation fit to meddle with history, though their own, but themselves ; as may be seen by *Diodorus Siculus*, who, in writing of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*, never mentions a word of *Berosus* and *Manetho*, preferring his own crude indigestions to any thing in them. And so with regard to *Assyria*, instead of resorting to such as might truly inform him, such as *Polyhistor* may have sometimes been, for ought we know, he runs riot after *Ctesias*, a most fabulous writer, as will be amply demonstrated in the course of this section : But being a *Greek*, he was preferred by the vain partiality of his countrymen, and his history has had the good fortune of reaching down to us, while others have suffered the fate which *Ctesias* and *Diodorus* had deserved ; the fate which *Tragus* has undergone, who, by his epitomiser, is not much to be lamented.

THESE writers were like most of our moderns, who, for what concerns the *Mohammedan* history, consult the *Byzantine* historians ; or, by listening to the lame relations of ignorant travellers, give into endless errors they might have avoided, by looking into the translations and extracts the learned would furnish them, if they would be at the pains of inquiring after them.

AND now, to return more immediately to our point, there have been great and powerful nations, who have for many ages past been no more ; of this number are the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, and *Lydians*. Their records and their historians have long since been annihilated. The *Greeks*, by a vain negligence and insolent contempt of them, knew little or nothing concerning them ; and no other nation, the *Jews* excepted, can tell us any thing about them. Hence, and for reasons to be hereafter subjoined, we make no account of the common histories of these nations, and particularly of the *Assyrians*. We are now to enter upon an obscure task, which has confounded some of the best chronologers, who have un-

warily been driven to endless shifts, to make out what they adhere to. But as our design is to shew they have been all misled, some few excepted, as *Marsham*, *Newton*, *Cellarius*, *Montfaucon*, *Du Pin*, and some others, we shall take little or no notice of them.

A TABLE of the Successions of the ASSYRIAN Kings, according to Eusebius, and Syncellus.

According to Eusebius.							According to Syncellus.						
						Years.							Years.
*	*	*	*	*	*		I						
1	Ninus	reigned	-	-	52		2	Ninus	-	-	-	52	
2	Semiramis	-	-	-	42		3	Semiramis	-	-	-	42	
3	Zameis, or Ninyas	-	38				4	Ninyas, or Zames	-	38			
4	Arius	-	-	-	30		5	Arius	-	-	-	30	
5	Aralius	-	-	-	40		6	Aralius	-	-	-	40	
6	Xerxes, or Baleus	-	30				7	Xerxes	-	-	-	30	
7	Armamitres	-	-	-	38		8	Armamithres	-	-	-	38	
8	Bel-ochus	-	-	-	35		9	Belochus	-	-	-	35	
9	Bal-eus	-	-	-	52		10	Balæus	-	-	-	52	
10	Altadas	-	-	-	32		11	Sethos	-	-	-	32	
11	Mamitus	-	-	-	30		12	Mamythus	-	-	-	30	
12	Manchaleus	-	-	-	32		13	Aschalius	-	-	-	28	
13	Spherus	-	-	-	20		14	Sphærus	-	-	-	22	
14	Mamitus	-	-	-	30		15	Mamylus	-	-	-	30	
15	Sparetus	-	-	-	40		16	Sparthæus	-	-	-	42	
16	Aftacadis	-	-	-	40		17	Ascatades	-	-	-	38	
17	Amyrtes	-	-	-	45		18	Amyntes	-	-	-	45	
18	Bel-ochus (Q)	-	-	25			19	Belochus	-	-	-	25	

19	<i>Bellepares</i>	-	-	-	30	20	<i>Belatores</i>	-	-	-	30
20	<i>Lamprides</i>	-	-	-	32	21	<i>Lamprides</i>	-	-	-	30
21	<i>Sofares</i>	-	-	-	20	22	<i>Sofares</i>	-	-	-	20
22	<i>Lampares</i>	-	-	-	30	23	<i>Lamphraës</i>	-	-	-	30
23	<i>Panyas</i>	-	-	-	45	24	<i>Panyas</i>	-	-	-	45
24	<i>Sofarmus</i>	-	-	-	19	25	<i>Sofarmus</i>	-	-	-	22
25	<i>Mitreus</i>	-	-	-	27	26	<i>Mithræus</i>	-	-	-	27
26	<i>Tautanes</i> (S)	-	-	-	32	27	<i>Teutamus, or Tautanes</i> (T)	-	-	-	32
27	<i>Teuteus</i>	-	-	-	40	28	<i>Teutæus</i>	-	-	-	44
	*	*	*	*		29	<i>Arabelus</i>	-	-	-	42
	*	*	*	*		30	<i>Chalaus</i>	-	-	-	45
	*	*	*	*		31	<i>Anebus</i>	-	-	-	38
	*	*	*	*		32	<i>Babios</i> (V)	-	-	-	37
							28	<i>Thinæus</i>			

the empire for himself, and delivered down the same to his successors, till it fell under *Sardanapalus*. The first dynasty of these kings then, ending with *Belochus*, must be called *Dercetadaæ*, from *Derceto*, the mother of *Semiramis* (63).

(S) According to *Eusebius* (64), under this king *Troy* was taken.

(T) *Syncellus* (65) transcribes the same from *Eusebius* in the note above, observing it was in the year of the world, 4124.

(V) Though *Syncellus*, in the note above, seems to agree with *Eusebius*, as to the reign of the king who was on the throne of *Assyria* when *Troy* was taken, he brings that event down to this reign. He observes (66), that this king was by the *Greeks* called *Tithon*, the father of that *Memnon*, who was by his father sent an auxiliary against the *Greeks*, and fell by the hand of *Achilles*. He tells us the copy of a letter from *Priam* to him, was handed about in his time; and also that he was called *Tautanes the Second*. This story is borrowed from *Ctesias* (67), who calls this king *Teutamus*, with *Syncellus*, but makes him a distinct person from *Tithon*, the father of *Memnon*. This romantic author [*Ctesias*] tells us, he sent 10,000 *Ethiopians*, with as many *Susians*, people widely distant from each other, together with 200 chariots, to the succour and assistance of king *Priam*, who was his tributary. *Tithon*, according to this same author, was at that time governor of *Persia*, in highest favour with the king; and his son *Memnon*, who commanded these auxiliary forces, was then in the flower of his days, and had built a palace in the castle of *Susa*, which retained the name of *Memnonia* to the times of the *Persians*, and had paved a public way, which retained his name many ages afterwards. But it seems (68), the *Ethiopians* next to *Egypt* denied all this story,

(63) *Diodor. Sicul. l. 2.* (64) *Ubi supr. p. 90.* (65) *Chronograph. p. 151.* (66) *Ibid. p. 155.* (67) *Diodor. Sicul. Bibliothec. Hist. l. 2. p. 77.* (68) *Vid. exund. ibid.*

28	<i>Tbinæus</i>	-	-	-	30	33	*	*	*	*	
29	<i>Dercilus</i>	-	-	-	40	34	<i>Dercylus</i>	-	-	-	40
30	<i>Eupales</i>	-	-	-	38	35	<i>Enpacmes</i>	-	-	-	48
31	<i>Laosthenes</i>	-	-	-	45	36	<i>Laosthenes</i>	-	-	-	45
32	<i>Pyriatides</i>	-	-	-	30	37	<i>Pertiades</i>	-	-	-	30
33	<i>Ophrateus</i>	-	-	-	20	38	<i>Ophratæus</i>	-	-	-	21
34	<i>Ophratenes</i>	-	-	-	50	39	<i>Ephceres</i>	-	-	-	52
35	<i>Ocrzapæ</i>	-	-	-	42	40	<i>Aeraganes</i>	-	-	-	42
36	<i>Tonos Concoleros,</i>	} - 20				41	<i>Thonos Concoleros</i>	-	-	-	15
	by the Greeks,										
	<i>Sardanapalus</i>										
<hr/>						<hr/>					
Total 1240						Total 1460					

A T A B L E of the Successions of the ASSYRIAN Kings, according to the Canon of Scripture, and as they stand in this History.

According to Scripture.					According to this History.				
1	Pul				1	Pul			
2	Tiglath-pileser				2	Tiglathpileser			
3	Shalmaneser				3	Shalmaneser			
4	Sennacherib				4	Sennacherib			
5	Affar-haddon				5	Affarhaddon			
	*	*	*	*	6	Saosducheus			
	*	*	*	*	7	Nabuchadonosor, or Chyniladon			
	*	*	*	*	8	Sarac, or Sardanapalus.			

The first table.

It is surprising, how many sagacious and inquisitive men, historians and chronologers, both in antient and modern times, have blindly given into the errors, and general forgery of the first table. To reconcile it with scripture, to which it is quite repugnant, they have raised such hypotheses, as are contradictory to all history sacred and profane, though at the same time nothing is easier, than to detect the whole imposture, so gross and palpable it seems to be. The two lists which form this first table are derived, notwithstanding the variations in them, from one and pretended Memnon was their countryman, and made shew of his palace, which in our author's days they continued to call Memnonia. More is said in contradiction to Ctesar's story, but we may perhaps have anticipated too much upon this head, and therefore drop the subject for the present.

formed

formed by *Ctesias*, who concluded his history of the *Assyrians* with a list of kings from *Ninus* to *Artaxerxes*^r. *Castor* copied him, who was again copied by *Eusebius*^c; who, as *Ctesias* had taught his author, begins with *Ninus*, while *Syncellus*, on the other hand, begins with *Belus*, and assigns him a reign of 55 years, though *Castor*^c, whom in this he follows, declares the length of *Belus*'s reign to be uncertain. But this is not the only difference between them; *Syncellus* has in his list four kings which are wanting in that of *Eusebius*, and which are no where else to be met with; whence it should come to pass, we shall forbear to enquire (W), and the rather, as we shall endeavour, with the concurrence of several great men before mentioned, to destroy the whole on both sides; but first we would observe, that *Syncellus* exceeds every body in the number of years he allows for the duration of the *Assyrian* monarchy, for while *St Augustin*^u allows it but 1305, *Castor* 1280, *Eusebius* 1240, *Velleius* 1070, *Syncellus* gives it 1460, therein greatly exceeding his original author *Ctesias*, and his two copyists, *Diodorus* and *Trogus*, who mention but about 1300.

SINCE therefore these computations are primarily borrowed from *Ctesias*, and lengthened and shortened apparently to the fancy of the several writers his successors, it will be absolutely necessary for us to enquire into what foundation he builds upon, whether his superstructure be raised upon truth or falsehood. *Aristotle*, who was almost his cotemporary, declares him a writer unworthy of credit, and whoever peruses his *Indica* must immediately conclude him to have been a man of no sort of sincerity; nor is *Aristotle* the only one of the antients that has declared against him, nor are his

^r PHOT. Biblioth. p. 134. Tmemat 72. Vid. etiam DIOD. SIC. l. 14. ^c Vid. MARSHAM, Can. Chron. secul. 17. De Regib. Assy. ^c Apud SYNCCELL. p. 206. ^u De Civit. Dei. l. 18. c. 20.

(W) Though it may be in vain to inquire after this seeming interpolation of no less than four kings in *Syncellus*, we may offer it as an argument to prove the unsettledness of the whole series. It was certainly a vague period of history; and from the variations of it, may be shrewdly suspected of being raised upon no sure foundation, upon no such solid basis as truth. As the whole must have been a fable, those who treated of it used it as such, by altering it as they saw good; or else, we cannot see why the several authors and transcribers should not agree together in essentials, which we find they do not.

Indica the only proof we have, that he was a fabulous writer, as may be gathered from what is to follow.

WERE his character better established by much than it is, his list of the *Assyrian* kings would be no proof of the duration of that empire, nothing being easier than to invent names, and to add what lengths of reign we please to them w, and especially for a man who pretends actually to have seen such things in *India* as never were, and never can be. Upon this the question might naturally enough be asked, Might not *Ctesias* as well forge his *Assyrian* history, as create the world of monsters he talks of in *India*? And might we not as justly suspect him of falshood, when he pretends to have compiled his history from original records, as when he gravely avers to have been an eye-witness of what no mortal alive can believe?

AND this question may be the more pertinently asked, as both his relation of the *Indies* and his history of the *Assyrians* are equally marvellous, and equally impossible. Who can see *Ninus* at the head of millions of men, at a time when the earth must have been but thinly inhabited, when mankind must have been a good deal in a state of simplicity and nature; who can read this and add faith to the historian? or who can read his story of *Semiramis*; her mighty valour and heroic deeds at the age of twenty, or thereabouts; her two millions of men employed in the building of *Babylon*, her 300,000 skins of black oxen, made up in the form of elephants, and other things of this nature, and not conclude, that what contained it was no genuine history, but a most barefaced romance? In a word, his *Assyrian* history, as it stands in the next section, is most evidently calculated to astonish and amaze, and to strain credulity beyond all possible bounds.

WHAT particularly argues his list of the *Assyrian* kings of the grossest forgery, is, that it is a medley of *Greek*, *Persian*, *Egyptian*, and other names. *Sphærus*, *Lamprides*, *Laosthenes*, *Dercylus*, are *Greek* names, and very common ones. *Amyntas* is the name of a king of *Macedon*; *Arius* is the name of a king of *Sparta*. *Pyritiades* is regularly, as should seem, formed from *Pyritis*, a medicinal herb, with which *Ctesias*, as a physician, must have been well acquainted. *Xerxes*, *Armamithres*, *Mithræus*, are *Persian* names. *Sosarmus*, according to himself, is the name of a king of the *Medes*, which how it should have come to pass, may not be so very unaccountable, considering the transition of the empire from

w DU PIN'S *Histor. Biblioth. des Histor.* p. 284.

the *Assyrians* to the *Medes*; but how *Sethos*, the name of an *Egyptian* king, should also have been the name of an *Assyrian*, is what we are wholly at a loss for. Nothing is more obvious to those who have dived into genuine history, and especially the scripture, than the wide difference between the *Assyrian* names and the *Persian*, and the still wider between the same and the *Greek*; so that nothing can be said in his behalf, except that he translated some of the original names, which is absolutely false; nay, he is confessedly so ignorant in this particular, that he had even no notion at all of the *Assyrian* names, how they were pronounced or uttered; so far was he from knowing how they were compounded, and whence they were formed; a most glaring instance of which will be seen anon.

AGAIN, in all long lists of kings the same names, or some such, are observed often to return; and this is no where more remarkable than in the five names of the *Assyrian* kings, which are all that are recorded in the canon of scripture. *Pul*, or *Phul*, *Tiglath-pileser*, or *Tiglath-pul-assur*, *Shalmaneser*, or *Shalman-assur*, *Esaraddon* or *Assur-haddon*. For the *Assyrians*, to all appearance, borrowed their names from their own gods*, or from the gods of other nations in repute among them. These gods seem to have been *Bel*, or *Pul*, *Chaddon*, *Haddon*, *Adon*, or *Adonis*, *Melech*, or *Moloch*, *Atsur*, or *Assur*, *Nebo*, *Nergal*, *Merodach*; as for instance in the following, besides the names above, *Adramelech*, *Shar-assur*, *Nabonassar*, or *Nebo-adon-assur*, *Bel-adon*, *Chyniladon*, or *Chen-el-adon*, *Nebo-pul-assur*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Nebuchadonosor*, or *Nebo-chaddon-assur*, *Nebuza-radan*, or *Nebo-assur-adon*, *Evil-merodach*, or *Ilvoradamus*, and many more that might be brought to illustrate this point. After this, who must not reject the wild and arbitrary names in *Ctesias*? who is so ignorantly extravagant, as to suppose *Sardanapalus* to have been the *Greek* name for the last *Assyrian* king, though so naturally deriveable from *Assur-adon-pul*, while he pretends his *Assyrian* name to have been *Tonos Concoleros*, a name which bears no manner of relation to the *Assyrian* language, or any other that we at present are aware of; a name most evidently coined to amuse and catch the ear.

IF in seven *Assyrian* names, all that are mentioned in the canon of scripture, five of them belonging to so many kings, and two to the two sons of *Sennacherib*, there appears such similitude and near relation, would not the same, in all

* Vid. SELDEN, de Diis Syr.

likelihood,

likelihood, have been often repeated, and continually but varied, in a long list of 36 of them according to *Eusebius*, or 41 according to *Syncellus*? but nothing of this kind is in either of them to be observed; the names of all of them are different and independent, except in a case or two; and to crown all, in neither of them is there one name at all belonging to any of the *Assyrian* kings in scripture. To suppose these names to have been unknown to the *Greeks*, would be next to supposing they were perfect strangers to the *Assyrian* affairs; and so all that *Ctesias* has written, and others after him, would fall self-condemned to the ground. But this is what we can very safely contradict; they were actually known to the *Greeks*, or the most curious of them, and particularly to *Herodotus*, who, though he mentions but one king of *Assyria*, calls him exactly by his true name, the termination excepted, *Sennacherib*; and we may thence very fairly conclude, that had he compleated the history of *Assyria* he promised, we should have read the names of the rest of the *Assyrian* kings in him with as much accuracy; and the rather, as we have the experience of his conforming with scripture, in the names of several of the *Egyptian* kings: in consideration of which, and the contradictory writings of *Ctesias*, it may be justly wondered, why *Herodotus* should labour under so much obloquy and contempt with many of great learning and judgment, while all the abominable untruths of *Ctesias*, though obvious to every sense, are swallowed and received for granted, even though he in every particular clashes with scripture; while the former confirms it, wherever he happens to speak of things there handed down to us. A monstrous inequality some of the best and most religious of us have been absurdly guilty of; an inequality never to be excused, but in those who have nothing to plead in their behalf but ignorance and want of discernment. But this has been more properly discussed in the preface, and therefore we return to what more immediately concerns us.

THE names in *Ctesias*, and the number of them, are not alone what may prompt us to pronounce him guilty of forgery; the length of the reigns may be urged as another argument against him; except it be answered, that in those very early days, so nearly bordering on the times of the deluge, such length is not to be wondered at. But this would be no answer at all, especially for at least three fourths of them, who must have lived when the life of man was reduced to its present standard. And this remote antiquity is what must also be urged against *Ctesias*, and particularly, as he
writes

writes in direct opposition to the scripture. *Ninus*, according to him must have reigned before the days of *Abraham*, and conquered *Persia*, *Media*, *Egypt*, *Assyria*, and all *Asia*; and his wife *Semiramis*, his immediate successor, adds *Libya* and *Ethiopia* thereto. But what trace do we find of all this in the book of *Genesis*? even none. The *Canaanites* were under their own kings or patriarchs, ages after *Abraham*; the *Moabites*, the *Ammonites*, the *Midianites*, the *Edomites*, the *Amalekites*, the *Philistines*, were subject to no foreign yoke, and free from strange lords, till they began to be persecuted by the sword of *Israel*. *Egypt* seemingly enjoyed herself in peace, apprehensive of no danger from without, till *Sennacherib*, bent upon establishing and enlarging his empire, moved towards *Egypt* with design to invade it. In proof of all which, we need only refer to the histories of all these nations in the former part of this work. It appears then, that no *Assyrian* enemy was in these parts for many ages after the pretended dates of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, and that all *Syria* and *Mesopotamia* were free also from any subjection to *Assyria*, may be proved as plain.

THE *Syrian* monarchy was confessedly older than the *Assyrian*, and extended on both sides of the *Euphrates*, under *Hadadexer* king of *Zobah*, and rose afterwards to its meridian under the race of the *Damascene* kings, and particularly in the days of *Ben-hadad* and *Hazacl*¹: These ruled a mighty empire. Where then were the *Assyrian* monarchs, so extensive in their command, and so jealous of their power? *David*, before these, was master of a considerable extent of all on this side the *Euphrates*², and had no *Assyrian* to dispute the honour with him. The *Phœnicians* continued in independence and freedom, till the days of *Shalmaneser*, who was set at defiance by the *Tyrians*³, though he was the third of that fortunate and conquering race. Consult the history of *Judæa*, *Syria*, and *Phœnice*, and you will perceive no glimpse of an *Assyrian* monarchy till the days of *Pul*, who lived above 2200 years after the deluge, according to the *Samaritan* computation, which we profess to follow.

WE have formerly^b almost ventured to assert, that the *Assyrians* imposed their religion on the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*; which, if it can any way be made to appear, must argue the *Assyrian* monarchy to have been posterior to the antient *Syrian* empire. We have seen, that the antient gods of

¹ See Vol. II. p. 284. & seq. ² See Vol. II. p. 274. & Vol. III. p. 521. ³ MENAN. apud JOSEPH. Antiq. Judæi. l. ix. c. 14.

^b See Vol. II. p. 310. not. (K).

Syria were *Rimmon*, *Adad*, and other deities of mortal origin, their most renowned kings^a. These were the gods of the *Syrians*; but they ceasing, as it were, to be a people by their captivation^d, others were introduced into the country, as the custom was^e; and accordingly, in the temple of the great *Syrian* goddess at *Hierapolis*, we find the statues of *Semiramis* and *Sardanapalus*^f. These, as *Assyrians*, must have been unknown to the old inhabitants of the country; and to confirm us in a certain and well-grounded belief, that they were both of them later than the kings of *Damascus*, we would urge, that *Semiramis* herself is said to have been a *Philistine*, to have been born in the neighbourhood of *Ascalon*, at a time when the whole land was in subjection to the *Assyrian* kings, and, as should seem, in the reign of *Ninus*^g. When this can possibly have been, but after the subjugation of the *Proper Palestine*, together with the neighbouring countries, by the successors of *Pul*, we leave any one to judge; the scripture affords no materials towards even any conjecture of the kind, as may be easily discerned by the history of the *Philistines*, in the former part of this work.

The father of *Thammuz*, or *Adonis*, is said to have been an *Assyrian*^h; and it is thought, the whole system almost of the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* superstition migrated from the banks of the *Tigris*ⁱ; and as this seems very natural, and may be supported by many powerful arguments, we are apparently wrong in not rejecting *Ctesias*, who, in opposition to scripture, *Herodotus*, and other more undoubted authorities, is guilty of a forgery of the most solemn and delusive kind.

HAVING endeavoured to destroy the credit of *Ctesias*, and therewith the first table of the *Assyrian* kings from *Eusebius* and *Syncellus*, we will proceed to settle the chronology of the *Assyrian* empire in the best manner we are able, by taking into consideration the second table. By the history of *Syria* and the neighbouring countries it appears, the *Assyrians* had no power in the western parts of *Asia* till the reign of *Pul*, who made his first appearance on this side the *Euphrates*, in the decline of the kingdom of *Damascus*: What they had before that time done in the east, does no where appear; but that the foundations of the monarchy were laid by *Pul*, or some near predecessor of his, by conquests nearer

^a Ibid. p. 255.^d Ibid. p. 290.^e See before, p. 132.^f See Vol. II. p. 258, & seq.^g Ctes. apud DIODOR. SICUL.

l. 2. p. 65.

^h See Vol. II. p. p. 1313, not. (S).ⁱ Sir ISAAC

NEWTON, Chron. of Ant. Kingd. amended, p. 27.

home, is a matter never to be doubted. We have elsewhere said *, that the *Assyrian* monarchy cannot be dated much backwarder than the days of *Menahem*; and this is not only to be demonstrated by scripture and *Ptolemy's* astronomical canon, but by several of the most approved and sincerest prophane writers.

Herodotus †, that venerable and much injured historian, observes that the *Assyrians* had been masters of the *Upper Asia* 520 years, when the *Medes* threw off their yoke; and that the empire of the latter subsisted no longer than 150 years, inclusive of the 28 years, during which the *Scythians* ruled *Asia*. These two sums added together amount to 670 years, for the whole duration of the two monarchies of the *Assyrians* and *Medes*, which being added to the epoch of *Cyrus* before *Christ*, which is universally stated at 559 years before *Christ*, will make 1229, the whole interval between the first rise of the *Assyrian* monarchy and the birth of *Christ*, which cuts off about 1000 years from the common prophane accounts; though it will exceed the æra of *Nabonassar* by 458 years; and therefore *Herodotus's* numbers, as they stand with us, are doubtless too long, though so much short of *Ctesias* and his followers. But, by the way, we would add, that *Herodotus's* computation is not above 200 years later than the days of *Chusban-rishathaim*, king of *Mesopotamia*, or *Aram-naharaim*, who kept the children of *Israel* under for the space of eight years, till they were delivered from him by *Othniel* ‡. In what sense this *Chusban-rishathaim* may have been considered as an *Assyrian*, we take not upon us to say; or whether he was so or not, farther than we are obliged to declare him not to have been of that nation *, seeing he is in scripture † called a *Mesopotamian*, and seeing we might with as much justice call *Che-dorlaomer* an *Assyrian*, though he is expressly said to have been an *Elamite*, or *Persian*: and this care in the sacred pen-men, thus to distinguish the men who from the beginning made inroads upon the *Euphratesian* regions, expressly saying the first was an *Elamite*, the second a *Mesopotamian*, and expressly calling *Pul* an *Assyrian*, leaves us no room to imagine, that the two former were kings of *Assyria*; but that *Herodotus* should be a little elder in his date than may have been quite exact, will not perhaps be wondered at by those who rightly consider what we have urged in the former part of this section.

* See Vol. I. p. 381.

† 1. i. c. 95.

‡ Judg. c. iii. ver. 8.

* See before p. 130, note (L).

† Judg. iii. ver. 8.

AGAIN, *Herodotus* tells us ^o, that *Semiramis*, who, according to *Diodorus Siculus* ^p, or *Ctesias* rather, was the wife of *Ninus*, was but five generations before *Nitocris*, the mother of *Labyntus* [*Nabonadus*] the last king of *Babylon*; which as, by the largest computation, it cannot exceed 200 years ^q; she may have been the wife of some one of the kings in *Ptolemy's* canon, and perhaps of *Nabonassar* himself.

FOR these reasons is *Herodotus* much to be relied on, and for the same are we much to regret the history of *Assyria* he promises; and for which he doubtless was furnished with very valuable materials. He actually travelled the country, and conversed with the natives; which though a late author ^r makes slight of, presuming the inhabitants might be mistaken themselves, and consequently lead him into errors; yet must it be acknowledged to make greatly in favour of *Herodotus*, since he could possibly have had no better means of information, except he had had an opportunity of consulting the national records themselves.

NOR is he not supported and followed by some of the very weightiest of the antients. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* ^s takes notice, that the *Assyrian* antiquities are run up into fable; that though the monarchy was antient, it did not extend over a very great part of *Asia*, and that it was not so potent as the empire of the *Medes*, which arose upon its ruins. *Appian* ^t affirms the duration of the three empires, the *Assyrian*, the *Median*, and the *Persian*, to have made up no more in sum than 900 years, which being added to 336, the epoch of *Alexander* before Christ, will remove the rise of the *Assyrian* monarchy to the distance of 1236 years before Christ, which will exceed the chronology of *Herodotus* above, by no more than seven years; upon which we cannot but wonder, *St. Jerome* ^u, who follows *Ctesias*, should roundly assert, that *Ninus* was the first that ruled over all *Asia*, and that all the *Greeks*, as well as the *Barbarians*, were of the same mind.

SUCH are the sentiments of the most judicious of the prophane historians, concerning the duration of the *Assyrian* monarchy; and they seem to have the concurrence of *Homer* on their side, who, in recounting the most potent princes of the earth, at the time when *Troy* was besieged, is quite silent as to any *Assyrian* monarch, though, after the rate *Ctesias* reckons, that ten years war was waged within the *Assyrian* dominions.

^o *Ubi supra*, c. 184. ^p l. 2. p. 67. ^q *Marsh. Cal. Chron.* p. 522. ^r *Bledorn*, in his *Script. Chronol.* p. 774. ^s l. 1.
 ^t In *Præfat.* p. 5. ^u In *Hoséan*, c. 2.

By what we have said against the first table of the *Assyrian* kings; according to *Eusebius* and *Syncellus*; and the preparatory arguments we have been using in behalf of the second; according to scripture and this history; it must appear to an attentive reader, that the *Assyrian* monarchy is of late date; in comparison of what has been too much imagined, even by some of the most learned; as also, that it is in scripture; that we have the nearest view of the rise of the monarchy before us; and more particularly, since it is evident, by *Ptolemy's* canon; that there were really no kings of very extraordinary eminence before the reign of *Nabonassar*; who may have been a descendant of *Pul's*; the first *Assyrian* monarch mentioned in scripture, a point; which may be more properly discussed in the chronology of *Babylon*; though; by the way; *Ptolemy* calls all the kings in his canon *Assyrians*; which was a common practice ^w.

THE authority of this famous canon is not to be disputed; and it most remarkably reduces the *Assyrian* æra to the bounds of scripture history, or nearly so; for though *Pul* himself will not fall within the compass, he will so little exceed it, that it may be offered as a very powerful argument; to evince, he was the first considerable monarch in these parts: but this being what we may have occasion to resume hereafter; we proceed to what we have more immediately under consideration.

To fix the exact æra of the *Assyrian* monarchy is what we cannot pretend to, except we do it relatively to ourselves in the western parts; and in that case we must compute from the year of *Pul's* first appearance on this side of the *Euphrates*, which was about the second year of *Menahem*, 23 years before the æra of *Nabonassar*, 2228 years after the flood, and 771 years before Christ.

THUS far it is no difficult matter to ascertain the beginning of this empire. Its end may perhaps be more nearly fixed, though that is what we cannot settle beyond all possibility of dispute. The text of scripture, which gives us so near a prospect of its beginning, and relates to us some of the remarkable transactions of five of its most potent princes; drops us on a sudden; so that we are obliged to resort to the *Apocrypha* and *Ptolemy's* canon, for the successors of the great *Esarbadon*. The book of *Judith* so very nicely corresponds with *Herodotus*, in what he says of the war between the declining *Assyrians* and the rising *Medes*, that we have not been able to avoid adding faith thereto; and seeing the reign of

^w PERRIN. *Antiq. Babylon.* p. 10.

Nabuchadonofor most naturally coincides with that of *Chyniladen* in the canon, we have ventured to pronounce them to have been one and the same king, the second in descent from *Efarhaddon*, or *Affaraddin*: as for *Sarac*, whom we borrow from *Polybistor**, and whom we also call *Sardanapalus*, from a similitude of his story and exit in the same historian, with what is related thereof by *Ctesias*, we must confess ourselves considerably in the dark, as we may note hereafter in the body of our *Assyrian* history. In the mean time it may be objected to us, that *Polybistor* is a follower of *Ctesias*, and as such we have considered him; but we would answer, with the assistance of Sir *Isaac Newton*†, That there may be something of truth in the bottom of the *Ctesian* History, as there uses to be in romances; as that *Nineveh* was destroyed by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, that *Sardanapalus* was the last king of the *Assyrian* empire, and that *Astibares* and *Astyages* were kings of the *Medes*. But whence it is, that we have no such name as *Sarac* in the *Nabonassarian* canon, we shall here forbear to enquire; seeing we may have a more convenient opportunity of offering our conjectures concerning him, when we come to the history of his reign; and therefore, since nothing positive can be ascertained, as to this last stage of the *Assyrian* monarchy, we here conclude this section.

S E C T. IV.

The History of ASSYRIA, according to Ctesias of Cnidos, and his Followers.

ALTHOUGH we have condemned whatever is here to follow as forgery all and falsehood, yet, as it has been so long received for truth, by most of the wisest and most sagacious historians and chronologers, and, as we may say, from all antiquity admitted into the body of history, we are under an indispensable obligation of producing it here in all its particulars, as it is, with great solemnity and all possible confidence, handed down to us. *Ninus* (X), a prince

* Apud *SYNCELLE*. † Chronolog. of ant. kingd. amended, p. 267.

(X) We will not take upon us to say, there never was such a king as *Ninus*, or such a king as his pretended predecessor *Belus*; but it is very likely, these names were forged by the *Greeks*, or others, to account for the building of the two great cities, *Nineveh*, and *Babel*,

prince of martial genius and immense ambition, resolved to make a conquest of the nations round about, and erect an empire over them : to this purpose, he assembled together the robustest of the youth in his dominions, and diligently trained them up to the exercise of arms, and enured them to hardship and labour, and fitted them for war* (Y).

BEING now in a state to execute his purpose, but apprehending, he might be stopped in his career by the *Arabians*, whom alone he dreaded, as a bold and resolute people, jealous and tenacious of their liberty, he entered into a league

* Apud DIODOR. SICUL. Biblioth. Histor. l. 2.

bel, or *Babylon*; However, thus far we know; he cannot have been *Nimrod*, or *Abur* rather, their ages not at all agreeing (69), and therefore, it is impossible, *Ninus* should have been the first king. We would do all we safely could to reconcile the sacred history with the profane, and will allow, with several, that *Nimrod* may be *Belus*, and *Abur* *Ninus*; or let *Nimrod*, as others (70) think, be the son of *Belus*, (whom they will have to be *Cush*), and let *Ninus* be the son of *Nimrod*; but then let their works and exploits be suitable with the early times they lived in, not such as we read of in *Diodorus Siculus* (71); let the cities they build be plain, and without art and cost. Let them reign agreeably to the state of things in the first ages, without pomp, without luxury. Let them wage war, but let it be in thier neighbourhood, not in far distant countries; with a few thousands at their heels, not with millions; with rude and undisciplined men, not with regular bodies of trained soldiers.

(Y) We cannot forbear thinking, that the whole story of *Ninus*, is, with some variation, a copy of that of the great *Egyptian Sesostris* (72), and the rather, as we actually find them confounded together as one and the same person; for *Tzetzes* (73) expressly calls *Sesostris* king of *Assyria*, and observes, he is the same *Diodorus Siculus* calls *Sesosis* (74), that he was monarch of the *Assyrians*, that he ruled over all lands, and that he yoked kings to his chariot. In short, he at length relates the story we have upon the same occasion told of the *Egyptian Sesostris* (75), without the least variation, except that he calls him an *Assyrian*.

The parallel is plain; *Amenophis* trains up a number of youth to the fatigues and exercises of war, to serve under his son in the conquests foretold of him (76), the world being then unconscious of the havock of the sword; *Ninus* does here the same, and with the same intent, except that those he trained were designed to serve under himself.

(69) See before, p. 128. (70) Petav. de Doctr. Tempor. (71) Biblioth. Histor. l. 2. (72) See Vol. II. p. 9, &c. (73) Chil. 3. v. 83. ad calc. edit. Gal. Herodot. p. 676. (74) See Vol. II. p. 9. (75) Ibid. & seq. (76) Ibid p. 21.

with *Ariæus* their king ; whereby if he did not obtain his immediate assistance, he might, at least, secure his neutrality and connivance (Z). But *Ariæus* joined forces with him, and marched with him into *Babylonia* (A). The city of *Babylon*,

(Z) It is made an objection to the *Ctesian* history of *Assyria*, that it introduces a king of the *Arabians* before the *Arabians* were a people; our author (77) supposing them originally descended of *Ishmael* the son of *Abraham*; but this cannot hold good, for the country was before planted by *Joktan* (78). But what is more material and unanswerable is, the question that might be asked concerning these antient *Arabians*, How it was they were in *Ninus's* days so famed for war and love of liberty? How came *Ninus* to know this? We understand by this history, that *Ninus* was the first that invaded the rights of his neighbours; and tyranny and slavery seem by this history to have been at these times unknown. If then these *Arabians* had never been invaded, they never could have distinguished themselves in these respects from the rest of the nations; and if they had been invaded, it is plain, *Ninus* was not the first warrior or conqueror. We read, that *Sesostris* king of *Egypt* subdued the *Arabians* (79); and in this particular, indeed, our parallel between him and *Ninus* is interrupted. But is *Sesostris* older in these parts than *Ninus*? our author (80) insinuates no. By prophane authors, they must have been nearly of an age, Now if *Sesostris* conquered the *Arabians*, it is no great sign they were invincible. What other conqueror there should have been in these parts, before these two, we perceive not; *Justin* (81) reckons them two of the first that disturbed the peace of the world in *Asia*. If *Asia* had been free from war till the days of *Ninus*, and if he was the first that affected to rule over his neighbours, the *Arabians* must, to all appearance, have been as ignorant in martial affairs as other nations. On the other hand, if *Ninus* was later than *Sesostris*, and if this last actually subdued the *Arabians*, what had *Ninus* to fear from them, that he must court them after this rate, and lay himself under the obligations he afterwards does to their king? The inconnection and forgery is palpable. It is wonderful, that such stuff as this should ever have passed with men for history, when it is even too silly to be called good romance, which ought to be the shadow of truth and probability at least.

(A) If *Ninus* resided in the country we now call *Assyria*, and if this mighty *Arabian Ariæus* ruled over the country we now call *Arabia*, he could not with more convenience at all have joined his *Assyrian* friend, than by marching through the kingdom of *Babylon*. Now if these *Babylonians* had been so feeble as here represented our warlike *Arab* might have subdued them in his march, and made

(77) Bern. Montfauc. apud. Du Pin. *Biblioth. Univ. des Histor.* p. 286. (78) See Vol. I. p. 374. (79) See Vol. II. p. 22. (80) Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. (81) Lib. 1. c. 1.

bylon, so famous since, was not at that time in being ; though the province itself was stored with cities, whose inhabitants, unknown in the arts of defence (B), fell an easy prey to

a present of them and their country to *Ninus*, upon their first greeting ; and the rather, because it would not only have redounded to his honour, but have saved time and expence also.

(B) Why the *Babylonians* should have been so particularly ignorant in martial affairs beyond their neighbours, is what we can no more conceive, than why the *Arabians* should have been so particularly versed therein. If the *Arabian* had been what he is represented, it is very strange, the *Babylonian* should not have dreaded so turbulent a neighbour, and provided for his own safety against him. And here we would observe, that, according to our author (82), and by what is observed in the note next above, the *Arabians* must have been famous warriors, before the *Assyrians* themselves knew any thing of the matter ; and if so, it would be but natural to suppose, that the *Babylonians*, who lay between them should have cultivated the use of the sword before the *Assyrians*, and that for several reasons, and particularly, as it so stood them upon, to be on their guard against such an enemy as the *Arabian*. But, as natural as this may seem, we are here told quite the reverse ; the *Babylonians* knew nothing of the matter, and they were swept away at once. They, it seems, knew not the *Arabians* were such a people as we are told, and contracted no jealousy from the extraordinary preparations and proceedings of their neighbour, the king of *Assyria* ; and so neither took the field, nor walled their cities. How likely this is to have been, we leave the reader to judge, and shall only add, that this account clashes very remarkably with two very express and important passages of sacred history relating to the *Babylonian* kingdom, which represents this country to have been the first after the flood where any great buildings, as cities, and the like, were erected, and particularly the tower of *Babel* (83) ; and the people to have been a warlike enterprising nation, so early as the days of *Abraham*, when we read of a king of *Shinar*, or *Babylon* (84), making excursions upon the *Canaanites* and others, in company with the king of *Elam* (85). This *Babylonian* king was plainly a warrior ; and, according to common computation, could not have been much, if at all, later than *Ninus*. The city of *Badra* was, we find by our author, so strongly walled, as to be in a manner impregnable. But *Babylon*, it seems, was as yet not in being, and the whole province, and its more antient cities, were swept away at once. How this agrees with the scripture, we leave the reader to judge ; it is *totò cælo* distant from it ; as may be more amply observed hereafter.

In the preceding note we have endeavoured to expose the absur-

(82) Ctes. *apud* Diodor. Sicul. *ubi sup.* (83) See Vol. I. p. 313, & seq. (84) See Vol. II. p. 160, & seq. & p. 301. (85) *Genes. xiv.*

to the turbulent and aspiring *Ninus*, who imposed on them an annual tribute ; and carried away their king and all his children, whom he afterwards put to death (C). He then fell upon *Armenia* with a mighty hand, bore down cities and all before him, and injected such a terror into the hearts of all the people there, that their king *Barzanes* himself waited on him with rich gifts, and made submission to him ; which had this effect, that *Ninus* courteously left him in possession of his kingdom of *Armenia* ; but upon this condition, that he should be to him as a vassal, and serve him in his wars, whenever he should require it (D). Encouraged thus to proceed, he makes an attempt upon *Media*, and overthrew its king *Pharnus*, though at the head of a mighty army. Most of the army of the *Medes* he slew, the king himself was taken prisoner, together with his wife and seven children, and crucified * (E).

AND

* Apud eund. ibid.

dity of this position ; but though the *Babylonians* should have been more ignorant in war than the nations round about ; it must have been, because they had never known what war was. In this case, it must be supposed, their neighbours, not excepting any, must have been as ignorant therein as themselves. One warlike nation always makes another, and so on.

(C) What this prince should have done to provoke *Ninus* to use him in this cruel manner, may be very hard to come at ; but it is plain, he could give him no great offence ; his weakness and inactivity seem to have been the only crimes to make him obnoxious to the *Assyrians* ; and that these were the crimes he suffered for, may be unnatural to suppose. In a word, it seems to have been the first thing that came uppermost, and to have been said at a venture ; perhaps for variety sake.

(D) This king of *Armenia*, it is plain, at first made some resistance ; but, finding himself unequal to his adversary, submits to be his vassal, and, in consideration of this, his life is spared. This looks as if he not only resisted at first, but made terms for himself afterwards ; or we cannot possibly perceive, why he should be suffered to live any more than the apparently innocent and offensive king of *Babylon* ; whose case, if true, must have redounded much to the dishonour of this new conqueror ; and not, must reflect highly on the judgment of the relater, who could make his hero so cruel and undistinguishing a man ; so that he *Ninus* does not make the figure of even a common hero in a romance, who is commonly proposed for a pattern of true justice and magnanimous prowess.

(E) If there be any coherence in the narration thus far, it is in the gradation of resistance in these three nations that were first attacked,

AND NOW nothing would serve him, but he must make himself master of all *Asia*, between the *Tanais* and the *Nile*; and that he might, with the more safety, enter upon this enterprize, he fixes an intimate friend of his in the government of his new conquest, *Media*, while he marched away against the other provinces of *Asia*, which, in seventeen years time, he reduced, all but *Bactria* and *India*. The number of the nations he subjugated, it seems, are no where enumerated, or the battles he fought by any one described and reckoned; but thus far, we are told, is known; he made himself master of the sea-coasts, as well as of the inland parts, conquering *Egypt*, *Phœnice*, *Cœle-Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Lydia*, *Troas*, and *Phrygia* upon the *Hellepont*, the *Propontis*, *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, together with the barbarous nations from *Pontus* to the *Tanais*; the *Cadusians*, *Tapyrians*, *Hyrceanians*, *Dacians*, *Derbicians*, *Carmanians*, *Choramneans*, *Borchanians*, and *Parthians*, not excepting *Persia*, *Susiana*, and what was called *Caspiana*, which he penetrated by the passes called the *Caspian Streights* (F). Other nations of less account he now subdued,

attacked, upon the supposition, that the world in those days knew not what war was. The *Babylonians*, who were first attacked, make no resistance at all; the *Armenians*, whose turn was next, make some faint shew of resistance; and now the *Medes*, who came third in turn, resist indeed. For here we find, they had regular armies in the field to cope with *Ninus*; and a most bloody battle is fought. *Pharnus*, according to this, must have made a very extraordinary progress in the art of war, and must have been a furious enemy; and might have been a rebellious vassal, and a turbulent neighbour, if he had been permitted to live; and so he is put to death, with all his family. But this *Mede* seems to have been as much too strong, as the *Armenian* and *Babylonian* are too weak; the whole has all the air of untruth and inconsistency one could wish.

(F) Such was the extent of this youthful monarchy according to our author. All these conquests were made, with uninterrupted success, by *Ninus*; and these numerous nations, and others, were ever after considered as parts of the *Assyrian* monarchy, till its dissolution; a falshood, which may be proved by what we know of the history of every of these nations; who if they were in very early days conquered by any antient *Assyrian* king, *Ninus*, or any other, their subjection can have been but for the time. We know, by the history of the several nations that precede in this work, that they were free from any *Assyrian* yoke, from the first times we know of, down to the days of *Pul*; an interval of many ages, during which no *Assyrian* monarchy existed on this side the *Euphrates*. So that if any

dued, but found it impracticable to make any notable impression on the *Bactrians*, who were secured by the difficulty of their passes, and the numbers of their hardy warriors (G), and therefore he defers his war with them, till he should be better assured of making his attempt with success ^b.

^b Apud eund. *ibid.*

such there had been, and if its duration was such as *Ctesias* and his followers report, it must, according to the *Hebrew* computation, or the *Samaritan*, have taken rise many ages before the deluge, and have ended about the time these nations, and particularly all on this side the *Euphrates*, began to have any being that we know of; for, from the days of *Abraham* down to *Pul*, there is no vestige of an *Assyrian* power extended over the western parts of *Asia*. This is plain, and is enough to prove this monarchy took birth in the person of *Pul*, the first *Assyrian* king, according to scripture; after him these nations, or many of them, and particularly those on this side the *Euphrates*, did confessedly pay obedience to the *Assyrian* throne; which before that time they certainly never did, at least for any continuance; so that there could have been nothing of this pretended *Assyrian* monarchy from *Abraham* to *Pul*, which is an interval of about 1150 years, which, being added to the years of the interval between *Abraham* and the flood, will remove the rise of this monarchy so near to us, in comparison of what prophane authors tell us, that we may reckon it to have been of late origin.

(G) How these *Bactrians* came to be such very hardy warriors is perfectly in the dark to us; they must never have had the experience of a single campaign before they had to do with the ambitious *Ninus*. The same arguments may be brought to prove, that *Ninus* could not possibly know what they were for soldiers; as we have, a few notes above, offered to demonstrate he could know nothing particular of the martial capacity of the *Arabians*; for if we suppose, with our author and *Trogus* (86), that *Ninus* was the first real warrior, we cannot allow, there can have been any nation famous for arms till after his conquests; and though some nations, during his progress, may have put themselves in a posture of defence, and gathered together in the nature of an army, *Ninus* could know nothing particular of them till he had tried them; and could have nothing to apprehend from them, except he judged by their stature and strength of body; which may, it is most likely, have been the same in all these neighbouring nations. In short, considering the advantage he had of numbers and experience, as also the torrent of his victories, it were ridiculous to suppose, he could dread any one of these nations more than another.

(86) *Justin* l. i. c. i.

LEADING

LEADING his army back again into his own country *Returns* [Syria, as it is called] (H), he determined to raise himself *into his* as great a name for his magnificence at home, as he hoped *own coun-* he should enjoy for his warlike exploits abroad; and, with *try.* this design, marked out a spot of ground whereon to erect a city, which for extent and stateliness, should not only far surpass all that had ever before been in the world, but also be such as should, with the greatest difficulty, be equalled by any other prince in ages to come (I). Having dismissed *Dismisses* the *Arabian* king, who had followed him in his wars, with *the king of* high honours and noble gifts (K); and having got a multi-*Arabia.* tude of hands about him, and amassed a treasure proportionable to his undertaking, he laid the foundations of his intended city, which rose to that stupendous degree as was never after beheld in any city whatsoever. It stood on, or near, the *Nineveh* *Euphrates* (L), surrounded with lofty walls and towers; the *built, and* former being 100 feet in height, the latter 200, and 1500 *described.* in number; for this city was an oblong square, no less than 480 stades in circumference, or 60 miles; the walls were so very broad, that three chariots might drive thereon a-breast. This city, which he honoured with his name, *Ninus* [*Nineveh*], he gave for a possession to the most eminent of the *Assyrians* (M), with liberty, at the same time, for those of any other nation to settle there, adding thereto a large territory to be dependent thereon.

c. Apud eund. *ibid.*

(H) We have already (87) observed, that *Syria* and *Assyria* are promiscuously used for each other, and that this is the cause of much confusion in geography (88).

(I) This is *Sesostris* exactly: Thus he, returning from the conquest of *Asia*, applied his mind to such stupendous works, as might immortalize his name, and everlastingly contribute to the public good (89).

(K) Thus also did *Sesostris* to his army (90).

(L) This is false; it was not the situation of this city (91). This inaccuracy, which is more than once repeated by our author (92), has been noted by several geographers and others; but whether he borrowed the mistake from his admired *Ctesias*, or whether he struck it out of himself, is quite uncertain.

(M) This again is almost the very story of *Sesostris*, who settled certain portions, by lot, of the most fertile land in Egypt, on his whole army (93).

(87) See before, p. 122. (88) *Ibid.* & p. 123, note (B). (89) See Vol. II. p. 26. (90) *Ibid.* (91) See Vol. I. p. 279, note (B). (92) Diodor. Sicul. *Biblioth. Histor.* l. 2. (93) See Vol. II. p. 23.

Ninus &— This work dispatched, but in what space of time they are gain makes not so good as to tell us, *Ninus* takes the field again to sub-war with due the *Bactrians*, whom he had left unconquered; and the *Bactrians* though in this expedition success and triumph crowned his endeavours, it is for nothing more remarkable, than for his Semiramis marriage with *Semiramis*; which leads us to say something of the obscurity of her birth, and the sublimity of her elevation.

her birth. Her birth and extraction were, to be sure, more than merely mortal, for she sprang from a goddess, *Derceto* by name, who had a temple erected to her near a fishy lake, not far from *Ascalon* in *Syria* (N), who came to be represented by a woman upwards and a fish downwards (O), upon the following remarkable occasion: This goddess, some how or other, laboured under the displeasure of *Venus*, who, to punish her, caused her to fall impatiently in love of a youth, who, among others, happened to be paying sacrifice to her, and unfortunately conceiving by him she was delivered of a daughter; but ashamed of her guilt, and desirous to conceal it, she murdered the youth, and exposed the infant among the rocks of a desert, and, overwhelmed with grief and dishonour, threw herself headlong into the lake, and became a fish (O*). Mean while the unhappy infant was miraculously sustained and nourished by a flock of

(N) As much as this city was in *Syria*, it was a city of the *Proper Palestine*, and belonging to the *Philistines* (94); so that by this account, as we have observed elsewhere (95), *Semiramis* was a *Philistine* by birth, and consequently could have no manner of relation to the king of *Assyria*, either as his subject or his vassal, till after the conquest of that country by the successors of *Pul*, many ages after this pretended time.

(O) Hence she is supposed to have been the same with the *Philistine Dagon*, who is commonly supposed to have been pictured in some such manner; but this we have endeavoured to confute (96). Besides, *Dagon* was not the peculiar god of *Ascalon*, but of *Asdod*, or *Azotus* (97); and therefore very unlikely to have been the *Derceto* of *Ascalon*.

(O*) Hence perhaps the worship of fishes at *Hierapolis* in *Syria* (98), where, near the temple of the great *Syrian* goddess, was a lake for the preservation and adoration of that watery creature, which we have at length described (99). But whether *Ascalon*, or *Hierapolis*, was the original seat of this fable, or any other place, is a most uncertain matter.

(94) See Vol. II. p. 193. (95) See before p. 146. (96) See Vol. II. p. 199. (97) Ibid. ibid. (98) Ibid. p. 259. (99) Ibid.

doves or pigeons (P), which frequented near, and kept her warm with their wings, and fed her with milk from the neighbouring cottages; and when, at a year old, the child required a more substantial food, they picked cheese for her, and conveyed it to her; which being remarked by the neighbouring shepherds, who had their cheeses thus served, they made search after the cause, and in the end found a beautiful child, which they took home with them, and sent to the chief

(P) Hence it should be, that *Ascalon* was so remarkable for flocks of pigeons (100), not only in the roads and fields, but about every house; which the people here religiously abstained from, on account of an old tradition concerning the unlawfulness of the contrary (1).

There are those who are ready to believe, *Semiramis* may have borrowed her name, as *Diodorus* insinuates (2), from a word in the *Syrian* tongue, signifying a *dove* (3); but others (4), finding no such word in that language, rejected the notion as groundless. And these are most likely to be right, whatever may be offered to the contrary, upon a supposition, that the word may, in length of time, have been obliterated (5). From all this, and more, it is asserted, that the ensign armorial of *Assyria* was a dove (6); and it has been ventured to blazon the *Assyrian* shield in these terms; *The field Sol, a dove volant proper* (7). So that *Semiramis* is reckoned † to have been the origin of coats and crests. Hence it is supposed (8), that in the *Vulgate* we read (9), *quia facta est terra eorum in desolationem a facie iræ columbæ*; where in our translation, instead of the *anger of the dove*, we read the *fierceness of the oppressor*; and, in the *Septuagint*, ἀπὸ προσωπῆς τῆς μαχαίρας, *the face of the sword*; which, in a very antient *Saxon* translation in the library of *Christ-church* in *Oxford* (10), was thus taken, *the face of the sword of the kulver*. That the dove was a peculiar distinction of *Assyria*, may be collected from *Hosea's* (11) *dove out of the land of Assyria*. In fine, it is by *Cornelius à Lapide*, and others who follow the interpretation of *St. Jerome*, related, that God calls *Nebuchadnezzar* a dove (12). Whatever there may have been in all this, others have thought the *Syrian* dove was hieroglyphical only (13), and expressive of the lascivious nature of this queen; and this may appear by the nameless figure of her, in the temple of the great *Syrian* goddess at *Hierapolis*, with a dove on its head (14): All this is extremely dark.

(100) *Ibid.* p. 194. (1) *Philo apud Euseb. Præpar. Evangelic.* l. 8. p. 398. (2) *Biblioth. Hist.* l. 2. (3) *Gregor. in Posthum.* p. 235. (4) *Joseph. Scalig. in Not. ad Fragm.* p. 43. (5) *Vid. Gregor. ubi sup.* (6) *Vid. eund. ibidem.* (7) *Ibid.* † *Ibid.* p. 236. (8) *Ibid.* (9) *Jerem. xxv. ver. 38.* (10) *Vid. Gregor. ubi sup.* (11) *Ch. xi. 11.* (12) *Vid. Gregor. ubi sup.* (13) *Pier. apud eund.* (14) *See Vol. II. p. 258.*

of the king's shepherds, *Simma* by name (Q), who being childless adopted her his own, and called her *Semiramis*, borrowed from a word in the *Syriac* tongue, which signifies doves or pigeons (R); which the *Syrians* ever afterwards adored as divinities ^d.

Is married and carried to Niniveh SHE grew up; and by far exceeded all of her sex for wit and beauty; and, no wonder, captivated the heart of one *Menon*, who was sent to survey the king's cattle, though, at the same time, no less than chief of his master's council, and governor of all *Syria*. *Menon* had sight of the divine *Semiramis* at *Simma*'s house; and, not without great difficulty, obtaining her to himself; conducted her to *Niniveh*, where he married her, and had two sons by her, *Hypates* and *Hydaspes* (S). In short, she governed her husband, who did nothing but by her advice, and with her participation, and grew into great fame for wisdom ^e.

Ninus's extraordinary preparations for the conquest of the Bactrians. HAVING said thus much; preparatorily to what is to follow, we must leave her for a while, to follow *Ninus* in his *Bactrian* war. Sensible he had a task of the greatest difficulty to surmount, he made choice of the ablest and stoutest men in all his dominions, and resolving not to miscarry this time, as he either did; or thought he should, before, he mustered together 1,700,000 foot, above 210,000 horse, and no less than 10,600 scythed chariots. Our author tells us, these numbers may seem incredible, but that we shall think them nothing, if we do but consider a little the vast extent of *Asia*; ^d Apud eund. *ibid.* ^e *Ibid.*

Why not incredible. (Q) The name of this man, *Simma*, has made some mistake him for no less than *Sem*, or *Shem*; and so, according to them, *Semiramis* must be the daughter of that son of *Noah* (15). This is giving her antiquity enough, and allowing her to have been born before any body who is, by the various authors, supposed to have laid the foundations, either of the kingdom of *Assyria*, or of that of *Babylon*.

(R) This was particularly the practice at *Ascalon*, as may be gathered from what we have cited, a note or two above; though it is certain to have been a custom, more or less, with all the people within the limits of the *Assyrian* empire.

(S) These are *Greek* names, void of all affinity with any names, either *Assyrian*, or *Babylonian*. *Hydaspes* was, according to the LXX, the name of a river, not far from the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* (16).

(15) *Vid* Gregor. *Posth.* p. 235. *Geograph. ad vocem.*

(16) *Vid.* Ortel. *Thesaur.*

and especially if we, at the same time, call to mind the 800,000 men *Darius* led against the *Scythians*, and the numberless army that followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*; things of late transaction, and what every body in his time, in a manner, knew ^f.

HAVING by this, and other arguments and examples of the same kind, endeavoured to get the better of the incredibility that might start up to the disadvantage of this part of his history, he proceeds to tell us, that *Ninus*, as he advanced towards the streights and passes into *Bactria*, was obliged to divide his army into two or three columns; and that so he made his way into the enemies country ^g.

BUT before we proceed, we must, by the way, take notice, that *Bactria* was, in those days, adorned with many large and noble cities, that the capital was called by the name of *Bactra*, that one *Oxyartes* was at this time king there, that he called in all his subjects that were able to bear arms, and that, in consequence of this, he gathered together an army of 400,000 men. With these he marched towards the passes which gave admission into his country, and quietly suffered *Ninus* to enter with a part of his army; but, perceiving their numbers to swell considerably, he fell on them in the plain, routed them, forced the *Assyrians* into the mountains, and killed 100,000 of them. Thus was *Ninus* repulsed by the *Bactrians*; but he had his turn of conquest, overpowered the *Bactrian* with numbers, and broke and dispersed his army, which ran to the cities to defend them against the invader. *Ninus* with ease enough reduced all the cities and strong holds, but the ^h city and fortress of *Bactra* itself, which had like to have been too many for him, and held him out a long and tedious siege (T).

Bactria a populous and well fortified country.

DURING this siege, *Semiramis's* fond husband, then attending the king, was taken with an impatient desire to see

Semiramis goes to the camp before Bactra.

^f Ibid.

^g Ibid.

^h Ibid.

(T) This, according to our author, must have been the first warfare the *Bactrians* were engaged in; and yet, by this story, one would think, they had been old and experienced in all the branches of that destructive trade. Here you may have a vast army of well-disciplined troops, a wise and prudent king at the head of them, a country well defended by nature, and a city impregnable by art. All this is purely said to exalt the valour and might of *Ninus*; though if it had been asked, how in nature it could be possible for the *Bactrians* to be so extremely well prepared to withstand the enemy, it had been a question *Ctesias* could never have answered with any propriety or consistency.

his wife, and sending for her, she, as desirous to display the superiority of her understanding and other excellencies, as her husband was of her company, set out for the camp, in a habit so prudently contrived, as at once to preserve her beauty and conceal her sex, and at the same time to be fit for agility and action; a mode of dress which so took with the fancy, that the *Medes* are said to have assumed it when they came to empire, and the *Persians* also ¹.

*She is the
cause that
the city is
taken.*

SHE no sooner arrived before *Bactra*, than she made remarks on their manner of conducting the siege, and particularly took notice, that they amused themselves with assaulting the weakest places, and never so much as thought of making an effort upon the citadel, and other parts of more strength; and that for this reason the besieged neglected them, to defend the places more defenceless. Observing this, she took with her some who had a particular faculty of climbing up rocks, and with these she, with unspeakable toil and dexterity, got possession of part of the citadel, and immediately made signal to the *Assyrians* to assault in that quarter, which being done, and the city thrown into the wildest consternation, the whole place was immediately reduced * (U).

¹ Apud eund. *ibid.* * *ibid.*

(U) Whoever reflects on the history of this woman hitherto, must at once conclude the writer of it to have been no better than a fabulist, and an awkward one too. Her extraordinary birth, her miraculous preservation by doves, and now her behaviour at this siege, are all circumstances completely and self-evidently romantic. But the story had been imperfect without a woman. Thus, in the tale of *Sesostris*, his daughter *Athyrtis* is the adviser of his conquests, and assures him success would attend him in his wars (17), and has, as it were, the honour of all his conquests. So is it now with *Semiramis*; she here, by her sagacity and intrepidity, performs what without her perhaps had never been brought to pass. Where is the difference between *Athyrtis* and *Semiramis*? The one advises, the other executes. They look very much like the same person in different employments; nor must we wonder, that *Tzetzes* talks, after this, of an *Assyrian Sesostris* (18), or if any other should write of an *Egyptian Ninus*. We would now add, that the *Bactrian* king, who is here called *Oxyartes*, is by others (19) called *Zoroastres*; concerning whom, or the name at least, we shall have so much to say in a more proper place, that we should not here anticipate any thing concerning him.

(17) See Vol. II. p. 22.
Just l. 1.

(18) See before, p. 151, not. (Y). (19)

Ninus, astonished at this action, at first rewarded her as *Ninus first* she deserved, and presently fell a slave to her irresistible beau-^{smitten}ty, endeavouring by all means to persuade her husband to ^{with her.}surrender her up to him, and particularly tempting him with the promise of giving him his daughter *Sofana* in marriage; but this making no impression on him, *Ninus* changed his note, and threatened to pull out his eyes; which threw poor *Menon* into such a fit of rage and despair, that he immediately went and hung himself. Thus was it, that *Ninus* became possessed of the incomparable *Semiramis* (V), who was ^{marries}now advanced to the imperial dignity ^{her,}1.

Ninus, now lord of *Babylonia*, returned with immense spoil particularly of gold and silver; and some time afterwards had a son by *Semiramis*, called *Ninyas*, whom (dying) he left to ^{has a son}the care of his wife, whom he constituted regent of the em-^{by her,}pire (W). She deposited her husband in the palace, and raised

1 Apud eund. *ibid.*

(V) *Scaliger* (20) will have it, that *Semiramis* was married to *Asbur* the son of *Shem*, which is much the same as making her the daughter of *Shem*, as we have observed, some would have her to have been, a note or two above. His reason for it is (21), because the name of her son *Ninyas* better agrees with the *Hebrew* way of writing the name of the city of *Nineveh*, than that of her pretended husband *Ninus*; a name he will have to have been imposed by the *Greeks* upon the patriarch *Asbur*, the grand-son of *Noah* (22). According to this notion *Shem* himself must have been the vulgar *Belus*, the supposed father of *Ninus*, and not *Nimrod*, who was three generations later, and descended from *Ham*. The absurdity of all this, though our author exults much upon it (23), we hope we have demonstrated by a great variety of arguments, and it would be repetition to animadvert thereon in this place.

(W) Thus was it then, that she became queen of *Assyria*; but by another author (24) we understand, that as great as we are taught she must have been in the eyes of the people, she was afraid they should know who ruled them; though in right of the minor her son. That, to conceal this, she cloathed herself so as not to be known from her son, with a long robe on her body, and a tiara on her head; that, to cover the deceit, she commanded the people to dress after the same fashion; and that thence forward they retained the habit. This account of the dress, which she is said by *Diodorus* (25) to have brought into fashion, is much more likely to be true, than what the same author (26) relates concerning the same,

(20) *Not. in Fragm. ad calc. Emend. Temp.* p. 43.

(21) *Ibid.*

(22) *Ibid.*

(23) *Ibid.*

(24) *Just. l. 1. c. 2.*

(25) *Biblioth.*

Hist. l. 2. p. 67.

(26) *Ibid.*

raised over him a mount of earth of wonderful dimension, no less than nine stades in height, and ten in breadth (X), conspicuous, and very remarkably so, over all the plain, where the city of *Nineveh* stood, which it long survived, remaining a stupendous monument, many ages after the subversion of the empire ^m.

Semiramis's character.

Semiramis, as may be gathered from what has been said before, was a woman of an aspiring mind and immense ambition, and now thought of nothing less than eclipsing her husband's glory (Y), to which end she determined to erect a city

^m Apud eund. *ibid*.

that she assumed it to preserve her beauty, and to qualify her for action, which requires a succinct dress, rather than that which may be seen to have been the mode of these parts afterwards in *Babylon* and *Persepolis*; for the former of which, we, for the present, refer the reader to *Herodotus* (27); for the latter, to the sculptures of the ruins of *Persepolis* (28).

The story of her pretending to pass with the people for her son *Ninyas*, is exploded by Sir *Walter Raleigh* *; since, according to this historian, *Ninyas* must have been but a child when his father *Ninus* died, and nothing near to the stature of his mother; who, being supposed to have been a comely personage, could never by any arts of concealment have passed for a child.

(X) Or a mile and a quarter, allowing eight stades or furlongs to the mile; and by this same rule it must have been a mile and half quarter in height. This seems so incredible to *Monf. Rollin* in particular, who has unaccountably adopted the absurdities of the several prophane authors in his history, and rejected most of, if not all, the improvements that have been made in history and geography, by the assiduous researches of later days, that he is willing to think the stade made but little more than the sixteenth of our mile, and that fifteen of them might be reckoned to the mile, as some have imagined (29). This allowed, this funeral monument would very far exceed any thing that perhaps ever was in the world.

(Y) *Rollin* supposes, she wanted to cover the meanness of her extraction, by the greatness of her deeds and enterprises (30). Thus is it his translator expresses himself in *English*, which we are, for this once, obliged to use for want of the original *French*. But this thought seems to be a little too refined for the early times he supposes her to have lived in; besides, his historian (31) warrants him in nothing of the sort that we can perceive. This her ambition puts us in mind of a story told of her, That she was a *Syrian* by birth,

(27) *Lib. 1. c. 195.* (28) See *Chardin's and Le Bruyn's Travels.* * *Hist. of the World, c. 12. § 2.* (29) *Hist. of the Assyrs. vol. II. p. 8 in a note at the bottom.* (30) *Ibid. p. 9.* (31) *Diodor. Sic. l. 2. p. 95.*

city in the province of *Babylon*; making incredible preparati- *Resolves to*
on for the work, and assembling together two millions of men *build Ba-*
to assist therein. This city, as she contrived it, was divided *bylon.*
by the *Euphrates*, and she surrounded it with a wall of 360
stadia in circuit (Z), of such thickness, that six chariots
might drive a-breast thereon, and of height beyond imagina-
tion, no less than fifty orgyas, or fathoms, and adorned with
250 turrets, in due and proper proportion thereto, the whole
a solid body of brick cemented together with bitumen, and
between this wall and the houses therein was left a space of
two plethra, or 200 feet ^a.

THAT this enormous city might be erected with the dis- *The man-*
patch her impatience required, she allotted a spot of a furlong, *ner she con-*
to as many of her trustiest friends as the greatness of the sur- *trived to*
face required, allotting to each every thing that was necessary *have the*
for the undertaking; by which means, though she allowed *city built*
no more than the short space of a year for the completion of *in a short*
the whole, her commands were punctually obeyed. She *time.*
highly approved of the work, and to join the divided parts of

^a Apud eund. ibid.

a servant-maid to one of the king's servants, and the king's concu-
bine; and that at length she got such an ascendant over the great *Ni-*
mus, that she obtained of him to let her sit on the throne and com-
mand for one day; and that, perceiving all her orders to be most
exactly executed, she at last ordered her guards to seize on *Ninus*
himself, bind him, and put him to death; and that thus it was she
became queen of *Asia* (32). This same story, with some variation,
is also told by others. If the former part of this be true, she had
some reason to be ashamed of her extraction; and if the latter, it
was but policy in her to endeavour to outdo her fond predecessor;
who, according to this, must have been such a *Ninus* as described
by *Phœnix Colophonius* (33), who is represented exactly as another
Sardanapalus, and may, it is likely, have been meant for the same;
for we cannot conceive, how so very effeminate a character can suit
with the great *Ninus* the conqueror. A mean and scandalous prince
she might have outdone, and kept her ground after she had destroy-
ed him; but for such a prince, as *Ninus* is on all sides allowed to have
been, we cannot apprehend, it could have been in her power, either
to have pacified her new subjects, or to have eclipsed him.

(Z) We shall have occasion hereafter to describe this city in form,
so that we here confine ourselves to what *Ctesias* relates of it, re-
gardless, whether true or false, which we reserve for a particular
inquiry in the history of the *Babylonian* kingdom.

(32) Plutarch. *Ερώτικος*, p. 75. (33) *Apud Athenæ. Deipnosoph.*
l. 12. p. 530.

the city, she ordered a bridge, which was as substantially built, as artfully contrived, and as beautifully adorned, as any that since then has ever appeared in the world. The stones of it were firmly clamped together with iron, and the passage over was on a floor of cedar, and cypress, and palm-trees ; but the breadth of it, which was seemingly too small for the length, which was five stades, amounted to no more than thirty feet. On each side of the river she raised a wharf, or key, of the breadth of the walls, and an hundred stades in length ; and at each end of the bridge she erected two palaces, whence she might reciprocally survey and awe both parts of the city. The *Euphrates* passing through the midst of *Babylon*, from north to south, these two palaces stood, the one to the east, the other to the west ; both of them sumptuous and magnificent to the utmost. The western was surrounded by a lofty wall of brick, full sixty stades in circuit, within which was a second, wrought and adorned with figures, as it were from the very life, so curiously were they formed, and so naturally coloured. This magnificent wall was 40 stades in circumference, 300 bricks thick, 50 fathoms high, and thereon were raised towers of 70 of the same measure in height. Within this there was a third wall, or inclosure, far surpassing the second in height and breadth, on which, and its towers, were represented all manner of living creatures, as before ; and more especially a great hunting of all kinds of wild beasts, each four cubits in height and upwards ; in the midst of which appeared *Semiramis* herself, mounted on a steed, darting through a leopard, and her husband *Ninus* near in close combat with a lion, whom he pierced with his lance ; this wall was 30 stades about. To this palace she had three gates, under which were rooms of brass, for the celebration of festivals, which were opened by a mechanical contrivance •.

THIS palace far exceeded that on the other side of the river, both for dimension and magnificence ; for the outermost wall of this was no more in circumference than the innermost wall of the former, and for decoration, the whole was much inferior to what we have described. So our author tells us, though with some seeming inconsistency, when in the same breath he informs us, that, besides brazen statues of *Ninus*, *Semiramis*, their great officers, and *Jupiter*, whom the *Babylonians* called *Belus*, there were not only whole armies drawn up in battalia, but likewise the representation of va-

• Apud eund. *ibid.*

rious kinds of hunting, to the great delight and recreation of the beholder ^P.

ALL this being compleated, *Semiramis* sunk a vast lake, *The lake* vast, considering it was sunk by the labour of man. This lake, *she dug.* for so we may well call it, was four square; each side of it was 300 stades in length, the whole lined with brick strongly cemented with bitumen, and no less than 35 foot in depth. This lake was sunk on purpose to receive the waters of the *Euphrates*, which she diverted, while she erected a covered passage, or vault, across the bottom of the river, whereby to have communication between her two opposite palaces. This vault was twenty bricks thick, twelve foot high, and 15 broad; a work finished within the space of 260 days, when the river was again restored to its antient course and liberty. At the ends of this vault she had brazen gates, which continued, say they, to the time of the *Persian* conquest ^q.

IN the midst of the city, though on which side is not said, *Temple of* she built a temple to *Jupiter Belus*, concerning which our *Belus.* author has nothing particular to relate, except that it must have been of exceeding height (A); that like the rest of the city, it was built of brick and bitumen; and that on the top of it *Semiramis* placed three statues of beaten gold, viz. of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Rhea*. The statue of *Jupiter* was upright, and, as it were, walking, forty foot high, and weighing 1000 talents of *Babylon*: The statue of *Rhea* was of the same weight, and sat in a golden throne, with a lion standing at each knee, and near them two very great serpents of silver, weighing 30 talents apiece: The statue of *Juno* was erect, and weighed 800 talents; she with her right hand grasped a serpent by the head, and with her left she held a sceptre enriched with gems. These deities had a table, or altar, common to the three, made of beaten gold, 40 foot in length, 15 foot in breadth, and weighing 500 talents. On this table stood two flaggons, or goblets, of 30 talents weight, and near them two censers, but these weighed 300 talents each; as also three drinking bowls, or vases, of which parti-

^P Ibid. ^q Ibid.

(A) We have, as well as we have been able, determined the height of this tower, which was raised long after these pretended times by *Nabuchodonosor*, and must refer the reader back to what we have formerly said about it (34).

(34) See Vol. I. p. 321. & seq.

cularly

cularly that dedicated to *Jupiter* weighed 1200 talents of *Babylon*, the other two 600^r (B).

Builds several cities.

ALL this is attributed to *Semiramis*, and much more there is to come. *Babylon* was not the only city she raised, she built several others on the banks of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, for the sake of commerce and communication with the remote parts of her empire, and to exalt the majesty of the great capital ; which she farther distinguished by a most extraordinary obelisk, hewn out of the mountains of *Armenia*, 125 foot high, five foot broad, and five deep. This she removed from its native place, by multitudes of oxen and asses, and thence shipping it on the river, conveyed it to *Babylon*, and erected it in a remarkable part of the neighbourhood of this city ; and it is by our author reckoned as one of the seven wonders of the world^r.

Her obelisk.

Wars upon the Medes.

WHEN *Semiramis* had done all this, she puts herself at the head of a vast army, and marches away into *Media*, and there incamps near a mountain called *Bagistan*, where she made a pleasant garden, of 12 stades in circumference : It was in an open champain country, and plentifully supplied with water from a neighbouring spring. This mountain was dedicated to *Jupiter*, or *Belus*, and towards this same garden, its craggy precipice was 17 stades from top to bottom, which she is said to have ascended from the plain to the top of it, on the packs and loads carried by the beasts of burthen that followed her. At the bottom of this rock she caused a statue of herself to be hewn out, and attended by 100 of her choicest guards^r.

FROM hence she marched till she came to *Chaan*, a city of the *Medes*, and there encamping on an eminence, she took notice of a very lofty rock, on the top of which also she formed a very fine garden, and erected stately edifices, whence she might command a view of the beauties of the spot, the wide extension of the place, and the whole camp of her army. Here she is said to have wasted much of her time, and to have given herself up to wanton dalliances and prostitution (C) ; for, jealous of her power and high command, she

^r Apud eund. ibid.

^r Ibid.

^r Ibid.

(B) *Pliny* (35) takes notice of *Semiramis*'s bowl, or goblet, which weighed no less than fifteen talents.

(C) Authors are divided in their opinions of her chastity, as may be remarked hereafter.

(35) *Hist. Nat. l. 34. c. 3. p. 584. Edit. Frob.*

2.

would

would take no partner to her bed ; but chose rather to admit the comeliest men of her army to her embraces, which were fatal to all that enjoyed them, for all such she immediately doomed to death." (D).

MOVING from this place, she advanced towards *Ecbatan*, and in her way levelled the mountain *Zarcæum*, which was many stades in extent, and for its frequent precipices impassable, but by much labour and loss of way. This she did to add to the glory of her name, and to facilitate the passage to all that should have occasion to travel that way (E). This she did with infinite labour and expence, and hence the work came to be called SEMIRAMIS'S ROAD, or WAY. When she came to *Ecbatan*, she there built a most magnificent palace, and did more than she had any where else done. The city, till then, had laboured under a want of water, a defect which she amply supplied with her usual toil and expence w.

FROM *Media* she continued her progress through *Persia*, and the rest of her *Asiatic* provinces, levelling both rocks and mountains before her as she went, in parts incommoded by eminences of the sort ; and on the contrary, in plain and champain tracks, raising hills to vary and adorn them, and at the same time serve for monuments to her captains and chief commanders. Sometimes she would build towns and cities, and was constantly used to raise an eminence, whereon to erect her own pavilion, that so she might have a prospect of her whole army. Many of these things are said to have remained a long time after her in *Asia*, and have been commonly called SEMIRAMIS'S WORKS *.

HAVING thus visited her dominions in *Asia*, she next went to *Egypt*, surveyed that kingdom, and added the greatest part of *Libya* to what belonged to her before ; and paying a visit to the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, and enquiring how long she had to live, the oracle made answer, *She would vanish from the sight of men, and obtain immortal honour and worship from some of the Asiatic nations, at such time as her son Ninus should plot against her life.* How she took this, we are not told ; but from hence she made war upon *Ethiopia*, and having settled things there, and taken a view of the rarities of

* Ibid.

w Ibid.

* Ibid

(D) This is of a piece with the story, five notes above, of her circumventing her husband *Ninus*, and putting him cruelly and ungratefully to death.

(E) *Plutarch*, as we shall observe a little farther, compares her with *Sesostris*, for valour and magnificence.

that fabulous country, she marched back into *Asia*, and reposed herself at *Bactra* ¹.

*Resolves
to invade
India.*

HERE she for some years enjoyed herself in peace; but at length, impatient of so quiet and calm a way of life, she meditated a war against the king of *India*. She had been informed of the transcendant amœnity of the country, its double fertility, its immense riches, and matchless elephants; and resolved upon nothing less than the conquest of that most extensive part of the old world. But, knowing well what a task she should have of it, she ordered all her governors in general to select a proportion of the choicest of the youth in their provinces, and to furnish them with compleat habiliments for war, and to take care they rendezvoused at a place appointed in *Bactria*, within the space of three years. She sent for shipwrights out of *Phœnice*, *Syria* and *Cyprus*, and other maritime places, and, preparing a store of timber answerable to her designs, she ordered, that they should frame her a certain number of vessels, to be transported in pieces by land, wherewith to cross the *Indus*, whose adjacencies were destitute of wood ².

*Her Mock-
elephants.*

SHE in the next place considered, that she laboured under a great disadvantage by the want of elephants, in which *Stabrobates*, the king of *India* at that time, was mighty and strong. How to get any she knew not; art therefore must be used, and she ordered a number of counterfeit elephants to be contrived, thinking particularly to terrify the *Indians* by this stratagem, they being possessed with assurance, the elephant was no where a native but in their country. The thing is resolved on, 300,000 black oxen are slaughtered, and their flesh distributed to poor people, who were to make up their hides in the form of elephants, which were to be stuffed out, and carried by a camel within, and guided each by a man without. The people who wrought at this were surrounded by a lofty inclosure, and no body suffered to go in or out, that none might know what they were about, and convey the news to the *Indian* king ³.

*Stabroba-
tes, king of
India, pre-
pares to
receive
her.*

HER vessels and her elephants ready, and all in two years, she; in the third, rendezvoused her army in the kingdom of *Bactria*, to the amount of three millions of foot, 200,000 horse, 100,000 chariots, and 100,000 men on camels, who wielded swords four cubits long. Her transports were 2000

¹ Apud eund. *ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

in number, and carried by camels (F), as were also the mock-elephants, which the horsemen endeavoured to familiarise to their steeds, that they might not take fright at them when they came to battle ^b.

Stabrobates heard of this, and prepared for the storm; and first he built him 4000 boats of the great canes [Bamboos], which grew in the rivers and fens of *India*; and with great diligence got together a far greater army than that of *Semiramis*. He added to the number of elephants he had before, causing numbers to be taken for that purpose, and to be apparelled with every thing that might make them dreadful to an enemy; that by their number and armour they might be invincible by any human force. Thus prepared, he sends ambassadors to *Semiramis*, then on her march towards him, with complaints and reproaches for offering to make war upon him, without any offence at all given on his part; by a private letter, at the same time, upbraiding her with her infamous life, and vowing by heaven, that, if he conquered her, he would crucify her. She perused this letter, smiled at the contents, and answered, *The Indian ere long should be better acquainted with her by her carriage and actions* ^c.

*Semiramis
on the
banks of
the Indus.*

WHEN she came to the banks of the *Indus*, she discovered the enemy's fleet drawn up against her; whereupon she pre-

^b Apud eund. *ibid.*

^c *Ibid.*

(F) These numbers, says *Suidas* (35), she levied by her lieutenant *Dercetæus*, who, by his name, should have been her kinsman. The same author (36) exaggerates these numbers most monstrously, writing, that she thus gave orders to the said *Dercetæus*, ‘Go to, and prepare for an expedition in three years, beginning from the Hellespont and Libya to Bactria, and levy three millions of foot, one million of horse, 100,000 scythed chariots, and the like number of men to fight upon camels; 200,000 camels for other uses; and let there be 300,000 ox-hides prepared, and 3000 ships built in Bactria, with brazen prows, and manned with Syrians, Phœnicians, Cypriots, Cilicians, and others on the sea coasts quite to the Hellespont.’ This is a notable addition to the *Ctesian* story, and a great instance of credulity, or presumption, in the writer, and tempts us to say, that the *Greek* historians seem to have been particularly fond of the marvellous, and to have made a greater merit of magnifying things, even beyond all bounds, than of representing them as they really were. For here it is observed (37), that no spot on the face of the earth could have sustained these multitudes, though every man and beast had fed upon nothing but grass.

(35) *Ad vocem Συμπλαγῆς.*
of the World, ubi supr.

(36) *ibid.*

(37) *Raleigh's Hist.*

pared and launched her own, which she manned with the bravest of her people, and gave battle, ordering it so, that those ashore might be aiding and assisting upon occasion. The fight was obstinate, but *Semiramis*, in the end came off victorious, sunk 1000 of the *Indian* barks, and took a multitude of prisoners. Elated with this, she fell on the cities and islands of the river, and made 100,000 captives ^d.

*Stabrobates
feigns a
retreat.*

UPON this *Stabrobates* draws off his army; as if afraid, but in truth to decoy *Semiramis* over the river; and she, ignorant of his meaning, no sooner perceived his retreat, than she ordered a broad bridge of boats to be stretched across the river, and marched over her army, leaving only 60,000 men to guard the bridge, while she went in pursuit of the flying *Indian*. She marched with her mock-elephants in the front, thereby to deceive and intimidate the enemy, and it seems, that herein she did not contrive amiss; for the *Indian* scouts, mistaking them for real, gave a dreadful account of their multitudes, and injected a terror into their countrymen, who all astonished, could not conceive, whence the *Assyrians* should have furnished themselves with these tremendous creatures: But the deceit did not trouble them long, for some of *Semiramis*'s people, deserting over to the *Indians*, for fear of punishment they expected for neglect of duty, revealed to them the whole fallacy, and *Stabrobates* immediately ordered proclamation thereof to be made throughout all his army ^e.

*Semiramis
on the other
side of the
Indus.*

Semiramis, in the mean time, advanced towards the *Indian* army, continuing with her false elephants in her front, which came up with the *Indian* horse and chariots, which had been disposed at some distance, before the gross of the foot and the elephants. They charge, and an unexpected fright seizes the *Indian* horse, who at a distance, accustomed to the sight of elephants, advanced with great fury; but within scent of these ox hides, it was new and offensive to them, and they broke into the wildest disorder, throwing their riders, or running away with them into the midst of the *Assyrians*. *Semiramis*, perceiving the advantage, with a choice body of men attacked the disordered *Indians*, and compleatly routed them and drove them back again to the gross of their army. *Stabrobates*, in some degree of consternation at this partial defeat, charges with his foot, sustained by his elephants, himself mounted on a stately one in his right wing, and opposite to *Semiramis* then in her left. The shock was violent and had a sudden effect, and great was the slaughter caused particularly by the elephants. *Semiramis*'s mock-elephants now proved

^d Apud eund. Ibid. ^e Ibid.

useless and cumbersome, and the whole *Assyrian* army betook them to a precipitate flight. In the midst of this battle, the *Assyrian* queen and *Indian* king fought hand to hand, and he wounded her first in the arm with an arrow, and then with a dart in her shoulder, as she was turning about to get from him, and trusting to the fleetness of her horse, she fled with the rest of her army. Her fight with the king of India.

WHEN they came to the bridge, the throng was such, that many who had escaped the hand of the enemy were miserably pressed to death, or perished under foot, being thrown down and trampled upon, or shoved into the river from the sides of the bridge. *Semiramis*, when the body of her army had crossed the river, ordered the bridge to be cut away and destroyed, while chiefly laden with *Indians*, many of whom perished by this means. And now she was safe from farther danger; the river was between her and the enemy; and not only so, but the *Indian* was also admonished not to be eager for the pursuit, by the intervention of prodigies, and the like: In a word, having on each side made an exchange of prisoners, *Semiramis* returned to *Babylon* with scarce a third part of the army she had carried out. ⁸ (G).

AND now, under this eclipse of her glory, she approaches towards her end; the predicted time is come, she is attempted to be assassinated by an eunuch, subdolosly and unnaturally employed by her son (H); and thereupon, calling to mind the Her end.

¹ Apud eund. ⁸ Ibid.

(G) *Arrian* (38) and *Strabo* (39), say, she died in the midst of this expedition, and never returned out of *India*, though by this last ¹ she should have made her escape, but with no more than 20 men at her heels; but *Sir Walter Raleigh* thinks this number to be too small a remnant of so infinite a multitude.

(H) Having thus conducted this famous woman through a long course of incredible undertakings and exploits, which we have forbore to animadvert on, apprehending, we have said abundantly enough in the former part of this section, to prepare the reader for a disbelief of what was to follow, which indeed were a needless task, had not this piece of history received the sanction of some of the greatest men in all ages; we must now enquire into her end, and particularly how it should come to pass that her son *Ninyas* sought her life. We are told (40), that she would unnaturally have tempted him to commit incest with her, and that thereupon he

(38) *In Lib. Rer. Indicar.* (39) *Geograph. l. 15. p. 686, 722.* ¹ *Ibid. Hist. of the World, ubi supra.* (40) *Just. l. 1. c. 2.*

the answer she had received from *Jupiter Ammon*, she suppressed all thoughts of revenge for what had been caused, as it were, by a divine fatality; she forgave her son, surrendered up every thing to him, commanded all her subjects to pay him duty and homage as their king, and was translated from the sight of men, as the oracle had foretold. It was fabled, she made her exit in the form of a dove or pigeon, together with a flock of that kind, which settled upon her palace just at the time, and, say they, it was hence the *Assyrians* were addicted to the worship of a dove (I). In fine, she was queen of

conceived such a hatred of her, that he could not bear that she should live any longer, and therefore murdered her. *Diadras*, or his author *Ctesias* rather, here tells us, her son employed an eunuch to dispatch her, but that she escaped and vanished from sight. We have seen, by the same author, that she gave herself up to wanton dalliances in the plains of *Media*, and cruelly sacrificed her gallants to her furious lust; but no mention at all is by him made of any attempts of hers to seduce her son. Now, according to the course of this history, there seem to have been two provocations, that may have stirred up *Ninyas* to get rid of her: the one, her scandalous way of life; and the other, her usurpation of his right as king and sovereign; which, how he should so long have submitted to, is past our solution; though we may just touch on it anon, dismissing it for the present. It is here somewhat to our purpose, that *Canon* (41) calls her not the wife, but the mother of *Ninus*, and that lying with him by accident, she afterwards acknowledged him publicly for her husband. According to this reading (42) *Ninyas* should be the person meant; but *Sir Walter Raleigh* acquits her of all faults of this kind, and ascribes them, as his words run, to the envious and lying *Grecians* (43). *Gregory* (44) would offer it as an argument of her chastity, that she, as *Ammonius* relates, first instituted eunuchs to attend her in her bed-chamber.

(I) Concerning the *Semiramidan* dove, we have treated largely already (45) and may have occasion to resume the subject hereafter, when we are to speak of the *Babylonian* religion; and the rather, as *Semiramis* is more likely to have been a *Babylonian* than an *Assyrian*, appellations confessedly synonymous. And now, that there was such a woman as *Semiramis*, we doubt not in the least, but that there ever was a woman of any name that performed any thing like what is here reported, is impossible to believe. Her birth, her elevation, her reign, and her death are all extraordinary, unnatural, and impossible, as related by the bulk of historians; but above

(41) *Apud Phot. Biblioth. p. 427.* (42) *Vid. Gregor. Posthum. p. 234.* (43) *Hist. of the World, chap. 12. § 4.* (44) *In Poet. ubi sup.* (45) See before, p. 159, note (P).

of all *Asia*, *India* excepted, and continued in the fight of men 62 years, 42 of which he reigned ^h.

Ninyas (K) succeeded his mother *Semiramis*, and taking *Ninyas*, neither after father nor mother, he chose to enjoy himself in peace ;

^h Apud eund. *ibid.*

all, her antiquity, which is exaggerated so monstrously by *Josephus Scaliger* (46) and *Renecius* (47), is a matter so easily disproved, by the circumstances of her birth and country, that it were sufficient to destroy whatever other extravagance is advanced of her. *Conon* (48) makes her to have been the same with the *Atossa*, or *Semiramis*, who reigned 12 years with her father *Belochus*, the 18th king of *Assyria*, according to *Eusebius* (49), and in the same place calls her the daughter, and not the wife, of *Ninus*, though copies, it must be confessed, differ in the reading, and have sometimes (50) mother instead of daughter. But this latter is to be preferred, because of its congruity with the author's meaning, who makes her the *Atossa* of *Belochus*, who were confessedly daughter and father (51): *Belochus*, then must have been the *Ninus* of *Ctesias*, and he, instead of being the first, or the second, king of *Assyria*, is, according to *Eusebius* (52), the eighteenth king ; this takes much from the antiquity of both, and we are ready to subscribe the same, and the rather, as it may be observed hereafter, to quadrate with *Herodotus*, and is much more conformable to our notices of the true and more certain history of this monarchy. To conclude, had this queen done but half what is reported of her (53), or even a tenth part, she would have been worthy of the greatest fame, and even, according to the genius of those times, of deification itself. A most extraordinary personage she must have been, nor do we wonder, considering the romantic humour of the times, that she should be reckoned to have discovered and invented the use of metals, to have been the first queen and tyranness, and, in short, to have been called the goddess *Rhea* (54). She may be compared with the Egyptian *Isis*, and the Phœnician *Astarte*, as her husband *Ninus* may with the Egyptian *Osiris*, *Sesostris* and the like.

(K) He is also called *Zamus* (55), the German writers will have him to have been called *Trebita*, and to have built the city of *Treves* (56) ; he is also called *Thourias* (57), or *Thouras* (58), or *Ares* [*Mars*] ; and is said to have had the first statue erected to him,

(46) *Ibid.* p. 163. (47) *Apud* Gregor. *Posthum.* See before, in the notes, p. 163. (48) *Apud* Phot. *Biblioth.* p. 427. (49) See before, p. 138. (50) *Ibid.* Gregor. *Post.* p. 234. (51) See before, *ubi sup.* (52) *Ibid.* (53) *Raleigh's Hist. of the World, ubi sup.* § 4. (54) *Suid. ad vocem* *Σεμπαμίδς*. (55) See before, p. 138. (56) *Ibid.* Gregor. *Posthum.* p. 239. (57) *In MSS. Gr. Anonym. apud* Gregor. *Posthum.* p. 226, 239. (58) *Suid. ad vocem* *Θούρας*.

which

Ninyas's
sloth.

His policy.

peace; and, indeed, there must have been a necessity for it, if his parents had done all that report says of them; he could make no war upon any that were not either his subjects or vassals¹. As for *India*, which alone was free from his yoke, a war there had been sufficiently experienced to be very impracticable and absolutely dangerous. Having therefore nothing to do abroad, he locked himself up in his palace, unseen by any but his eunuchs and concubines, and contracted such a habit of sloth and vice, as has tainted his memory to all succeeding generations. However, he was not so supinely negligent, as totally to neglect his interest and security. It was a custom with him, every year, to levy an army, by a certain proportion of men out of each province, under their respective generals, while he appointed such governors over the several parts of his dominions, as he could most safely confide in. This army served a year in the city, and about it, we may suppose, and was then relieved by another, raised in the same manner; and the former, having taken an oath of fidelity to him, were permitted to depart each to the place of his abode. By this step of policy it was, he thought he might best keep his subjects in awe and order; and, at the same time, prevent any disturbance from his officers, who having

¹ Vid. JUST. l. 1. c. 2.

which they called Βααλ Θεὸν, *Lord God*. In short, he is said to have waged war and to have slain the tyrant *Caucasus* of the tribe of *Japhet*, or *Japetus*, and to have been consecrated into the planet *Mars* (59). How different is this character from that of the slothful *Ninyas* in most other authors? No extremes can be at a greater distance from each other. The authors we have cited make him the successor of *Ninus*, without any mention of *Semiramis*, which seems to have some sort of agreement with what we have from *Eusebius* observed in the note above, that she was the very *Aroffa*, the daughter of *Belochus*, and that she reigned with her father, as his colleague and assistant, for the space of 12 years only (60). And this seems the rather to have been the truth of the case, as we cannot help wondering with Sir *Walter Raleigh* (61), how she should have been able to keep the reigns in her own hands, in prejudice of her son who was her lawful sovereign. He has no way to account for this, but by supposing he had regard to his pleasures only, and cared not of how much trouble his mother eased his shoulders (62). But that he was not so poor a wretch as this amounts to, will, among other things, be observed in the next note.

(59) *Idem ibid. vid. etiam* Joan. Malel. p. 120. & Cedren. p. 15.
(60) See before, p. 138. (61) *Hist of the World*, chap. 12. § 2.
(62) *Ibid.*

scarce time to be at all known to their soldiers, could have it the less in their power to aspire at any thing to his prejudice (L). All this he concerted to secure himself from insults and rebellions, while he wallowed in lasciviousness within the walls of his palace: in which he was an unworthy example to his successors after him; reserving himself from the eyes of men, as something more than mortal *.

AFTER this rate was it that all his successors reigned in the great empire of *Assyria*; so that they, it seems, have left little or nothing to be recorded of them, except that they

* Apud eund. *ibid.*

(L) *Diodorus, Athenæus, Justin*, and others, represent him, as we have seen, a slothful, inactive, and lascivious king; to have locked himself up in his palace; to have sequestered himself from the eyes of his subjects, and to have had communication with them but by messengers; to have even turned woman, and to have conversed with none but that sex; and yet we see him here consulting and contriving to preserve the empire his parents had left him, and which, in the nature of things, he could not possibly enlarge. We see him here acting the part of a resolute tyrant and consummate politician, and may thence conclude, that if there had been any possible work of the sort left for him to do, he would have turned out a conqueror. Upon the whole we would remark, that according to this, he must have been a haughty and a politic prince by nature, and one that, to all appearance, would not have suffered his mother to rule for him, or rather over him, for the space of 42 years. His retirement may be offered as an argument of his pride and policy; and this his regulation for the duty and relief of his armies, may be thought to favour strongly of absolute sway and love of power, in the person that instituted it. All this we have insisted on to prove; that he did not succeed *Semiramis* in the manner our historian writes; which must appear even by the inconsistent character our author here gives of him. To which we would add, that if the same method of restraining the empire were the practice of *Ninyas* and his successors, as by our author it appears, what is the meaning we perceive no footsteps of it any where within our knowledge, in the very long interval of 1200 years at least between *Ninyas* and *Sardanapalus*? we apprehend, that no body can give us a satisfactory answer to this. And here we cannot but wonder how *Sir Walter Raleigh* should ever take it into his head, that this *Ninyas*, this mighty *Assyrian* monarch, might be the petty king of *Shinaar*, *Amraphel* in *Genesis* (63), or that he should, if he reposed any confidence at all in profane writers, imagine the monarchy had, even in *Abraham's* time, even in its very infancy, received a downright fall as he calls it (64).

(63) See his *Hist. of the World*, c. 1. § 9. l. 2.

(64) *Ibid.*

lived and died in their palace at *Nineveh* (L*); and hence it is, we must abruptly proceed to the very last of them ¹.

Sardana-
palus's
character.

Sardanapalus (M) exceeded all his predecessors in sloth and luxury. He sunk into such a depth of depravity, that, as far as he could, he changed his very sex and nature; he cloathed himself as a woman; he spun amidst the companies of his concubines; he painted his face, and decked himself out with all manner of enticements, and every way behaved more lewdly than the most lascivious harlot; he imitated the voice of a woman, and buried himself in the filth of an unbounded sensuality, quite regardless of sex and the dictates of nature ^m (N).

UNDER

¹ Apud eund. *ibid.* ^m *Ibid.*

(L*) This vast chasm of inaction in the *Assyrian* monarchs, from *Ninyas* to *Sardanapalus*, a vacancy, as we may call it, of at least 1200 years, is as strong a proof that the prophane accounts are fabulous, as any of the many we have offered to prove them so. Is it probable, that in so long a succession of princes there should have been one only that did any thing worth the recording? Or is it possible, that in so very long a succession of years there should have arisen no man at all, who had ambition and courage enough to take advantage of the sloth and supineness of these kings at *Nineveh*? Where were the other kings of the world all this time, and especially such as were vassals to this throne? Did they glory in their chains and the burthen of their tribute? Or did they all sink into a lethargy with their master? Was there no king of *Bactria*, no king of *India*, to rouse them from their silken slumbers? Had *Ninus* destroyed the race of mankind, so numerous in his time, to that degree, as not to be able to recruit again, in all that length of years, to take vengeance on his successors for his sake? More, many more, queries of this kind may be made, but we desist. So many pacific ages, such a series of the calmest peace, both from within and from without, may shock the easiest credulity. The monarchies which succeeded this were of very short duration in comparison of this, and why the *Assyrian* should have the sole privilege of standing so long erect, we are at a loss for. Great monarchies have been always objects of common hatred among men, and subject to such sudden and violent subversions, as this monarchy certainly underwent.

(M) This name is not the only one said to belong to him, he is also called *Tonos Concoleros*, *Concoleros*, *Mascocoleros*, and by other such names (65).

(N) *Dio Cocceianus* (66) has taken much pains to let us know, that he was the most libidinous and abandoned wretch the sun e-

(65) *Vid.* Geor. Syncel. & Euseb. Pamph. Valel. p. 762.

(66) *In Excerpt.*

UNDER this wretch, as represented (O), it was, that the *His reign.*
Assyrian monarchy came to ruin. He grew odious to his
 subjects

ver shone on ; and says, That no one could tell what he did and suffered to be done to him, and that no body would bear to hear it ; though he descends to several particulars bad enough of all conscience ; but, as they may be built upon no solid foundation, merely traditionary, and besides unfit for us to relate, we pass them over. *Nicholas of Damascus* (67) is more moderate, and accuses him chiefly of passing his time with his women, and contending with them about dress and ornament, in the very words used to the same purpose in *Suidas* (68). *Trogus* (69) also seems to have described his way of life much to the same purpose. *Duris* (70) says, he turned woman, dressed as such, painted himself, and spun ; all to the same purpose ; and therefore we need say no more about it.

(O) A man of pleasure and lewdness he may have been, and doubtless was, it being impossible to think otherwise of monarchs of this sort, as experience teaches us, and for the proof of which we need go no farther than *Constantinople*, to take a view of the great *Turk* ; but nevertheless he may have been a man, who, at some intervals, minded business ; such a man we are told he was, for he is said to have built *Tarsus* and *Anchiale* in one day (71) ; in testimony of which he had this inscription on his tomb, ΣΑΡΔΑΝΑΠΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΑΚΤΝΔΑΡΑΞΕΩ ΑΓΧΙΑΛΗΝ ΕΔΕΙΜΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΡΣΟΝ ΜΗ ΗΜΕΡΗ, ΑΛΛΑ ΝΥΝ ΤΕΘΝΗΚΕΝ, *Sardanapalus, the son of Anacyndaraxis, built Tarsus and Anchiale in one day, but now is dead.* This is a grave epitaph, and might besit any prince, but we find it varied a little to disadvantage ; for, instead of the three last words, we have this addition to his magnificent exploit of having built these two cities in a day, ΕΣΘΙΕ, ΠΙΝΕ, ΠΑΙΣΕ ΩΣ Τ' ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΟΥΚ ΑΞΙΑ, *Eat, drink, and be merry, for the rest is not worth the snap of a finger* ; which was signified by his statue here, in act of snapping its fingers (72) : This monument and statue is said to have been not far from *Anchiale*. A modern author (73) supposes the same inscription and statue to have been at the other city *Tarsus*, where *St. Paul* was born, and thinks the apostle alludes thereto, when he writes, *Let us eat and drink ; for to-morrow we die.* However, there seems to be such incoherence between the former part of this last inscription and the latter, that we know not what to think of it ; there is no manner of relation between

(67) *In Excerpt. ejusd.* p. 424. (68) *Ad vocem Σαρδανάπαλος.*
 (69) *Justin. l. 1. c. 9.* (70) *Apud Athen. Deipnosoph. l. 12. p. 529.*
 (71) *Athenæus Deipnosoph. l. 12. p. 529. Vid. etiam Georg. Syncell. Chronograph. p. 165. & Euseb. Pamph. Chron. Can. p. 110.*
 (72) *Aristobul. apud Athenæ. ubi sup. p. 530.*
 (73) *Gregor. in Posthum. p. 243.*

The Medes
Babyloni-
ans, and
Persians
revolt.

subjects about him, and, as should seem, particularly to *Arbaces* the *Mede*, and *Belesis* the *Babylonian*. *Belesis* was not only a captain, but a famous priest and a great astrologer, and by the rules of his art he took on him, as is said, to assure *Arbaces*, a man of valour and prudence, *That he should dethrone Sardanapalus, and become lord of all his dominions*. *Arbaces* hearkened to his friend, and promised him the chief place over *Babylon*, if things should happen to answer his prediction; and fully possessed that he was to be as *Belesis* had foretold of him, he cultivates particular intimacies with the other governors of the provinces then at *Nineveh*, and begins to affect popularity; and therein succeeds to his wish. But above all, he endeavours to get sight of the emperor, that he might behold his course and manner of life; and describe him accordingly. This he brings to pass, by the prevalence of a golden cup he presented to an eunuch, who introduced him into the presence. *Arbaces* saw him, and, conceiving the highest contempt of him, was more and more encouraged to rely on his *Chaldean* friend, and, impatient to effect their purpose, *Arbaces* disposes the *Medes* and *Persians* to an open revolt, and *Belesis* does the same with the *Babylonians*; and, in short, the matter was disclosed to the king of *Arabia*^a.

THE year of duty was now expired, and fresh troops arrived to relieve those who had served it; but the *Persians*, *Medes* and *Babylonians*, assisted by the *Arabians*, came not with design to guard *Sardanapalus*; their intent was to subvert the empire. Their number all together amounted to

^a Apud eund. *ibid*.

the action recorded and the reflection that ensues. In the first, indeed, there is a becoming gravity throughout, and a persuasive to virtue and humility, by representing, that even the mighty king, who could build two cities in a day, was equally mortal with the rest of his kind; but the latter is merely calculated to encourage idleness and vice, *eat, drink, and be merry, the rest is not worth caring for*. If this was any where the genuine inscription, it must have been in derision of him after his death, and upon a presumption, that he was the idle effeminate creature he is painted. *Calisthenes* (74) writes, there were two *Sardanapalus*'s, the one a bold, the other an effeminate man. Others do the same, as we shall have occasion to observe hereafter. *Suidas* (75), who gives this inscription according to the last of the two copies above, thinks it may belong to the masculine *Sardanapalus*, though with what propriety we may consider a little farther.

(74) Apud Suid. ad vocem Σαρδανάπαλος.

(75) *Ibid*.

400,000 men, and being all combined together, in one camp, a council of war was called, to deliberate upon what was best to be done. *Sardanapalus*, apprised of this revolt, resolved to stifle it in its infancy, and leads out the troops of the other provinces against the confederated rebels, and coming to a battle with them, he entirely routed them, and with great slaughter pursued them to certain mountains about 70 stades from the city of *Nineveh*. The rebels, however, drew out again to fight the emperor, who, just before the action began, caused proclamation to be made of a reward of 200 talents of gold for the man who should kill *Arbaces* the *Mede*, and twice that sum, together with the government of *Media*, to the man who should produce him alive; and the same was proclaimed concerning *Belesis* the *Babylonian*. This proclamation being made without any effect, a second battle was fought, and the rebels were again slaughtered, and put to flight towards the hills. This victory had assured *Sardanapalus* in his throne, had it not been for the obstinacy of *Belesis*, who persisted in it, that the gods would certainly smile on them, and crown their labours and perseverance with success in the end; thereby reviving their drooping spirits, who in despair had called a council, the result of which was, that they should disperse, and every man return to his home. They fight a third battle, and *Sardanapalus*, victor as twice before, drives them into the mountains of *Babylon*, though *Arbaces* did that day all that man could do, and was now forced to retreat considerably wounded.

*Sardana-
palus takes
the field a-
gainst
them. and
beats them.*

*A second
battle; the
revolters
are again
routed.*

*A third
battle; the
revolters
beaten a-*

Sardanapalus had now certainly put an end to the war (P), if *Belesis*, who had been all night in deep consult with the stars, had not, with all imaginable assurance, persuaded them the next morning, that if they kept together but five days

*They hold
out still.*

° Apud eund. ibid.

(P) It must be confessed a little strange, that so degenerated a creature should have the courage and ability thus to defend himself against these revolters, who should have been of much greater experience and capacity than himself. Indeed, according to what this author and most others say of him, he could have understood nothing in the world relating to war, or almost any thing else peculiar to men; and yet being forced into the field, we find him behaving and defending himself as well as if he had been *Ninus*, or even *Semiramis* herself. From this dissimilitude of *Sardanapalus* from himself it is likely, we have the two mentioned by *Calisthenes* in the note above, *Sardanapalus* the warrior, and *Sardanapalus* the woman. This, as every thing of our own, we offer as conjecture only.

longer,

*The Bac-
trians re-
volt to
them.*

*They at-
tack the
imperial
camp by
surprize.*

*They be-
siege Sar-
danapalus
in Nine-
veh.*

longer, they would be joined and supported by unexpected assistance ; for that the gods had so signified to him by the aspect of the heavens : He intreated them, therefore, to stay but so many days, and in the mean time to place a confidence in the gods. Wrought on to wait the event, and the time expired, sudden advice was brought of a mighty power at hand, sent to the king from *Bactria*. *Arbaces*, upon this, dispatched the most resolute and expeditious men in his army, with orders to prevail on the *Bactrians* to revolt, either by fair means or foul. Liberty was the bait to allure them, and by degrees, from officer to soldier, it prevailed, and the *Bactrians* joined *Arbaces* ; a transaction unknown to *Sardanapalus*, who, presuming he had now nothing to fear, was returned to his usual way of life (Q), and preparing for an extraordinary sacrifice, and a high festival for the entertainment of his victorious army ^P.

In the mean time the negligence and riot in the imperial camp was conveyed to the ears of *Arbaces*, who, in consequence thereof, fell suddenly on them in the night, made his way into the camp, and drove out *Sardanapalus* and all his army, with a great slaughter, which continued almost to the gates of the city. Whereupon the king commits the care and conduct of his army to *Salemenus* his brother-in-law, undertaking to defend the city in person. His forces were twice defeated, once at some distance, and once under the walls of the city, when *Salemenus* fell, and almost all his army was cut off, and forced into the river, which was tinged with the gore of the slain for a long while ^Q.

Sardanapalus was now closely besieged : Many other nations, now eager for liberty, revolted to the confederates ; and perceiving things at so desperate a pass, he sent away his three sons and two daughters, with a very great treasure, into *Paphlagonia*, where one *Cotta*, a particular friend of his, was governor (R), and issued out orders to all parts of his empire

^P Apud eund. ibid.

^Q Ibid.

(Q) There is seemingly some inconsistency in this, if we consider what follows ; for by that it appears, that he took on him the part of a grateful and beneficent prince, who would reward and feast with his army after their successful toils.—It seems a little uncharitable to think otherwise of him in this case.

(R) Where this *Paphlagonia* should have been situated, and who this *Cotta*, a modern name, should have been, we forbear to enquire, as favouring too grossly of fable ; but, by the way, we cannot

empire (S) to come in to his assistance, and prepare for a siege (T). But though his situation may seem to have been quite deplorable, he, it seems, did not succumb, fully possessed with notions of a prophecy, *That Nineveh could never be taken, till the river became her enemy*, which, according to his conclusion, amounting to an impossibility, he looked upon himself as secure, how great and imminent soever the dangers might be that threatened him ^r.

WHILE *Sardanapalus* pleased himself with this imagination, *They take* the confederates, elated by what they had done, considered *the city*. their work as compleated, though they, in those early days, could make no impression on such walls, ignorant as they were of the engines afterwards invented to expedite undertakings of this sort. *Sardanapalus* having taken care to be well

^r Apud eund. *ibid*.

not help asking, how this *Cotta* should have been so particularly his friend and faithful servant, when no one governor had ever seen his face, before *Arbaces* the *Mede* bribed his way to a fight of him; this does not hang at all with the other parts, all inconsistent within themselves, of this story of this last king of *Nineveh*; nor is it even easy to conceive, how he should have sent away any part of his family and treasure: the enemy had certainly secured the passes; the poliorcetic art, in those simple days, consisted of little else. To mend the matter, another tells us (76), who mentions our author *Ctesias* as if he quoted him, that *Sardanapalus*, perceiving himself sore pressed, and ruin coming with hasty strides upon him, sent three sons and two daughters, together with 3000 talents of gold, to the king of *Nineveh*. What city of *Nineveh* this can have been, besides the city he himself was besieged in, we are quite at a loss for, and so we leave this palpable obscurity as we find it, except we infer, that through this seeming mistake the error sprang of making two *Sardanapalus*'s as well as two *Ninevehs*, which we meet with no where else.

(S) How he could do this, closely besieged as he was, is hard to conceive; and what need he had of doing it, will be as difficult, if we consider what follows.

(T) Why should he have been so solicitous about his family, himself, or the city, if what follows be true, that he was persuaded the place could never be taken? Why in this case should he have exposed his children and treasure by sending them away, when according to his belief, they could no where have been in more safety? and why should he be so busy with his orders, and calling in his people to his assistance in the siege? they could have been of no use to such an impregnable place as was proof against every thing, even famine itself, but the waters of the river.

(76) *Athenæ. Deipnosoph. l. 12. p. 529.*

stored with what was necessary to enable him to hold out a long time; the confederates sat two years before the city without any visible effect; but in the third year the river, swelled by unusual rains, came up to the city, and overflowed a great length, no less than 20 stades, of the wall. The unfortunate *Sardanapalus*, now sensible of the completion of what had been foretold of the river's enmity to the city, had no farther room for hope, and, dreading to fall into the hands of the enemy, retired into his palace, in a court of which he caused a vast pile of wood to be raised, and heaping upon it all his gold, and silver, and royal apparel, and at the same time inclosing his eunuchs and concubines in an apartment within the pile, he set fire thereto, and so destroyed himself and the rest (V); which the rebels hearing, entered the

(V) This was the end of the unfortunate *Sardanapalus*; but the circumstances are most prodigiously exaggerated by *Athenæus*, who seems (77) to borrow what he says from *Ctesias*, whom *Diodorus*, perhaps, abridged, and *Athenæus* transcribed at length. He says, within his palace he erected a pile of four *Jugera*, or acres, in dimension, that thereon he laid 150 golden beds, and as many golden tables; that in the midst of it he built a hall or room of 100 foot, in which he had beds for his wife and himself, and others for his concubines; that it was all a solid piece of timber-work, and that it was so fenced about with huge timbers that no body could get out; that within this were no less than a thousand myriads of talents of gold, and ten thousand myriads of silver, together with riches of apparel, and furniture unspeakable; that he ordered this pile to be set on fire, and that it burned no less than fifteen days together; that by the smok those without thought he had been sacrificing, and that, during the time, the whole was a secret to every body but his eunuchs. *Suidas* (78) seems to intimate, that he was accidentally burnt in his palace. *Amyntas* (79) relates, there was a great mount in *Nineveh* raised, as tradition went, as a sepulchral monument to *Sardanapalus*; the same we may safely suppose that is said to have been erected by *Semiramis* in honour of *Ninus* (80), and that on stone pillars the following epitaph was engraved in *Chaldee* characters; (why not *Assyrian*?) which were thus rendered into *Greek* by *Charilus* the poet (81), ΕΓΩ ΔΕ ΕΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΑ, ΚΑΙ ΑΧΡΙ ΕΠΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΥ ΦΩΣ, ΕΠΙΟΝ, ΕΦΑΓΟΝ, ΗΦΟΔΙΣΙΑΣΑ, ΕΙΔΩΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΟΝΤΑ ΒΡΑΧΥΝ, ΟΝ ΖΩΕΙΝ ΟΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙ, ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΛΑΣ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΚΑΚΟΠΙΑΘΙΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΩΝ ΑΝ ΚΑΤΑΛΙΠΩ ΑΓΑΘΩΝ, ΑΛΛΟΙ ΕΞΟΥΣΙ ΤΑΣ ΑΠΟΛΑΥΣΕΙΣ ΔΙΟ ΚΑΓΩ ΗΜΕΡΑΝ ΟΥΔΕΜΙΑΝ ΠΑΡΕΛΑΠΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΠΟΙΩΝ. *I reigned, and while I enjoyed the light of the sun, I drank, I eat,*

(77) *Ibid.* (78) *Ad vocem Σαρδανάπαλος.* (79) *Apud Athen. ubi sup.* (80) *See before, p. 164.* (81) *Apud Athen. ubi sup. and*

the city by the breach, and became lords of the place. The inhabitants were treated with great humanity, though the great and mighty city of *Nineveh* itself was laid level

and gave myself up to women, knowing how short a time man has to live, how full of cares and trouble; and that the joys I leave behind pass on to others; knowing of this I never missed a day from pleasure. This inscription or epitaph, if any such there ever was, is very likely to have been the parent of the second, we have given some notes above, and may be confounded with the same, which is also said to have been erected at *Nineveh* (82); but we may fairly suppose, there never was any such as either of them erected at that city: For this antient city was confessedly destroyed, whatever place else may have risen, and been known under the same name afterwards; and secondly, *Sardanapalus* having been reduced to ashes, we can suppose no monument to have been raised professedly over him; nor would any remembrance of this sort have been, it is likely, propagated of him at an immense expence on the spot where *Nineveh* was to stand no more; and besides, this mount, or whatever else it may be called, is not only said to have been erected in honour of a former king, at least some generations before him (83), but also to have been destroyed by *Cyrus* (84), who, so far as we apprehend, had never any thing to do in the demolition of *Nineveh*. This may be enough to create a disbelief in us of so extraordinary and unusual a method to spread the shame of this dubious prince; dubious we say the rather because we find him deified in the temple of *Hierapolis* in *Syria* (85), which it is not likely he should have been, if he had been so much the object of contempt, as he is represented to have been. Perhaps his whole crime was, that the *Assyrian* empire was dissolved in his time; and this we say not without ground; for we are given to understand, that though he was despoiled of the empire of *Syria*, or *Assyria*, he died of a good old age (86). From these very different accounts of the death of this famous, or, as the vulgar opinion has it, infamous prince, it may be, that we have another reason why it should be mistakenly imagined, there were two kings of *Assyria* of this same name (87). *Suidas* (88) talks of a *Sardanapalus* slain by one *Perseus*; he has two of the name; and though he endeavours to make them different men, he plainly means the same. To conclude, whatever the bulk of prophane authors tell us, concerning the reign of *Sardanapalus*, and the rest of the *Assyrian* history, is too gross to be called romance, nor deserving to be called even tradition, though certainly built upon very true history, as we shall endeavour to prove in what is to follow.

- (82) Suid. *ad vocem* Σαρδανάπαλος. (83) See before, p. 164.
 (84) Amynt. *apud* Athen. *Deipnosoph.* *ubi sup.* (85) See Vol. II.
 p. 259. (86) Cleitarch. *apud* Athen. *ubi sup.* (87) See before
 in the notes, p. 180, 181, 183. (88) *Ad vocem* Σαρδανάπαλος.

with the ground. And thus ended the *Assyrian* empire, subverted by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, after it had, according to our author *Ctesias*, subsisted no less than 1400 years^c.

S E C T. V.

The History of ASSYRIA according to Scripture and the more approved Authorities.

Year of
the Flood,
2228.
Year be-
fore
Christ,
771.

WE now come to the true, and only history of *Assyria* that may be depended upon. *Pul* (W), the seeming founder of this monarchy, makes his first appearance in scripture in the reign of *Menabem*^b, king of *Israel*, who just about the same time had forced his way to the

^c Apud eund. *ibid.*

^b See before, p. 65.

(W) He is also called *Phul*, and mistakenly by the LXX *Phua*, an inaccuracy in the transcription, and owing to the very near resemblance of the Greek Λ *lambda*, and α *alpha*, so that it is no great wonder, this name should, in the Greek character, have been written $\Phi\Omega\Upsilon\Lambda$ *Phua*, instead of $\Phi\Omega\Upsilon\Lambda$ *Phul* (89). He is the first king of *Assyria* mentioned in scripture, from the time that land was planted by *Assur*, and not to be confounded with the kings of the *Medes* and the *Babylonians*, as the custom usually is (90). This *Phul* was by his name a pure *Assyrian*, and not a *Chaldean* or *Babylonian* (91), as he is mistaken to have been by some (92), who would have him to have been the *Belesis* of *Ctesias*, who, in conjunction with *Arbaces*, overthrew the *Assyrian* power; than which no position can be more gross. That he was the first king of *Assyria*, appears by his name, which is simple, and not compounded, as the rest we read of are. The *Assyrian* names are for the most part compounded of the simple names of their gods (93); and the name of this king we find a primitive, as we may call it, compounded in the names of other princes in these parts, as in *Tiglatb-Pul-Assur*, *Nebo-Pul-Assur*, and the like. From this circumstance, and the affinity of the name itself, he is, with seeming certainty, said to have been the *Assyrian*, *Syrian*, or *Tyrian Belus* (94). *Pul* is pronounced *Pol*, and *Pal* (95), whence, without any straining of the point, we may derive the *Bal*, *Bel*, or *Belus* of the *Greeks* and *Latins*. That he should have been the *Belus* of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and

(89) *Vid.* Cleric. in 2 Reg. cap. xv. ver. 19. (90) *Vid.* eund. *ibid.* (91) *Vid.* Scalig. de emend. temp. l. 6. p. 577. (92) See Patrick upon 2 Kings xv. 19. (93) *Vid.* Scalig. ubi sup. Seld. de Diis Syris. (94) Sir H. Newt. Chron. of Ant. Kingd. amend. p. 279. See Vol. II. p. 310, (K). (95) Bern. Montfauc. apud Du Pin. Biblioth. Univers. des Hist. p. 285.

the throne of that kingdom, by the murder of *Shallum* ^u. His march into the country struck the tottering usurper with such

■ 2 Kings xv.

other places, will not be wondered at by those who consider, as will be seen in the course of this section, that the *Assyrians* imposed their own idolatry and religion on all the nations they conquered, as also that they consecrated all their kings (96) into deities. It was the custom of the antient *Syrians*, long before them, to deify their kings (97); we have seen their *Adad*, king of gods, was no more than their dead king *Benbadad* II. (98), or perhaps his fortunate successor *Hazael*, who, as a king of *Syria*, was also called *Adad*, or *Hadad* (99). We have already asserted (100), that *Adad*, and *Cronus*, and *Astarte*, are of late date in comparison of what the learned have generally thought them; and we now say the same of *Belus*, who was no other than the *Pul* before us, and consequently later than the antient gods of the proper *Syria*. Thus it is natural to conclude from all circumstances, nor can we but subscribe to it, without rejecting the plain evidence of scripture, for the idle tales of prophane authors, who confound rather than inform us. It were odd, that we should rely on what are confessedly fables, in contempt of what can be so self-evidently gathered from the text of scripture history (1). To dwell on the various opinions of chronologers and historians concerning this man, would draw us into a tedious length; we shall therefore pass them over with this bare observation, that by embracing the *Ctesian* fable, and endeavouring to connect it with the history of scripture, and by their scrupulous adoption of each others hypotheses, they have almost all run into most intricate mazes, and endless errors. Our business then is, to prove this man to have been the first founder of the *Assyrian* monarchy, which having been done to our hands by a late chronologer (2), we shall have nothing to do but to borrow his arguments. To the numerous arguments we have already exhibited, to evince that there never was what might be called an *Assyrian* monarchy before the days of *Pul*, it may be added, 1. *Jonah* prophesied when *Israel* was in affliction under the king of *Syria* . . . about 60 years before the reign of *Pul* (3). 2. *Nineveh*, though then a city of large extent, was full of pastures for cattle, so that it contained but about 120000 persons (4). [These are taken to have been children, because it is said, they could not discern between their right hand and their left (5); but why this should not be as well understood of their blindness and ignorance

(96) See before, p. 133, & 184, note (V). (97) See Vol. II. p. 255. (98) *Ibid.* (99) *Ibid* in the notes. (100) *Ibid.* p. 310, (K). (1) See Sir Is. Newt. *Chronol. of Ant. Kingd. amend. pass.* (2) *Idem* *ibid.* (3) Sir Is. Newt. *Chronol. of Ant. Kingd. amend.* p. 270. (4) *Idem* *ibid.* (5) *Vid.* *Gregor. Posth.* p. 194.

such dread, that, to prevent the hostilities he may have meditated, *Pul* received from him 1000 talents of silver. Hereupon he seems to have taken the kingdom of *Israel* into his protection (X), and returns from out of the land w. What else

w 2 Kings xv.

in a religious sense, we know not; so that is as likely as not, that the grown persons were also included in the number]. 3. Nineveh was not yet grown so potent as not to be terrified at the preaching of *Jonah*, and to fear being invaded by its neighbours, and ruined within 40 days (6). Its king was not yet called king of Assyria, but king of Nineveh, [*Jonah* iii. 6, 7.] and his proclamation for a fast was not published in several nations, nor in all Assyria, but only in Nineveh, and perhaps in the villages thereof (7). But when Nineveh . . . was exalted over all Assyria, properly so called, and this kingdom began to make war upon the neighbouring nations, its kings were no longer called kings of Nineveh, but began to be called kings of Assyria (8). Our author then observes, that *Amos*, who prophesied soon after *Jeroboam* had subdued the kingdoms of *Damascus* and *Hamath*, about 10 or 20 years before the reign of *Pul*, never once names the Assyrians, though he foretold, [vi. 13, 14.] that *Israel* should be afflicted from the entering in of *Hamath* to the river of the wilderness; meaning of the Assyrians, whose monarchy, growing up afterwards, is upon all occasions named in the prophecies of *Isaiab*, *Jeremiab*, *Ezekiel*, *Hosea*, *Micah*, *Nabum*, *Zephaniab*, and *Zechariab*, which were penned after his (9). These and other arguments of the kind, equally demonstrative, he uses to prove what is here asserted; but these shall serve our purpose; and in all this is he supported by the concurrence of several eminent chronologers and historians, as we have had occasion to mention elsewhere (10).

Our author (11) concludes *Pul* to have been the first Assyrian that was a conqueror, that he was the first that advanced that kingdom on this side the *Tigris*, that he was a great warrior, that he may have founded or enlarged the city of *Babylon*, and built the old palace, that he may have left that city and the province of *Chaldea* to a younger son, who may have been *Nabonassar*, and that the famed *Semiramis* may have been his daughter-in-law, and the wife of the same *Nabonassar* (12), but these points being such as will more naturally fall under consideration in the history of *Babylon*, we desist from further notice of them for the present.

(X) Here we may perceive the first progress of this monarchy. It was now in its infancy, and was rather to inject a fear of its self into the nations by barely shewing itself, than by a violent irruption at once upon every body, or at first pretending to over run the world

(6) *Sir Is. Newt. ubi sup.*

(7) *Idem ibid.*

(8) *Idem ibid.*

(9) *Idem ibid. p. 138.*

(10) *See before, p. 864.*

(11) *Ubi sup.*

p. 277. (12) *Idem ibid p. 277, 279.*

else this king did in particular is no where, that we know of, expressly recorded (Y). But from hence we may venture to infer, as we have already *, that he either conquered or received voluntary homage from Syria, and the other nations in his march, as he did now from Israel, and that he became supreme over a very great empire.

Tiglath-pileser succeeded him (Z); and is supposed to have been his son, but upon no certain authority (A). Upon what

Tiglath-pileser.

* See Vol. II. p. 288, note (C).

by dint of force. How much more natural is this, than what we read of the sort concerning the pretended Ninus? Pul seems rather to have laid the foundations of the Assyrian monarchy, than to have erected it; that he seems to have left to his successors.

(Y) Some Jews think, he began to transport the children of Israel; but this they believe upon a very slight foundation (13).

(Z) He is also called Tiglath-pileser, Tiglath-phalasar, Tiglath-phellasar, Thilgamas (14), as supposed, and also Ninus junior, according to Castor (15). Prideaux (16), by an unaccountable inadvertency, takes him for Arbaces the Mede. Some (17) are willing to derive the first part of his name from Diglita, one way of pronouncing a name belonging to the river Tigris (18); others (19) declare, that nothing but conjecture can be offered about it, and that it is quite uncertain.

(A) Some are so far from thinking him to have been the son of Pul, that they make him a stranger to his line, a Mede, as we have seen in the note above. Rollin, misled by that great and otherwise learned guide archbishop Usher (20), makes Pul to have been the father of Sardanapalus (21), by an extraordinary inattention in the archbishop, who thought it must have been so, because in the name Sardanapalus, or Sardan-pul, he could perceive a relation between this last and this first Assyrian king, forgetting, that for the same reason Tiglath-pul-assur might have more naturally appeared his son, especially as he is the king of Assyria, who is expressly said to have succeeded him in scripture. By what biased him above to make this mistake, he might also, and very naturally, have concluded, that Tiglath-pul-assur and Sardan-pul were one and the same person, and so have put an end to the monarchy, ere it had well a beginning. The first and second monarchy, according to the scheme of archbishop Usher (22), adopted by Prideaux and Rollin, so entirely repugnant to all history, sacred or profane, may serve to shew

(13) See Patrick's Comment. upon 2 Kings xv. 19. and upon 1 Chron. v. 26. (14) Ælian. Hist. Anim. l. 12. c. 21. (15) Apud Euseb. Chron. (16) Connect. of the Old and New Test. Book 1. Part 1. at the beginning. (17) See Patrick, ubi supr. ver. 29. (18) See before in the notes, p. 126. (19) Cleric. ubi sup. Com. 29. (20) Annal. Vet. Testam. Æt. Mund. Quint. p. 83. (21) Hist. of the Assyr. in the English transl p. 25. (22) Ubi supr.

how

Year of the Flood, 2259.
Year before Christ 740.

what particular motive, we know not, he fell upon the kingdom of *Israel*, and took *Ijon*, and *Abel-beth-maachab*, and *Jazeah*, and *Kedesh*, and *Hazor*, and *Gilead*, and *Galilee*, and all the land of *Naphtali*, and carried them captive to *Assyria* ^y, thereby, as we may suppose, the better to secure these distant parts of the empire in their allegiance (B). For such a captivation must naturally have weakened them, and was rightly calculated to deter the remainder from incurring

^y 2 Kings xv.

how irreconcilable the latter is with the former in what concerns this empire. A late commentator (23) is so sensible of this, that he declares, when he comes to the text of scripture (24) which first makes mention of *Tiglath-pileser*, that if the common accounts of the *Babylonians* and *Medes* are true, of their having held the east under subjection one after another, there can be no knowing the meaning of the words, adding, that the learned are now sensible, there were several sorts of independent kingdoms in those days to the eastward of the *Euphrates*. [See Vol. II. p. 274.] and that sometimes one of them was uppermost, and sometimes another; that at this time it happened, that the *Assyrians* were most powerful; who, now crossing the *Tigris*, had carried their arms through *Mesopotamia*, and from thence over the *Euphrates* into *Syria* and *Palestine* (25). In a word, we cannot but reckon this king to have been the son of *Pul*. From the time of *Pul*'s appearance to the first of this king's appearance, is a space, according to *Usher* himself (26), of but about 24 years; so that they very naturally succeeded one another. It is therefore an eye-sore to see them so disjoined as they are in *Rollin* (27), from whose judgment and converse with the labours and improvements of the later writers, we might have hoped for better things; but as we have been hitherto cautious of passing any censure upon him, we shall for the future avoid the same, as he is a gentleman who does not so professedly write to instruct the mind, as to the reality and consistence of facts, as to form it to virtue and a good life.

(B) *Tiglath-pileser* here executes what his father had projected, and only sketched out. This was the most extraordinary method that could be possibly taken to secure the empire under due subjection, and was the constant practice of his successors we may suppose for the same reasons. This their constant practice is in all its circumstances so affecting, and must have caused such utter oblivion of the original nations in those parts, that if *Ctesias* had known any thing perfectly of the *Assyrian* affairs, he could never have omitted it, or forbore to have improved it after his manner, which we nowhere find that he did.

(23) Joan. Cleric.
Cleric. in 2 Reg. *ibid*.

(24) 2 Reg. xv. 29.

(26) *Ubi supr.*

(25) Joan.
(27) *Ubi supr.*

so hard a fate ; and, on the other hand, may have contributed to the increase of his power, by peopling some tract more immediately under his eye. But whatever may have been his views at this time, he thought himself obliged to do much more of the kind soon after. For receiving an embassy from *Abaz*, king of *Judah* ², with a tender from him of homage, and a present of all he had, to deliver him from the hands of *Rezin*, king of *Damascus*, and *Pekah*, king of *Israel*, who were joined in confederacy against him ; upon this prayer, and present, and acknowledgment, from the king of *Judah*, *Tiglath-pileser* marched against *Damascus*, took that city, transplanted the people of it to *Kir* (C), slew *Rezin*, and so put an end to that antient kingdom ³ (D).

He was succeeded by *Shalmaneser* (E), who seems to have made war upon *Hoshea*, king of *Israel*, in consequence of his

Shalmaneser.

² See before, p. 72.

³ Ibid. 2 Kings, c. 16.

(C) There are printed copies of the *Septuagint*, which say not whither the people of *Damascus* were transplanted to ; others have it, that the place was *Kuphyn*, or *Cyrene*, in *Africa*, deceived by some similitude of the names ; but it is impossible to suppose, the king of *Assyria* could send them into those parts when he was not yet master even of *Egypt* (28). *Josephus* (29) makes it a place in the *Upper Media*. *Bochart* (30) labours the point a little, but to no fixed purpose. It will be in vain for us to think of settling the site of this and many other places, hereafter to be mentioned, equally and more obscure than this ; so that we shall touch on them only by the way.

(D) So that the race of the antient *Syrians* became, as it were, extinct in this country, which gives room to assert what we have only surmised formerly concerning the alteration the old religion of this country must have undergone when conquered by the *Assyrians* (31). How is it to be imagined, that the strangers, who were brought to take possession of this country, should continue the antient rites and superstitions of its first inhabitants ? Well may we say then, that *Adad* now gave way to *Belus* and other *Assyrian* gods (32), unknown on this side of the *Euphrates* till now.

(E) His name also is variously written, as *Salmaneser*, *Salmanassar* ; he is called *Enemessar* by *Tobit* (33), and is supposed (34) to be the *Salman*, or *Shalman*, of *Hosea* (35). It has been the common practice of chronologers to make him to have been the same with *Nabonassar* (36) ; which we shall not here discuss.

(28) Vide Joan. Cleric. in loc. ubi sup.

(29) *Antiq. Jud.*

ix. c. 13.

(30) *Phaleg. l. 4. c. 32.*

(31) See Vol. p. 250.

(32) *Ibid.*

(33) c. i. 13.




(34) See Sir H. Newt.

Chronol. of ant. kingd. amend. p. 277.

(35) c. x. 14.

(36) *Ibid.*

Gregor Postum. p. 246. & *Georg. Syncell. Chron.* p. 204.

- Year of the Flood, 2271. Year before Christ 728.  predecessor's engagements to *Abaz*, king of *Judah* (F). *Tiglath-pileser* had but half fulfilled his promise to *Abaz*, who had besought him to avenge him of the king of *Damascus* and the king of *Israel* equally, whereas he seemingly concerned himself with the king of *Damascus* only. It is likely then, that *Shalmaneser* made this a pretence to attack the kingdom of *Israel* under *Hoshea*. But whatever his pretence may have been, or on whatsoever it may have been founded; he reduced *Samaria*, and made *Hoshea* his tributary ^b, as it is apparent his predecessors, from *Menahem*, had been to the *Assyrian* power before him. Some years afterwards *Shalmaneser* came to understand, that *Hoshea*, having a mind to shake of his yoke; had entered into a league with *So*, king of *Egypt*; and this was confirmed to him by *Hoshea*'s neglect to send him his annual tribute. At this he marches up throughout all the land, and at length lays siege to *Samaria*, with such obstinacy, that he continued it for the space of three years, resolved, once for all; to make an end of the kingdom of that metropolis. At the end of three years he became master of the place, took the king *Hoshea* alive (G), kept him a prisoner †; made captives of all the inhabitants, and transplanted them into *Assyria* (H), placing them in *Halab* and in *Habor*, by the river of *Gozan* (I), and in the cities of the *Medes*; replacing them by strangers from *Babylon* (K), *Cuthah*, *Ava*, *Hamath*, and *Sephervaim*; and
- Year of the Flood, 2274. Year before Christ 725.  Year of the Flood, 2278. Year before Christ 721. 

^b 2 Kings xvii.

† See before, p. 78.

(F) We here speak only as the thing may seem; for between *Tiglath-pileser*'s last expedition in these parts, and this of *Shalmaneser*, there is a distance of twelve years; so that the engagements to *Abaz* may by this time have been as good as forgot.

(G) In the first of these expeditions he carried off with him the *Golden Calf*, which *Jeroboam* had set up in *Bethel* (37); and previously to the siege of *Samaria*, he subdued *Moab* (38).

(H) He did not quite transplant them, he left some behind him for *Esar-haddon* to remove, as will be seen in due place.

(I) There is a town called *Chabor*, or *Habor*, in *Ptolemy* (39), in *Mesopotamia*; and a river *Chaboras*, or *Haboras*; and a region, in the same country, called *Gauxonitis*, or *Gozan*, between two rivers, the former and another called *Sacoras*, one of which may have been also called the river of *Gozan* (40); so that in *Mesopotamia* it must be, that we must look for these two places; as for *Halab*, we have declared what we know of that long ago (41).

(K) Those who follow the common current are at a loss to conceive, how *Shalmaneser* should be so free with the *Babylonians*;

(37) *Seder Olam Rabba* c. xxii

(31) See Vol. II. p. 96.

(39) *Afr. Tabul.* 4to.

(40) *Ibid.*

(41) See Vol. I. p. 280.

not. (B).

supposing

and thus did he put an end to the kingdom of *Israel* ^c. But he was obliged to send back one of the priests of the country to instruct the people in the worship of the God of the land, who, for their ignorance in that particular, plagued them so sorely with lions, that they were necessitated to apply to the king of *Assyria* for this redress ^d (L).


BUT

^c See before, *Ibid.* 2 Kings xvii. 18. ^d See before, p. 79. not. (Q). 2 Kings xvii. ver. 25, 28.

supposing them to have been not only a collateral, but also an independent kingdom, when nothing is more unlikely. Can it with reason be imagined, the kings of *Assyria*, as *Shalmaneser* and his two predecessors, would have roamed so far from home after conquests, when such prey as *Babylon* was so near at hand? Is it not natural to think, the *Assyrians* began with those who were next to them? Or is it possible to imagine the kings of *Assyria* would straggle so far from home, if they had so dangerous a rival as a considerable kingdom of *Babylon* on their skirts, who never, it is certain, could have been quiet or easy in their absence? It must be impossible to think after this rate; a greater inconsistency can never be. The monarchy of *Assyria* was now in the vigour of its youth, and the passage before us plainly informs us, that *Babylon* was now under *Assyria*, and so were the *Medes*, as may not only appear by the western nations, said to have been transplanted to the cities of that country by these three first kings; but the same will most evidently appear in the next reign, when the *Medes*, taking advantage of this king's successor, actually revolted from him, and from thence forward began to make the figure they afterwards did. Nothing of equal antiquity and importance is clearer, than what concerns these three monarchies or empires, if we do not saddle divine writ with prophane romance; which has been so unaccountably preferred by the learned *Christians*, that in favour of that they have obscured what would otherwise appear as bright as day in the sacred historians.

(L) This transplantation, this complaint of the lions, and this mission of the priest, is put off to the days of *Esar-haddon* (42); because in *Ptolemy's* canon they find, that he sat in the throne of *Babylon* as well as of *Nineveh*, and consequently was the only *Assyrian* king of the second race, as they fondly dream, who could send people from *Babylon* to inhabit the land of *Israel*; but this is sufficiently answered in the note above. Nothing is more plainly a part of *Shalmaneser's* history, than all that is here said, and no greater violence can be offered to the text, than to remove it hence, into the midst of a reign which was the second after this. All these needless shifts, these turnings, and windings, we owe to

(12) See *Prideaux's Connect.* Patrick's *Comment.* &c.

Year of the Flood, 2282. Year before Christ 717:  But how effectually soever he triumphed over *Samaria* and others in the neighbourhood, he had the mortification to be set at defiance by *Hezekiah*, king of *Jerusalem*, who, as it is said, rebelled against him, and would send him no tribute (M). But *Samaria* and its territory did not alone feel the effects of his power, he also lorded it over all *Syria* and *Phœnice*; and made war upon *Tyre*, where *Elulæus* then reigned*. He at first made war upon the whole country of *Phœnice*, but upon the conclusion of a peace marched out of the country. Shortly after the cities of *Sidon*, *Arce*, *Palæ-Tyrus*, and others, revolting from the *Tyrians*, went over to *Shalmaneser*, who, disdaining the *Tyrians* (N) should dare to dispute his supremacy, dispatched a fleet of 60 sail, and 800 rowers, under the conduct of *Phœnicians*, to attack the *Tyrians*, but they were shamefully routed by a small number of *Tyrian* ships†, and the project most completely miscarried. *Shalmaneser* therefore, convinced, it was to no purpose to contend with the *Tyrians* at sea, blocks them up by land; and, by diverting their waters which supplied the city, doubted not but to reduce this haughty people; who supplying

* See Vol. II. p. 344.

† Ibid.

the tenacious credulity of some great, though mistaken, men, who have turned their thoughts towards the illustration of these very evident matters.

(M) This monarchy, or the strength of it at least, was not yet sufficiently known, it should seem; it was not yet arrived at its summit; it had still difficulties to struggle with; it was not seemingly so strong as not to be set at defiance, and contemned; so it should seem by this *Prideaux* (43) thinks he was diverted from resenting this, by his war with the *Tyrians*.

(N) The *Tyrians* had as yet never known any thing of an *Assyrian* yoke, and now defied this new monarchy, trusting in their own strength and riches; though it is somewhat difficult to conceive, that they were not in some shape or other tributary to the *Assyrian*, who must have had it very much in his power to hurt their trade at land, if he could not affect them by sea. Their situation (44) may have protected their persons from immediate slavery; but it is not to be thought, their purses were as free from exilation and loss; in a word, they could not have traded almost any where in the inland places of this part of the continent without the king of *Assyria*'s leave, and must have been quite cut off from any of the benefits and conveniencies of the rivers, if they had not been upon some sort of terms with him: so that this seems to be a very obscure piece of history.

(43) *Ubi sup.* l. i. p. 19.

(44) See Vol. II. p. 296.

themselves

themselves by wells they dug within the city, the *Assyrians* wasted five years in this fruitless attempt ^g (O).

Sennacherib (P) succeeded *Shalmaneser*, and resolved to reduce the kingdom of *Judab* to the homage and tribute it had professed to the *Assyrian* throne, in the person of king *Ahaz*^h. He appears then at the head of an army, and bore down all before himⁱ. At length he laid siege to *Lachish*, intending in the next place to invest *Jerusalem* itself. As he was laying siege to this place, he received a most submissive message from *Hezekiah*, asking his pardon, begging, he would not pursue him to destruction, and offering to pay him what tribute he should think fit to impose on him. *Sennacherib* seemed satisfied with this, and ordered *Hezekiah* immediately to send him 300 talents of silver, and 30 talents of gold, as if that would pacify him for the present, and stop his further intentions. This sum, it seems, was with great difficulty sent to him^k; but instead of granting the king of *Judab* the truce and rest he expected, he behaved towards him as if nothing of the kind had been transacted, and apparently broke his word with *Hezekiah*, seemingly with no manner of cause^l; and, instead of withdrawing with his forces, sent three of his officers, *Tartan*, *Rabsaris* (Q), and *Rabshakeh* (R), at the head of a great army, to invest *Jerusalem*, insult *Hezekiah*, intimidate his people, and, in a word, to blaspheme against God. *Rabshakeh* was the spokesman, as we say, and vented himself to the officers *Hezekiah* had sent

Year of
the Flood,
2286.

Year be-
fore Christ
713.



^g MENAND. apud. JOSEPH. Antiq. Jud. l. ix. c. 14. ^h See before, p. 72. ⁱ See before, p. 79. ² Kings xviii. 2 Chron. xxxii. ^k 2 Kings xviii. JOSEPH. Antiq. Jud. l. x. c. 1. ^l 2 Kings ubi sup. JOSEPH. ubi sup.

(O) His army, or part of his army, continued the blockade this while; as for himself, he seems to have retired to the other side of the *Euphrates*, leaving affairs on this side in a very unsettled state.

(P) His *Hebrew* name is *Sanherib*, and it is seldom or never, that we recollect, writ with any greater variation, except that he may, by contraction, have been called *Tareb* (45)

(Q) This is thought to have been rather the name of an office, though commonly taken for the proper name of the person, signifying, *The chief of the eunuchs* (46).

(R) The same is observed of this, as in the name above, it signifying, *The chief cup-bearer* (47).

(45) *Hof.* 10. 6. (46) *Vid.* Joan. Cleric. *in* lat. (47) *Vid.* *caud. ibid.*

out to treat with them^m, and to know what further was expected from him, he vaunted his master's mighty power, styling him the great king, the king of *Assyria*, set at nought *Hezekiah*, and spoke contemptuously of the king of *Egypt* (S), in whom he supposes *Hezekiah* to have placed a confidence, as if he could save him from the *Assyrian* arm; and to crown all pretended, speaking in his master's name, as he all along does, that God had sent him on purpose to destroy the city and the land. This he uttered with great violence in the *Hebrew* tongue, that all might hear and understand him; and being by the *Jewish* commissioners entreated to be more moderate, and to deliver himself in the *Syriac* tongue, which they well understoodⁿ, that he might not dishearten their people on the walls of the city; he, far from complying, raised his voice higher than before, and in the *Jewish* tongue, particularly addressed himself to the inhabitants of the city, who were beholding the interview; told them, their king *Hezekiah* would obstinately deceive them to their destruction, and that it was in vain he trusted in the Lord: He then exhorted them to submit, promising them the free and full enjoyment of their present possessions, until there should be a convenient opportunity to transplant them to a country every way equal, if not superior, to their own. He then again admonished them, not to let their king deceive them with false hopes of deliverance from the hand of the Lord; observing, that as the gods of the nations they had already conquered, the gods of *Hamath* and of *Arphad*, the gods of *Sepharvaim*, *Henah*, and

^m See before, p. 85.

ⁿ See before, p. 85.

(S) It is thought, this was done more out of mere rage than any thing else, *Sennacherib* disdaining to have been disappointed and baffled in his attempts upon *Egypt*, according to the story we have of it in *Herodotus* (48); but however plausible this may seem (49) at first sight, it is seemingly contradictory to the text, which supposes him, if we are right, to be busied in the siege of *Lachish*. He had not made his attempt upon *Egypt* yet. We think, we have a more natural account to give of the contempt here expressed against the *Egyptian*, for *Sethon* was then king of *Egypt*, who being recorded to have been a priest, and to have minded nothing but the functions of that office, and to have hated all military men (50, it can be no wonder, *Sennacherib*, or his servant for him, should ridicule and despise the then king of *Egypt*.

(48) See Vol. II p. 42.
See Vol. II. p. 41.

(49) Vid. Joan. Cleric. in loc., (50)

Ivah (T), had not been able to withstand the *Assyrian* power, or to save *Samaria* from captivity, so neither should theirs: This he aggravated still farther; but all his oratory procured him no answer, and so he returned to his master, who had left *Lachish* and was now at *Libnah*, which he was besieging. Here as he lay he had advice, that *Tirhakah* (V),
king

(T) Sir *Izaak Newton* (51) uses this boast concerning the nations and their gods, as an argument for the novelty of the *Assyrian* monarchy in these days, observing that this desolation is recited as fresh in memory, and to terrify the *Jews* (52). *All the above cited nations had, till now, their several gods, and each accounted his god the god of his own land, and the defender thereof, against the gods of the neighbouring countries, and particularly the gods of Assyria; and therefore they were never till now united under the Assyrian monarchy, especially since the king of Assyria doth not boast of their being conquered by the Assyrians oftner than once: but these being small kingdoms, the king of Assyria easily overflowed them: Know ye not, saith Sennacherib to the Jews, [2 Chr. xxxii. 13, 15.] what I and my fathers have done unto all the people of other lands? . . . for no god of any nation or kingdom was able to deliver his people out of mine hand, and out of the hand of my fathers: how much less shall your god deliver you out of mine hand? He and his fathers, therefore, Pul, Tiglathpileser, and Shalmaneser, were great conquerors, and with a current of victories had newly overflowed all nations round about Assyria, and thereby set up this monarchy* (53). This is a just remark, tending to prove what we have hitherto contended for, concerning the lateness of the *Assyrian* monarchy, in comparison of the common computation, and may account for what we have as good as asserted (54). That the religion of the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*, as known to the *Greeks*, or even to themselves, to all appearance, was of *Assyrian* origin; which may not only be amply proved by the strange nations who were transplanted thither (55), but from this way of proving the god of the prevailing nation to be stronger than the gods of the vanquished, which, as fallacious an argument as it may seem to us (56), was in those days of idolatry and superstition sound and indisputable doctrine: So *Belus* or *Pul*, the *Assyrian* god, having proved himself too strong for *Adad*, the *Syrian* god the latter gives place to the former of course; and *Belus* thenceforward became the god of the *Syrians*, instead of the unfortunate *Adad* (57).

(V) According to the course of the *Egyptian* history, the *Tirhakah* can have been no other than the *Sabshao* (58) of *Herodotus*, who

(51) *Chronol. of Ant. Kingd. amended*, p. 273, 270. (52) *Ibid.* p. 274. (53) *Ibid.* p. 276, 277. (54) See before, p. 186, note (W). See also *Vol. II.* p. 256. (55) See before in the notes, p. 191. (56) *Ibid.* Joan. Cleric comment. in loc. (57) See *Ibid.* *Vol. II.* p. 256. (58) *Ibid.* p. 40, & seq.

king of *Ethiopia*, intended to give him battle, at which, taking the alarm, he seems to have marched towards *Egypt* (W) to meet him, and to have sent *Rabshakeb* back again to *Jerusalem*,

was an *Ethiopian*, a great warrior, and had some time before conquered *Egypt*, and held it 50 years (59): He retired from *Egypt* at the expiration of that term (60), and returned into *Ethiopia*, and by that means *Sethon* the priest of *Vulcan*, as he is called (61), came to be king of *Egypt*. *Sethon* being more strictly a priest than a king, and *Tirbakah*, or *Sabbaco*, the great *Ethiopian*, conscious *Sethon* could not pretend to make head against so formidable a conqueror as *Sennacherib*, and perceiving *Egypt* to be in imminent danger of subjection, puts himself at the head of his army to protect *Egypt*, and at the same time secure his own country *Ethiopia*. *Sabbaco*, though an *Ethiopian*, must have had a great concern on him for the liberties of *Egypt*, not only as it was his barrier and next neighbour, but also as he had resided so long in it as lord or king. He may have been still alive, though he must have been a man in years, for he did not die in the throne of *Egypt*, but left it of his own accord (62). We do not pretend to give this for certainty, but it has such an air of probability, or at least corresponds so nicely with what we read of the history of *Egypt* in scripture, that we fancy the reader may be tempted to think this transaction may have been as we have here suggested, if he would give himself the trouble of comparing what we here say therewith.

(W) The history of this his war in these parts is very cloudy: we only know in general, that he took several cities belonging to the king of *Judah*, and perhaps some others; that he besieged *Lachish*; sent to insult *Jerusalem* and its king, after he had accepted his tribute and homage in seeming good part; that he was under some apprehensions about *Tirbakah*, king of *Ethiopia*; and finally, that the gross of his army was miraculously destroyed. But *Prideaux* (63), supported by nothing besides a supposition, that he was the *Sargon* of *Isaiah* (64), writes, that he conquered *Egypt*, miserably wasted it for three years together, and carried away multitudes into captivity; as also that he took *Ashdod*, or *Azotus* (65), by his general *Tartan*. *Sargon* was not *Sennacherib*, but his son *Esarhaddon*; and if it be answered he must have been the former, because his general's name was *Tartan*, we say *Tartan* was general to both of them. Nor was, as he says, *Sevechus* the son of *Sabbaco* the *Ethiopian*, at that time the king of *Egypt*; nor were, it is likely, *Sevechus* and *Sabbaco* two persons, the father and son; they are one and the same name, with a very trifle of variation. *Herodotus* has no such king as this *Sevechus*, nor *Diodorus*: This is sufficient to justify

(59) *Ibid.* p. 11. (60) *Ibid.* (61) *Ibid.* (62) *Ibid.* p. 41.
 (63) *Connect. of the Old and New Test.* l. 1. part 1. p. 22 Edit. 8vo.
 (64) *Idem* l. 1. *Psalm* *Connect. ubi sup.* (65) *Idem* *ibid.*

Jerusalem, to block up that city, and to prevent *Hezekiah* from joining his friends against him. *Rabshakeh* returned to his post before *Jerusalem*, and would have insulted *Hezekiah* in person, as should seem, but not being able to do that, he sent him a letter as from *Sennacherib*, fraught with the same words almost he had used before in his boasting and vain speech to the *Jewish* commissioners, adding to the nations he formerly mentioned to have been conquered by *Assyria*, *Rexeph*, and the children of *Eden* which were in *Thelasar* ° (X). His former insolent and blasphemous message had drawn on him the fearful prophecy of *Isaiah*, *That he should fall by the sword in his own land* * ; and for this second it was denounced against him by the same prophet, *That he should not come into the city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with a shield, nor cast a bank about it* † : The meaning of which seems to be, that he was gone, whence he should return so disabled, that he should neither be able to besiege the city in form, or barely assault it. This is seemingly the import of the text, and if *Herodotus* may be introduced upon this occasion,

° 2 Kings xix. ver. 8. 12. * Ibid. ver. 7. † Ibid. ver. 32.

us in what we say ; nor was *Seuechus*, or *Sethon*, whom *Prideau* (67) supposes to have been the same, the son of the *Ethiopian Sabbaco*, as may appear by *Herodotus*, who calls him priest of *Vulcan*, and plainly insinuates, that he was an *Egyptian*, and a stranger to *Sabbaco's* line, and one who was chosen to succeed after some seemingly great disturbance in the state (68). Besides, it might be asked, where the dreadful *Tirbakah* can have been, during the three long years *Sennacherib* must have ravaged and lorded it over *Egypt* ? or what he was about all that time, that he should not come to the relief of the country till it had been, as it were, undone ? In short, nothing is plainer than that *Sennacherib* not only did not conquer *Egypt*, but even suffered some notable loss or repulse, in so much as offering to invade that land ; in which attempt he must have erred against the rules of common prudence and policy, considering that *Syria* and *Palestine*, which should have been his first work, were not as yet fully subdued.

(X) The most probable opinion is, that these places were somewhere in *Syria*. There is a city called *Reseph* in *Mesopotamia*, near the mouth of the river *Sacoras* (69) ; and a city called *Resaph* in the *Palmyrene* of *Syria* : which of these may have been *Rexeph* we decide not ; the other cities are not so easy to be found.

(67) *Ubi sup.* (68) See *Vol. II. ubi sup.* (69) *Ptolem. Tab. Af. Geograph. iv.*

caſion, who makes expreſs mention of his name, though he miſtakenly calls him king of *Arabia* (Y) inſtead of *Aſſyria*, he will tell us, that as *Senacherib* lay before *Peluſium*, there one night came ſuch ſwarms of field rats and mice into the *Aſſyrian* camp, as deſtroyed all their ſhield-ſtraps and bow-ſtrings^p. What truth ſoever there may be (Y*) in this, it muſt be ſaid very nicely to correſpond with the prophecy above. But to wave this, it appears, that he was very unfortunate (Y†) in this expedition, and his fun from henceforwards ſets apace. His army is ſaid to have been ſmitten by the angel of the Lord (Z), who ſmote 185,000 *Aſſyrians* in their camp (A), and *Sennacherib* departed for *Aſſyria*, and took up his abode at *Nineveh* * ; where, finding himſelf fallen in the eſteem of

^p HERODOT. l. 2. c. 41. * 2 Kings xix. 36.

(Y) This may not originally have been the fault of *Herodotus* himſelf; it may have been owing to tranſcribers.

(Y*) True it certainly is not; biſhop *Patrick* (70), with ſome ſeeming paſſion, calls it a *horrible lye*; but as much a lye as it may be, it may be ſaid to confirm what is written in ſcripture concerning the ſudden deſtruction of the *Aſſyrian* army, and therefore may be born with. The *Egyptians* aſcribe the honour of it to their God (71), than which there is nothing more natural.

(Y†) *Herodotus* declares as much (72), and ſo does *Joſephus* (73).

(Z) This is a figurative expreſſion common with the *Jews*. Some ſuppoſe this havock to have been made “by a plague, or perhaps by
“ lightning, or a fiery wind, which blows ſometimes in the neigh-
“ bouring deſerts, or rather by being ſurprized by *Sethon* and *Tir-
“ hakub*; for the *Egyptians*, in memory of this action, erected a
“ ſtatue to *Sethon*, holding in his hand a mouſe, the *Egyptian* ſym-
“ bol of deſtruction” (74).

(A) Where his camp was at this time is no very clear matter; whether at *Libnah*, or *Peluſium*, or *Jeruſalem*. It is alſo uncertain, whether his army was all together at this time, or divided, part under himſelf elſewhere, and part under *Rabſhakeb* before *Jeruſalem* (75), as we have ſuppoſed; and conſequently, whether it was the army under himſelf, or that under *Rabſhakeb*, that was thus ſwept away, or whether they both ſuffered. After what we have already ſaid, we leave the reader to ſatiſfy himſelf about this obſcurity.

(70) *Comment. upon 2 Kings xix.* (71) *See Vol. II. p. 42.* (72) *Ibid.* (73) *Antiq. Jud. l. x. c. 1.* (74) *Sir Iſ. Newt. Conn. of Ant. Kingd. amend. p. 282. See alſo Prideaux's Conn. of the Old and New Teſt. Book 1. p. 21.* (75) *See Patrick ubi ſup.*

his

his people (B), he grew fullen and tyrannical; particularly venting his rage against the captive *Hebrews* in his dominions, many of whom he unmercifully put to death †, in revenge for his great downfall, which he may have attributed to them. In short he behaved in such a manner, that he was grown odious in the eyes of his own sons, two of whom, *Adrammelech* and *Sharazer* (C), slew him, as he was at his devotions in the temple of his god *Nisroch*, in a short time after his precipitate return from *Judæa*. They slew him and fled into the land of *Armenia*, seemingly fearful of the revenge that might be taken on them for their parricide (D); thus was he slain in the temple of his favourite god (E), and his third son *Esharhaddon* reigned in his stead ‡.

Esharhaddon (F) may be said to have succeeded to the *Esharhad-* ruins, as it were, of the *Assyrian* monarchy founded by *Pul*, don.

† Tobit. c. i. 18. ‡ 2 Kings ubi sup. ver. 37.

(B) Returning so baffled, with such shame and dishonour, his people could not but think meanly of him, in comparison of his predecessors; though *Sbalmaneser*, his father, does not seem to have been very fortunate in the latter part of his life. We have seen him shamefully beaten by the *Tyrians* in a sea-fight, and his army five years before their city without any effect.

(C) It is supposed, he had, in the midst of his danger, threatened to sacrifice them to his god, and that they took this opportunity of sacrificing him, that they might not be sacrificed themselves (76): what grounds there is for this we have not to say. We nowhere read, the *Assyrians* had any such unnatural superstition in vogue with them; we may enquire into this when we come to treat of the *Babylonian* religion, which must at least have included that of *Assyria*.

(D) If the supposition in the note above be true, they had reason to fly for their disobedience and murder; but if not, we cannot perceive, but they might have justified themselves with the people, who may not have been very sorry for *Sennacherib's* death, upon the principle of self preservation; which might have served for a plea of some validity, if it had interfered with no part of religion or superstition.

(E) We have it from *Josephus* (77), that *Nisroch*, or *Arafcus*, as he calls him (78), was his most esteemed god. Concerning this deity, we have said all we thought necessary in the former part of this history (79).

(F) He is also called *Asharhaddon*, *Ashordan* by the *Septuagint*, *Ashuradin* in *Ptolemy's* canon; *Sarchedon* by *Tobit* (80), *Sargon* by *Isaiab* (81), and *Ashnapper* by *Ezra* *.

(76) *Idem* *ibid.* (77) *Antiq. Jud.* l. x. c. 2. (78) *Ibid.*

(79) See before, p. 131. (80) *Tobit* i. 21. (81) *Isaiab* xx.

* *Ezra* iv. 10.

Year of the Flood, 2289.
 Year before Christ 710.

and enlarged and established by *Tiglath-pileser*. Under *Sen-nacherib* it fell to decay, either by his imprudence, or ill fortune, or a mixture of both. The *Medes* taking advantage, it is likely, of his long and distant absence, or, perhaps, upon the news of the sudden and general destruction of his army, revolted⁹, and were never after, as should seem, reduced to the *Assyrian* yoke, though *Esar-haddon*, in the course of his reign, seems to have been both a valorous and fortunate prince, as well as ambitious of supporting and enlarging the empire. He was to all appearance, a mild and a gracious personage, and particularly kind to the *Jews*, who had been so cruelly abused by his father after his hasty return to *Nineveh*. He, in the beginning of his reign, seems to have continued quiet in his capital, and perhaps had enough to do to support his dignity at home; till after some years, his kindred race of the *Babylonish* kings becoming extinct, or some other cause producing an inter-reign in that kingdom, he, either by art or violence, seated himself in the throne^r of *Babylon* (G), thereby retrieving the lustre of the *Assyrian* name, which had been so sullied by the defection of the *Medes*.

Year of the Flood, 2318.
 Year before Christ 681.

CROWN potent by this union, he proceeds to establish his tottering power over the more distant parts of his empire, and marches into *Syria*, and against the remnant of *Israel*, and the kingdom of *Judah*. The remnant of *Israel* he transplanted, as he may have done by the remnant that may have been left of *Syria*, so that they now utterly ceased to be nations, and in their stead he introduced a supply of foreigners (H), according to the policy of his predecessors. Having thus quite expunged *Israel* and *Syria* from the list of nations, he proceeded to the reduction of the kingdom of *Judah*, to the state of dependance it had professed in the person of king *Ahaz*, and took *Manassch* their king, and bound him in chains, and sent him captive to *Babylon*^f.

Year of the Flood, 2322.
 Year before Christ 677.

⁹ Tobit ubi sup. ver. 15.
^f 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

^r PTOLEM. Can. Astronom.

(G) It is very unlikely, that he obtained the immediate possession of the kingdom of *Babylon* by violence; but this is what we may enquire into when we come to consider him as king there.

(H) His being now called king of *Babylon* has been the cause, that commentators have postponed the transplantation of *Israel*, recorded in the reign of *Shalmaneser*, to his time; concerning which we have declared our mind already (82).

(82) See before in the notes, p. 191

FLATTO

ELATED by this flow of success, and nothing discouraged by the unfortunate attempt of his father, he continues his march, resolving to invade *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* (I). He did so, and subdued them, and transplanted them (K), and held

Year of
the Flood,
2326.
Year be-
fore Christ
673.

(I) Having, as we have seen, subdued all *Syria* and *Palestine*, in a more effectual manner than any of his predecessors ever had; he was the better qualified to invade *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*. Besides, *Tirbakab*, or *Sabbace*, may have been now dead; for, according to the history of *Egypt* (83), he must, by this time, have been a very old man. He had nothing then to fear from that warlike prince, and very little from *Sethon* (84), who was now unsupported, and whose kingdom, as it is represented to us, seems to have been, at this time, in the most proper condition to be conquered.

(K) This subduction and captivation was foretold by *Isaiah* (85) *In that day shall there be a high-way out of Egypt into Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria, and the Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians.* In this war the city of *Diospolis*, *No-ammon*, or *Thebes*, which had till then flourished in great glory, is thought (86) to have been miserably wasted and led into captivity, according to the same prophet and another, the former adding (87) to what is above; *So shall the king of Assyria lead away the Egyptians prisoners, and the Ethiopians captives, young and old, naked and barefoot. . . . to the shame of Egypt. And they [the Jews] shall be afraid and ashamed of Ethiopia their expectation, and of Egypt their glory:* And the latter (88), prophesying the destruction of *Nineveh*, and speaking of the calamity of *Egypt* as a transaction of late date, saith, *Art thou better than the populous No [No-ammon], that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea* (89)? All this can have been effected by no king of *Assyria*, *Esar-haddon* excepted, and we shall not need to prove this to the reader, who shall think it worth his while to turn back to the history of *Egypt* at this time. For though the *Egyptians* were too proud to acknowledge this conquest of them, yet their history, though silent about it, seems to confirm what is here said. For after *Sethon*, in the latter part of whose reign, or immediately upon whose death, this invasion must have happened, we find the kingdom to have been in some very violent disorder, and to have emerged under 12 men, who divided the whole kingdom between them, in a kind of aristocracy (90). How this alteration could have been wrought in the constitution of so regular and precise a kingdom as *Egypt*, but by some such means, and by this most likely, we leave to the reader.

(83) See Vol. II p. 41. (84) Ibid (85) *Isaiah* xix. 23.

(86) See Prid. *Connect. of the Old and New Test Book* 1. Part. 1.

p. 22. 8vo. (87) *xx* 4. (88) *Nahum* iii. 8. 10. (89) Ibid.

(90) See Vol. II p. 41.

Year of
the Flood,
2337.
Year be-
fore Christ
668.



them in subjection to him three years^c, which may be as long as he afterwards lived. In the course of this war, he particularly took, by his general *Tartan*, the city of *Ashdod*, or *Azotus*^u, which cost *Psammitichus* so much time to wrest from his successors^w. Thus did he extend his dominions (L), and once more spread the terror of the *Assyrian* name far and near. After a reign of many years, glorious especially in the latter part of it, he died, and seemingly left a character behind him equal to the rank he had held while living; whence, and for other reasons (M), we cannot be induced to think

^c Isaiah xx.

^u Idem ibid.

^w See Vol. II. p. 45.

(L) The extent of his dominions at this time, which must, one would think, have been more than that of any of his predecessors, is not a little uncertain; though Sir *Isaac Newton*, in a manner, ventures to describe it in these words, “ In the reigns of *Sennacherib* and *Afferbaddon*, the *Assyrian* empire seems arrived at its greatness, being united under one monarch, and containing *Assyria*, *Media*, *Apolloniatis*, *Susiana*, *Chaldaea*, *Mesopotamia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, and part of *Arabia*, and reaching eastward into *Elymais* and *Parataecene*, a province of the *Medes*; and if *Chalach* and *Chabor* be *Colchis* and *Iberia*, as some think, and as may seem probable from the circumcision used by those nations till the days of *Herodotus*, we are also to add these two provinces, with the two *Armenias*, *Pontus*, and *Cappadocia*, as far as the river *Halys*; for *Herodotus* tell us, that the people of *Cappadocia*, as far as to that river, were called *Syrians* by the *Greeks*, both before and after the days of *Cyrus*, and that the *Assyrians* were also called *Syrians* by the *Greeks*” (91). Of all this extent there may be some doubt, whether or no the *Medes* were in subjection to him; they had thrown off the yoke in his father’s time, who left the empire, as great as it may have been under him, in a crazy condition; though it is somewhat difficult to suppose, that *Esar-baddon* did not reduce them to their former obedience before he crossed the *Euphrates*, to confirm himself in *Syria* and *Palestine*: After all, he may have reserved them for his last work, not fearing any damage from them in his absence, being perhaps possessed of some of the most important parts of their country, which he did not live long enough to regain throughout. This may be resumed in the reign of his grandson.

(M) He is styled *the great and noble Asnapper* (92). It is impossible, he should have been represented as a slothful and effemi-

(91) *Chronol. of ant. Kingd. amend.* p. 285.
iv. 10.

(92) *Exra*

think he can be, in any respect, the *Sardanapalus* of *Ctesias*, there being no likeness or analogy at all between the representations of the two men.

He was succeeded by his son *Saosduchinus* *, or *Saosducheus* *Saosduchi-* (N), concerning whom we have nothing particular, except ^{ms.} that he reigned 20 years, that it was probably under him that Year of *Manasseh* was restored to his kingdom (O), and that *Egypt* the Flood, recovered her liberty (P); that he seems otherwise to have ^{2331.} kept full possession of the empire his father left him, and that, ^{Year be-} dying, he was succeeded by his son *Chyniladan*. ^{fore Christ}

Chyniladan is supposed, and upon good grounds, to be the ^{668.} *Nabuchadonosor* of scripture (Q), an active and a warlike *Chynila-* prince, *dan*.

* PROLEM. Can. Astron.

nate prince, whose life seems to have been a life of the most unwearied action. He may it is possible, have been known to the antient *Greeks* by the name of *Sardanapalus*, or *Affar-haddon-Pul* (93), but then he must have been the great one who is called a warrior (94), and is said to have built *Tarsus* and *Anchiale* in one day, and to have died peaceably in his bed (95). He may have been one of the princes called *Sardanapalus*; for we have seen they had two very different from one another, as we have noted in the story of the *Sardanapalus* of prophane authors, in the section before this. The other we may discover hereafter.

(N) *Prideaux* (96) reckons him to have been the *Nabuchadonosor* of the book of *Judith*; but that he is therein most egregiously mistaken, will be proved anon.

(O) *Prideaux* (97) supposes him not only to have been set at liberty by *Efar-haddon* himself, but also to have been invested, by the same monarch, with an addition to his own kingdom, to enable him to support himself against *Psammitichus*, who had now got the dominion of all *Egypt* into his hands, and began to war upon the *Assyrians* in *Palestine* (98); but he has most strangely disturbed the history of *Assyria* by that unaccountable mistake of writing *Sargon* the same with *Sennacherib*.

(P) It is not in nature to suppose it did, before the death of *Efar-haddon*, who, it is most certain, died by the time he had well subdued this kingdom.

(Q) That *Chyniladan*, and no other king in *Ptolemy's* canon, can have been the *Nabuchadonosor* of the book of *Judith*, is what we are now to endeavour to prove; in the doing of which we shall also settle some other points, and especially the three which are the sub-

(93) See before, p. 179. (94) *Ibid.* in the notes (95) *Ibid.* p. 185. (96) *Connect. of the Old and New Test. Book 1. Part 1. p. 35. 8vs.* (97) *Ibid.* p. 34. (98) See Vol. II p. 45.

Year of prince, and particularly remarkable for his invasion of the
the Flood rebellious and now independent *Medes*, who had formed
2351, themselves

Year be-

fore Christ
648.



ject of three notes above, and which *Prideaux* has involved in great darkness. From the death of *Affar-addin* to the first year of the reign of *Chyniladan* is 20 years, and from the first year of the reign of *Saosduchinus* to the twelfth of *Chyniladan*, that he undertook to reduce the *Medes*, is 32 years. *Manasseh*, king of *Judah*, was taken into captivity by *Affar-addin* in the 21st year of his reign, after which he reigned 34 years. His son *Amon* reigned after him over *Judah* two years, which being added to the former number, make 36 years, when *Josiah* began to reign, who was but eight years old when he first came to the throne. Hence, by the canon, it may appear, that *Chyniladan* began his reign about the 41st year of *Manasseh*, and that warring against the *Medes* in his 12th year, according to the number in the vulgate, or St. *Jerom's* translation, it happened in the 53d year of the said *Manasseh*; *Chyniladan* reigned after this 10 years, or to the sixth year of king *Josiah*; for *Manasseh* reigned full 55 years, and his son *Amon* reigned barely two; so that *Chyniladan* may have died about the beginning of the reign of *Josiah*. This king, as we have observed above, was but eight years old when he came to the throne, and in his reign it must have been, if ever, that *Bethulia* was besieged by *Holofernes* for the king of *Assyria*; and here it seems to be most naturally placed by Sir *Isaac Newton* (99). To suppose with *Prideaux* (100) that *Holofernes* invaded the *Jews* in the days of *Manasseh*, is contradicting, in good measure, himself; for it is expressly said, that the *Jews* were then lately returned from captivity (1), which can be meant of no other than the *Assyrian* captivity, when *Manasseh* was carried away to *Babylon*; and to suppose this war under *Holofernes*, to have been undertaken after the return of *Manasseh* to *Jerusalem*, is undoing what the same historian mentions of the kindness of the kings of *Assyria* to the kings of *Jerusalem*, and the perfect good understanding between them, till *Josiah* was killed in the service of his *Assyrian* sovereign, as he mistakenly writes (2). If he supposes the people returned from captivity without their king, and if they were attacked while he was in prison; then must he also say, that *Affar-baddon* himself was the *Nabuchadonosor* of the book of *Judith*, since he declares *Manasseh* to have been set at liberty by the said *Affar baddon*; but this he says not. If this transaction happened in the reign of *Saosduchinus*, it must follow, either that *Manasseh* was not delivered out of prison by *Affarbaddon*, but detained many years a prisoner at *Babylon* by *Saosduchinus*, which he denies (3), or that there was not that great and constant harmony between the kings at *Nineweb* and their homagers at *Jerusalem*, as he asserts (4), down to the day

(99) *Chronol. of Ant. Kingd. amend.* p. 290. (100) *Ubi sup.* (1). *Judith* iv. 3. (2) *Connect. of the Old and New Test.* Book 1. part. 1. p. 35. (3) *Ibid.* (4) *Ibid.*

themselves into a separate state, as may be seen in the history of that nation. In order to subdue this warlike people, he summons, as it were, the whole force of his wide-spreading dominions, calling in “all that dwelt in the hill country, *Calls in all*
 “and all that dwelt by *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, and *Hydaspe*, *the nations.*
 “and the plain of *Arioch*, the king of the *Elymæans*, and
 “very many nations of the sons of *Chelod*; †” all these easterns rendezvoused under his banner. But issuing out his orders, at the same time, to the *Persians*, and the western people in *Cilicia*, *Damascus*, *Libanus*, *Antilibanus*, and the inhabitants on the sea-coasts, as well as to the nations of *Carmel*, *Galaad*, the *Upper Galilee*, and the great plains of *Esdrelom*; as also to all *Samaria*, *Jerusalem*, *Betane*, *Chellus*, *Kades*, the borderers on the river of *Egypt*, *Taphnes*, *Rameffe*, and all the land of *Gesem*, beyond *Tanis* and *Memphis*, and in general, to all the inhabitants of *Egypt* to the borders of *Ethiopia*; all these received his ambassadors with contempt, and, fearing him not, refused one and all to obey his orders (R).

Upon

† Judith c. i.

Josiah was slain in battle by the *Egyptian* king *Necho* (5). *Josiah* reigned 31 years, which being added to the interval between the first year of his reign and the year of his grandfather's captivity, which is 36, it will make 67 years. Now by *Ptolemy's* canon it appears, that *Josiah* was slain in the fourth year of *Nabocolassar*, or the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, the second king of *Babylon*, and this was after *Nineveh* had been destroyed, and the old race of the proper kings of *Assyria* were no more. In sum, it appears from all this, that *Affar-haddon* must have died much about the time *Manasseh* was carried to *Babylon*, or, at most, two or three years afterwards; for we cannot pretend to be quite exact, and that it is likely he had his liberty from *Saosduchinus* rather than *Affar-haddon*, who could not have had the time either to think much of him, or to settle with him; for it must have been something extraordinary that procured him his freedom and kingdom again, when the kings of *Israel* and *Syria* shared so different a fate. Again, it must appear, that *Affar-haddon* died immediately after he left *Egypt*, and that his death inspired the chiefs of that nation with courage to lift up their heads, and appoint the 12 kings (6); and finally, that *Chyniladan*, and no other, was the *Nabuchadonosor* of the book of *Judith*.

(R) *Herodotus* confirms this very plainly, telling us, that the *Assyrians*, Those I mean, says he (7), who lived at *Nineveh*, who had formerly been the chief of all, but were now deserted by their friends or vassals, though nevertheless in a good state to defend themselves; against these, says he, did *Phraortes* the *Mede* make

(5) See Vol. II. p. 47. (6) See Vol. II. p. 42. (7) I. I. c. 102.
 war.

Upon so general a defection, it may be wondered he should have persisted in his resolution to invade the *Medes*, who had defied some of the most potent of his predecessors ; but having numbers sufficient, and relying on his own strength, he seems to have made as slight of their disobedience as they had of his orders ; vowing in the most solemn manner to take ample vengeance on them, as soon as he had chastised the insolent and rebellious *Medes* *.

Wars with the Medes. IN the twelfth year of his reign then, he moved with his army against *Arphaxad*, king of the *Medes*, and joining battle with him in the great plain of *Ragau*, he overthrew him horse and chariot, put *Arphaxad* to flight, who made the best of his way to the mountains ; got possession of all his cities, and *Ecbatan*, in particular, the capital of *Media*, a sumptuous city, newly erected, and decorated to be the seat of this new kingdom, and demolished it without mercy ; and to crown all, he caught *Arphaxad* in the mountains of *Ragau*, where he thought to have sheltered himself, and coming there to skirmish with him and his followers, he shot *Arphaxad* so often with darts that he killed him, and put an end to his life, and, as it were, to his kingdom. Flushed beyond measure

Year of
the Flood
2363.
Year be-
fore Christ
636.

* Ibid.

war. This *Phraortes* is the *Arphaxad* above, as we shall have occasion to observe in the history of the *Medes*. *Saosduchinus*, it appears then, had led a quiet and peaceable life for the space of 20 years, the whole duration of his reign ; and *Chyniladan* had done the same for the first 12 years of his, till finding the *Medes* had conquered the *Persians*, as *Herodotus* writes, and as appears in the text of *Judith*, which says, that the *Persians* of all the orientals refused to obey his summons ; and that, not contented with that, they were going to attack *Assyria* also ; hearing of this it roused him ; perceiving himself and kingdom in such danger, he takes the alarm, and in haste sends to all the nations who had bowed to the *Assyrian* throne, to come in immediately to his aid. No two historical pieces can, so far as they are concerned together, more illustrate each other than *Herodotus* and this book of *Judith*. And here, by the way we may, in this distress of *Nabuchadonosor*, perceive some likeness of the case of *Sardanapalus*, who, when he was besieged in *Nineveh*, is said to have sent out to all the nations to come to his succour (8) ; though thereupon we have noted, that in his case it must have been quite impracticable, if not impossible, for him to do it (9). He should have done it before he was blocked up in his city ; upon the whole, this must be the story which is there told by the heedless and romantic historian *Ctesias*.

(8) See before, p. 133. (9) In the notes, *ibid*.

forth ; and warning him, at his peril, not to transgress any of the commands he had enjoined him, but to execute them with rigour and without delay ^z (V).

*He takes
the field.*

Holofernes, having received his orders to this effect, departed from before *Nabuchadonosor*, and calling together all the governors, captains, and officers of the army of *Assur* [*Assyria*], he selected the numbers, both of horse and foot, the king had commanded ; and, attended with asses and camels in great numbers, for the conveyance of necessaries, and goats, sheep and oxen more than can be said, with plenty of every thing to sustain the army, and gold and silver in great abundance from the kings treasury, he marched off from *Nineveh* ; followed, besides his army, by innumerable multitudes from several nations, who like locusts joined him, or like the sand of the sea ; so that by the help of hyperbole, they may be properly enough said to cover all the face of the earth westward, with their chariots and horsemen, and their chosen footmen ^a.

Holofernes, in this his march westward, destroyed *Phud* and *Lud*, spoiled all the children of *Rasses*, and the children of *Ismael* toward the wilderness, southward of the land of the *Chel-*

^z Ibid. ^a Ibid

(V) It would have been very difficult to account for this great degree of insolent wrath in this prince, were it not for the good assistance of *Herodotus*, who tells us (13), as we have observed before, that the *Medes* were grown to that pitch as to pretend to subdue *Assyria* ; which, considering this king as he was, must have been a most violent provocation and must have highly inflamed him, when he found himself so deserted by his tributaries and homagers, who could unconcernedly look on, while he perhaps was subdued by a rebellious nation, (who must for many years, ever since the days of *Sennacherib*, have been at greatest enmity with *Assyria*,) though at the hazard of their own welfare, seeing they might feel the blow that staggered his kingdom. Upon the consideration therefore that they would not assist him, though to preserve even themselves, he resolves to execute such vengeance, as such ingratitude, as he might call it, and stupidity would well deserve. The vulgate, according to *St. Jerom*, takes off from this, by presenting *Nabuchadonosor* victorious over the *Medes*, before he called in the nations mentioned, but why he should call them in when his work was done, or how they should have disobeyed him, when he had so lately given so extraordinary an instance of his might and power, is more than we can conceive. The *Greek* version and our own is doubtless here to be preferred, though both, in other respects very faulty.

lions. He then crossed the *Euphrates*, and passed through *Mesopotamia*, and destroyed all the high cities upon the river *Arbonai* quite to the sea: He took the borders of *Cilicia*, killed all that resisted him, and came to the borders of *Japheth*, southward, opposite to *Arabia*; and falling upon the children of *Madian* (W), he burnt their tents, and threw down their sheep-cotes. From hence he went to the plain of *Damascus*, where he arrived at the time of wheat-harvest, burnt up all their fields, destroyed their flocks and herds, ransacked and demolished their cities, quite laid the whole country waste, and slew all their young men with the edge of the sword; which struck such a terror into all the sea-coasts, that *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Azotus*, *Ascalon*, and others, trembled, and sued for mercy; sending, in all haste, ambassadors to him to treat of peace, who, prostrating themselves before him, acknowledged themselves the servants of the mighty *Nebuchadonosor*, his master, and made a most humble tender of all that in the world belonged to them, to be disposed of by him, as to him should seem best ^b.

UPON this, *Holofernes* drew down towards the sea-coast, where he filled the chief cities with garisons of his own, whence he, at the same time, picked out the choicest men to supply the place of such as he thus detached from his army; and all this tyranny he exercised amidst the joyful acclamations of all the people he thus enthralled, who every where received the *Assyrian* general and his army with garlands, and dances, and the sound of timbrels; but this welcome could no where save their frontiers, their groves, or their gods; *Holofernes* having determined to demolish the former, and to destroy all the gods of the land wheresoever he should come, that all nations might worship *Nebuchadonosor* only, and all tongues and tribes call upon him, and upon him only, as god (X). And having, without opposition, wrought his pleasure in these parts, he moved off towards the plain of *Esdraelon*, and

^b Ibid. & c, iii,

(W) We forbear to enquire into the particular site of these nations; such of them as we can fix will be found in the proper maps,

(X) He here seems to have assumed beyond any of his predecessors. This may serve as an instance, that the *Assyrians* abolished the religion of the countries where ever they came, to introduce the worship of their own princes, dead or living; to keep the nations the more in awe, and the more to exalt the majesty of their own kingdom. This may be added to what we have already observed of the same kind on several passages of the history and practice of this people.

advancing towards *Judæa*, he encamped between *Geba* and *Scythopolis*, where he halted a whole month for the rendezvous of his baggage and scattered parts of his army ^c.

IN this situation he redoubled the alarm he had before given to the inhabitants of *Judæa*, who thereupon took what measures they could to obstruct his passage and defend themselves. *Holofernes* indeed intended to deal by them as he had dealt by others, and, we may be sure, was highly exasperated, when he heard the *Jews* were resolved upon an obstinate resistance. The news and confirmation of this stirred him up to anger : and convening the chiefs of *Ammon*, *Moab*, and the sea-coast, he required them to inform him concerning the people who thus pretended to withstand his progress ; and how it was, that they alone, of all the people of the west, should presume to stand out against the *Assyrian* power ? to which he was answered, by the chief of the sons of *Ammon*, *Achior* by name, who reciting to him the history of the *Jews* from *Abraham*, upon the whole assured him, that if they were in favour with God, it would be in vain for him to think of subduing them ; and that it would, in that case, be dangerous for him to hazard his honour against them ; but that if indeed they had sinned, they might be as easily reduced as any other nation. This diffident and ambiguous counsel was not only displeasing to *Holofernes*, but raised a tumult among the chiefs of *Phœnice* and *Moab* who were present, and who would have persuaded him to put *Achior* to death for his insolence, vaunting against the children of *Israel*, and setting them at nought ^d.

WHEN the tumult was ceased *Holofernes* called out to *Achior*, and treated him as a wretch, who had on set purpose prophesied against him, and blaspheming against God, spoke of *Nabuchadonosor* as above him ; he then ordered him out of his presence, dooming him to death with the *Jews*, whom he intended shortly to cut off. Hereupon he ordered his servants to guard him to a strong place belonging to the *Jews*, that he might there wait till his appointed hour was come. *Bethulia* was the place named, and thither he was accordingly carried ; and being got into the city, he informed them of whatever he knew in relation to *Holofernes* and his designs ^e.

THE next day *Holofernes* ordered, that a motion should in general be made to invest *Bethulia* ; the vast multitude obeyed, and encamped upon a wide extent of ground from *Dathaim* to *Belmans*, and from *Bethulia* to *Cyamon*, over-

^c Ibid.^d Ibid. c. iv. v.^e Ibid. c. vi.

against *Esdraelon*. The day after this, *Holofernes*, at the head of all his horsemen, and in the sight of all the people of *Bethulia*, took a view of the passages to the city, and seizing upon and setting a guard over their springs of water, returned again to the gross of his army. Upon his return, the chiefs of the *Edomites* advised him not to think of assaulting the besieged, because of their situation, but rather to keep the waters that supplied the city under a strong guard, and so destroy the people by thirst, while he sat quietly in his camp, and saved himself and army the trouble of putting those to death, who must of necessity die for want of water; and so be sufficiently avenged on them for their rebellious behaviour. *Holofernes* approved the advice, and ordered the necessary dispositions to put it effectually in execution^f.

HAVING continued in this inactive state about 34 days, and waiting the miserable end of the besieged, who, for want of water, were indeed ready to expire; word was brought him of a beautiful and comely woman from *Bethulia*, who Judith. was without his tent. He was then reposing himself under a rich canopy of purple, gold, emeralds, and other precious stones, and hearing of *Judith*, that was the woman's name, he went out to see her in great state, with silver lamps carried before him. *Judith* fell prostrate on her face before him, and being taken up from the ground, he spoke kindly to her, desired her to fear nothing, and assured her he never did harm to those who were willing to serve his great master *Nabuchodonosor*; and more to the same purpose, relating to herself and the people she came from. In the end, she told him an artful story to encourage him in his hopes against the people of *Bethulia*; with her words she deceived him, and with her beauty she ensnared his heart. For four days he left her mistress of herself, unattempted and unconfined, though her actions and behaviour were entirely calculated to deprive him of life. At the end of this term he could refrain no longer, but ordered his chief eunuch, *Bagoas*, to persuade her to his bed; which she dissembling a readiness to comply with, *Holofernes* gave himself up to an excess of wine, and being left alone with her, she took her opportunity in the dead of night, and severed his head from his body, with his own sword, and carried it off with her to the besieged^g (Y).

THE

^f Ibid. c. vi. vii.^g Ibid. c. viii, ix, x, xi, &c,

(Y) This story may meet with very little credit, and indeed we are very apt to think it is not true; and this may derive such a blemish

THE *Assyrians*, ignorant of what had been transacted in the recesses of their general's tent that night, and perceiving the besieged in motion the next morning, as if they intended an assault, sent notice of it to *Holofernes*, who was found headless in his tent, to the unspeakable surprize of all that beheld or heard it. At this the *Assyrians* lost all courage, and, seized with a panic, betook them to the most precipitate flight, as if in the tragical end of their general they foresaw their own. They left all their treasure and baggage

blemish on the whole book, as to make some doubt of the sincerity of any thing else said in it ; nor should we be very ready to add much faith to any part of it, were it not so directly confirmed to us by *Herodotus*, and so sufficiently by *Ctesias* and all his followers, as we have observed in some parallel places. The heroine herself, *Judith*, may be a fictitious character, calculated more for example than any thing else, and visibly meant to inculcate into us an heroic love of our country, and readiness to sacrifice ourselves in its defence ; or it may have been meant some how or other as a compliment to the *Jews*, by representing them to have had the honour of a share in pulling down the proud towers of *Nineveh*. Whatever may have been intended by what is told of *Judith* herself, the substance of the book in other respects is undoubtedly true, as may be made to appear, not only by the concurrence of the authors we have mentioned, but also by the time it was wrote in, which it is perfectly consistent with. One of the greatest difficulties to be surmounted in the vindicating of this *Apocryphal* book, is, that throughout the whole, there is no mention made of a king in the land ; whereupon *Prideaux* (14) observes, that if we could put this history so far back as the minority of *Manasseh*, it would be a most important point gained ; for that then there would be reason enough not to mention the minor king ; but only the chief minister and guardian of the kingdom in the transacting of the whole affair. To put this history so far back as he would have it, he confesses impossible ; but we have proved, that if the years of the reign of *Manasseh* and his son *Amor* are right, and if *Ptolemy's* canon is to be depended on, this story may stand most naturally in the first years of *Josiah*, who was a minor of but eight years of age ; so that, according to him, it is no wonder, there is no mention made of so very young a king throughout this whole book of *Judith*. Those who would know more of this may consult the same learned author, who has professedly treated on this subject (15), which is somewhat foreign to our design, and would besides draw us into too great a length.

(14) *Connex. of the Old and New Test. Book 1. part 1. p. 41.*
 (15) *Ibid.*

behind them, and were pursued with a great slaughter to *Chobai* ^a.

THUS ended this insolent expedition; but whether exactly after this manner or any other we have not to say; but that it was unfortunate, and highly so, may appear by what in a few years after followed, meaning no less than the fall of the *Assyrian* empire. What farther relates to this emperor we are at a loss to know, except that we are told he was succeeded by a king called

Sarac (Z), who committing his forces in *Chaldea* to *Nabopallasar* ⁱ, he rebelled against him, and seized on the kingdom of *Babylon* for himself (A), and in that kingdom therefore

^a Ibid. c. xv. ⁱ POLYHIST. apud Syncell. Chron. p. 210.

(Z) This name may have been contracted from *Sarchedon*, as this was from *Afferhadon*, *Afferhadon-pul*, or *Sardanapalus* (16). Here we seemingly see then, whence we are to derive the two *Sardanapalus*'s in prophane authors (17), and particularly those in *Suidas* (18), distinguished, the one as a warrior, the other as an effeminate creature (19). The great *Afferhadon* (20) was the former, and this king, who according to our supposition must have been the second of the name, was the latter.

(A) This *Nabopallasar* was confessedly an *Assyrian* by his name, which must have been derived from *Nebo-pul-assur*; this sufficiently declares the nation he was of, and it is confirmed by *Polyhistor* (21), who calls him, upon what authority we cannot conceive, *Sardanapalus*. So that according to this there must have been two *Sardanapalus*'s existing together, the one rising into prosperity, the other falling into the pit of adversity. From some such notion it must have been, that we read also of another city of *Nineveh*, to which the unfortunate *Sardanapalus* sent in his distress (22). But he was then actually blocked up in his capital, by the united force of the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, and this man, according to our historian (23), was the *Babylonian* that actually joined with the *Medes* to destroy *Nineveh*; so that there is no manner of congruity in the two facts as related. The apparent truth of this man's accession to the throne of *Babylon* seems to have been this; as he was confessedly an *Assyrian*, he may have laid claim to the throne of *Babylon* in right of succession, as of the younger branch of the *Assyrians*

(16) Sir H. Newt. *Chron. of Ant. Kingd. amend.* p. 203. See before in the notes, p. 201. (17) See before in the notes, p. 180, 181. (18) *Ad vocem Σαρδανάπαλος.* (19) See before in the notes, *ibid.* (20) See before, p. 201. (21) *Apud Syncell. Chronogr.* p. 210. (22) See before in the notes, p. 183. (23) *Alexand. Polyhist apud Syncell. ubi sup.*

fore may be said to have been the immediate successor of *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchadonator* (B), as he stands in the canon of *Ptolemy*. The two revolted kingdoms of the *Medes* and *Babylonians* conspired together against the emperor at *Nineveh*, entered into alliances with each other, *Nabopallasar* particularly sending to *Astyages* the *Mede*, to demand his daughter, *Amyite* or *Aroite*, in marriage for his son *Nebuchadnezzar* * (C). The families thus united make war upon *Sarac*, who,

* *Idem*, apud eund. *ibid*.

descended from the great *Nabonassar*, who seems to have had the kingdom of *Babylon* allotted to him by his father, or grandfather, *Pul*, the first *Assyrian* conqueror, while he left *Assyria* to his eldest son. He may, it is likely, have made this claim; and the seemingly unfortunate end of the reign of *Chyniladan* (24) may, upon the death of that emperor, and the unsettled state he must have left things in, have tempted him to seize on *Babylon* immediately for himself, and in his own right; which, it is probable, he had never dared to attempt before. Hence it must seemingly have been, that we have no mention of *Sarac*, or whatever else he may have been called, in *Ptolemy's* canon.

(B) The note above makes this sufficiently appear, and what we have there already said seems to have been really the case. The *Medes* were at open war with the *Assyrians* (25), the rest of the nations were partly ready to shake off the yoke which had been re-imposed on them by *Chyniladan* (26), if they did not really shake it off upon the defeat of his army under *Holofernes* (27); and partly in an actual state of independence, having shaken off the yoke even in the days of *Afferbadon*, and perhaps before (28); and this seizure on *Babylon*, must have been such a blow to the *Assyrian* monarchy as it never after could recover; and when the two potent and enterprising kings of the *Medes* and of the *Babylonians* came to unite their forces together, it is no wonder the *Assyrian*, who was deserted on all hands, could not long withstand such a conjunction, and immediately began to dwindle till he became quite extinct, and afterwards obliterated.

(C) Here we see the new prince of *Babylon* making the most effectual court to the king of the *Medes*, and contracting the most intimate of alliances with him for their mutual support. These two are then the *Balsis* and *Arbaces* of *Ctesias* (29) under different names; but more rationally employed towards the subversion of the *Assyrian* empire. We see them here contracting with each other as considerable princes, who could no longer brook subjection, and

(24) See before, p. 215. (25) Herodot. l. 1. c. 102. (26) See before, p. 211. (27) *Ibid* 211. (28) See before, p. 212. (29) *Ibid*, p. 13.

who, dreading the calamities ready to befall him, waited not for the event, but burnt his palace, and himself therewith¹, and may, it is likely, have been the *Sardanapalus* talked of by prophane historians (D). Thus fell the empire of *Assyria*, or in

¹ Idem, *ibid.*

not two obscure revoltors and conspirators, secretly combining together at *Nineveh*. It is to our purpose, that *Polybistor* (30) calls this *Babylonian Nabopallasar*, the father of *Nebuchadnezzar*, or *Nebuchadonosar*, the first *Babylonian* monarch that makes his appearance in scripture; and thereby so quadrates therewith, throughout the whole system of the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* history, as there recorded, as to settle the rise of the *Babylonian* empire, and the fall, nearly, of the *Assyrian*, beyond any possibility of dispute; nor can *Ctesias's* *Belesis* (31) have been any other than this *Nabopallasar*, and the rather as *Polybistor* (32) says, he was no more than governor of *Chaldaea* or *Babylon*, while he calls *Astyages* the *Mede*, his friend, the satrapa or lord of *Media*, and thereby makes the distinction of superiority between them, which *Ctesias* asserts; so that, in the main, *Ctesias* may be said to agree with this author, and to have had his accounts imperfectly delivered to him, if he did not indeed make it his choice to embellish this part of his *Assyrian* history, as well as the rest, with the glaring tinsel of romance.

(D) He dreaded perhaps the fury of such implacable enemies as these may have been, and particularly of *Cyaxares*, the son of *Phraortes* (33), who was determined to avenge the death of his father (34) *Phraortes*, who must have been the same with the *Astyages* of *Polybistor* (35); and the *Arphaxad* of the *Apocrypha* (36); or perhaps the excess of his pride was such, that he could not bear the thoughts of captivity or deprivation; but chose rather to undergo the most cruel of deaths, even burning itself. It is observed (37) to be very extraordinary, that so many have voluntarily undergone this most exquisite torment, when they had it in their choice to put an end to life so many other ways. In the case of those who have burned themselves merely to put an end to their days, without any sort of constraint, after the manner of the *Indians*, religion or superstition may be urged in their behalf, than which nothing has a more powerful effect upon the minds and tempers of men. But in the case of *Sardanapalus* and others, who may have dreaded a severe constraint of person, or a disastrous loss of life by the hand of a remorseless enemy, it is no such great wonder, that they should take the most effectual way to destroy both themselves and what belonged to them, that the enemy might not quench the

(30) *Apud Syncell. ubi sup.* (31) *See before, ubi sup.* (32) *Apud Syncell. ubi sup.* (33) *Herodot. l. i. c. 102.* (34) *Idem, ibid.* (35) *Apud Syncell. ubi sup.* (36) *Judith. c. 1. ver. 5.* (37) *H. Casaub. in not. ad Athen. l. 12. c. 1.*

in some such manner, (E) and the *Medes* and *Babylonians*

thirst of his rage with their blood, or enrich himself with their spoils. The motive to this, in those that have suffered it, may be ascribed to the highest sort of revenge; it being the only method they could take to disappoint the enemy, and make him, what he might call, a sufferer even by their destruction.

(E) We have made it our business in several preceding notes in this section, and in some at the latter end of the former, to shew, that there are two *Sardanapulus*'s in the prophane writers, and that these two can have been no other than the great *Afferbadon* and this last king of *Assyria* (38), who may have been the second of the name, as the contraction of his name, which is all we have of it, seems to imply. The prophane accounts, as we have seen, represent the one to have been a great and magnificent prince, and to have built even two cities in one day, as *Tarsus* and *Anchiale*, and to have died peaceably and quietly in his bed (39); the other a sluggard, who perished in the flames that consumed his palace, his servants, and his treasures (40). The former then must have been the great *Afferbadon*, or *Sardon pul*, of scripture, and the latter must have been this obscure prince *Sarac*, *Sarchedon*, or *Sardon-pul*; for that the empire did not fall under the former is most evident, and that it fell under the latter is almost as plain, by the obscurity of what is related concerning him. For by *Herodotus* (41) it is clear, it had dwindled away apace after the death of the great *Afferbadon*, and languished greatly under the inactive reign of *Saosduchinus*, who gave the turbulent *Medes* an opportunity of recollecting that strength, that may have been impaired by the successes of his fortunate predecessor, who was certainly the greatest of all the *Assyrian* monarchs; insomuch that *Chyniladan*, who succeeded *Saosduchinus*, with all his resolution and valour had much ado to curb them (42); but he dying under some misfortunes, as should seem by his history, and his successor *Sarac* perhaps proving to be an effeminate and slothful man, the *Assyrian* throne sunk still deeper than it had ever been, and those who had professed obedience to it hitherto began to desert it, and to conspire against it; and being under this cloud, and just on the verge of disappearing for ever, it is no wonder, we have no certain notice of what particularly befel it at its final dissolution; and the rather, as all these parts were at the same time disturbed by a violent irruption of the *Scythians*, who kept things in suspense, or rather in subjection to them for the space of 28 years, during which time the *Assyrian* at *Nineveh* must have grown less and less considerable, and but gasped till the fatal blow was given. Hence it is, that we know so little of *Sarac*, the last king of *Nineveh*, and the exact time of the fall of this empire.

(38) See before p. 215, note (Z). (39) Athen. *Deipnos.* l. 12. p. 529. (40) See before, p. 184. (41) *l. i. c.* 102. (42) (42) See before, p. 208.

triumphed

triumphed over its ruins (F), pursuant to the prophets (G):
 *Wo to the Assyrian, the rod of mine anger I will*
punish

(F) After this manner it certainly came to destruction; for besides what *Ctesias* (43) writes, and *Polybistor* (44), even *Herodotus* (45) intimates, that it was subverted by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*; by saying, that the *Medes* conquered all *Assyria*, excepting a part of the province of *Babylonia*. Whereby he seems to understand, that the *Babylonian* was a dependant on the *Mede*, though he did not deserve the honour of being accounted his ally and confederate, as if the *Mede* would have been powerful enough of himself, without such assistance as the *Babylonian* could afford him. In this he tacitly agrees both with *Ctesias* and *Polybistor*; for the former represents the *Babylonian* rather as a client, than an assistant, to the *Mede* (46); and the latter tell us, the *Babylonian* had no sooner seized on his portion than he applied to the *Mede* for protection, and, to secure himself and descendants in his new possessions, sued to him for a marriage between the families (47); and that there was this difference of rank between them, may be pretty clearly understood by a prophecy in *Isaiah*, which we shall not fail to take notice of presently. Upon the whole, though *Ctesias* is to be condemned for having made a romance of the *Assyrian* affairs, and for the many inconsistencies and falsehoods he has heaped together concerning the same, it appears that he had some sort of information concerning the fall of this monarchy. We have already seen some passages in him parallel with others in the book of *Judith*, as forerunning the subversion of this empire (48); but then he has misapplied his facts to *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchadonosor*, the last king but one, and not to *Sarac*, or *Sardanapalus*, the last king of all.

(G) The exact time of this great event may perhaps be settled pretty nearly. If *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchadonosor*, died in the sixth year of *Josiah*, as we have as good as proved (49), it must follow, that the same *Josiah*, being slain by *Pharaoh Necho*, king of *Egypt*, when there was a king of *Assyria* still in being (50), that kingdom continued many years after the death of *Chyniladan*; for *Josiah* reigned 31 years (51), the last of which may coincide with the fourth year of *Nabopolassar*, or *Nebuchadnezzar*, so that his father *Nabopallasar*, who immediately seized upon the kingdom of *Babylon*, upon the decease of *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchadonosor*, did not live to see the destruction of *Nineveh*, which may have stood some years after his death. Now that it came to pass, that *Nineveh* stood so long after the combination of the *Medes* and *Babylonians* against it, was owing to a stop put to their designs, by an irruption of the

(43) *Ibid.* p. 186. (44) *Apud.* Syncell. *ubi sup.* (45) *Ubi sup.* (46) *See before*, p. 180. (47) *Apud.* Syncell. *Chronogr.* p. 210. (48) *See before in the notes*, p. 208, 209. (49) *Ibid.* p. 200, note (Q). (50) *See Vol. II.* p. 47. (51) *See before*, p. 99.

punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks. For he saith, By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom, for I am prudent : and I have removed the bounds of the people, and robbed their treasures, and I have put down the inhabitants like a valiant man. And my hand hath found as a nest the riches of the people : and as one gathereth eggs that are left, have I gathered all the earth. and there was none that moved the wing, or opened the mouth, or peeped. Shall the ax boast itself against him that heweth therewith ? or shall the saw magnify itself against him that shaketh it ? as if the rod should shake itself against them that lift it up, or as if the staff should lift up itself as if it were no wood. Therefore shall the Lord, the Lord of Hosts, send among his fat ones leanness, and under his glory he shall kindle a burning like the burning of a fire (H). And the light of Israel shall be for a fire, and his holy One for a flame : and it shall burn and devour his thorns and his briers in one day ; and shall consume the glory of his forest, and of his fruitful field, both soul and body ; and they shall be as when a standard-bearer fainteth. And the rest of the trees of his forest shall be few, that a child may write them^m. . . . I will break the As-

^m ISAIA. X 5————20.

Scythians (52), who can have been no other than the *Bactrians* mentioned before (53) to have come upon the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, while they were besieging that city. These *Scythians* held dominion over *Asia*, as it is called, (54) for the space of 28 years ; during which the confederates were so far from being able to act against the king of *Assyria*, that they must have been under considerable constraint and tribute, as well as the other kings and princes in these parts. The *Scythians* then were lords in these parts about six or seven years after the death of *Nabopallasarus*, and the work of destroying the kingdom of *Assyria* could not be completed till the *Scythians* had been driven out of this part of *Asia*, which happened at the expiration of the term of 28 years above-mentioned. They then proceeded against *Nineveh*, and destroyed it about the beginning of the reign of *Jehoiakim*, king of *Judah* ; but whether in the second, third, or fourth year of his reign, we shall leave the reader to determine ; but it is certain, to a sufficient demonstration, that in one of those years *Nineveh* submitted to fate.

(II) There may be those who may imagine these words to be predictive of the manner of *Sardanapalus's* death, as related by prophane authors (55).

(52) Herodot. l. i. c. 103. (53) p. 182. (54) Vid. Herodot. *alii sup.* (55) See before. p. 181.

Assyrian in my land, and upon my mountains tread him under foot : then shall his yoke depart from off them, and his burden depart from off their shoulders ^a. . . . Through the voice of the Lord shall the Assyrian be beaten down which smote with a rod ^b. . . . Then shall the Assyrian fall with the sword, not of a mighty man ; and the sword not of a mean man shall devour him (I) : but he shall flee from the sword, and his young men shall be discomfited. And he shall pass over to his strong hold for fear (K), and his princes shall be afraid of the ensign, saith the Lord, whose fire is in Zion, and his furnace in Jerusalem ^c. . . . Behold the Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon, with fair branches, and a shadowing shroud, and of an high stature, and his top was among the thick boughs. The waters made him great, the deep set him up on high with her rivers running round about his plants, and sent out her little rivers unto all the trees of the field. Therefore his height was exalted above all the trees of the field, and his boughs were multiplied, and his branches became long because of the multitude of his waters,

^a Idem, xiv. 25. ^b Idem, xxx. 31. ^c Idem, xxxi. 8, 9.

(I) These two, the one *not a mighty man*, the other *not a mean man*, seem plainly to allude to the mighty *Mede*, and the dependent *Babylonian*, as we have distinguished them a note or two above ; so that this prophecy seems very naturally applicable to the two men that destroyed the kingdom of *Assyria*, as they are represented by the bulk of authors.

(K) We cannot help doing *Ctesias* the justice of observing, That this *flight from the sword*, this *discomfiture of the young men*, and this *retreat to the strong hold for fear*, seem exactly to quadrate with the circumstances he relates concerning the latter end of *Sardanapalus* (56). The *flight for fear* may allude to his flight when surprised in his camp (57) ; the *discomfiture of his young men*, to the slaughter of his army under *Salemeneus* (58) ; and his *passing over to his strong hold*, to his betaking himself to his city of *Nineveh* (59). We leave this matter to the reader's fancy or determination, and have taken notice of it chiefly to shew, that it is not from any prejudice conceived particularly against *Ctesias*, that we have laboured so much against him, or because we are fond of erecting or sustaining an hypothesis ; and that we should have been as ready to have followed him as any other, could we safely have done it. In a word, he meant no *Assyrian* monarchy but that in scripture, which was either strangely distorted for him, or he must, studiously and most unpardonably, have disguised it himself.

(56) See before, *Ibid.* (57) See before, p. 182. (58) *Ibid.*
(59) *Ibid.*

when

when he shot forth. All the fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts of the field bring forth their young, and under his shadow dwelt all great nations. Thus was he fair in his greatness, in the length of his branches; for his root was by great waters. The cedars in the garden of God could not hide him: the fir-trees were not like his boughs, and the chesnut-trees were not like his branches; not any tree in the garden of God was like unto him in his beauty. I have made him fair by the multitude of his branches: so that the trees of Eden, that were in the garden of God, envied him. Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Because thou hast lifted up thyself in height, and he hath shot up his top among the thick boughs, and his heart is lifted up in his height; I have delivered him into the hand of the mighty one of the heathen: he shall surely deal with him, I have driven him out for his wickedness. And strangers, the terrible of the nations, have cut him off, and have left him: upon the Mountains and in all the vallies his branches are fallen, and his boughs are broken by all the rivers of the land, and all the people of the earth are gone down from his shadow, and have left him. Upon his ruin shall all the fowls of the heaven remain, and all the beasts of the field shall be upon his branches. To the end that none of all the trees by the waters exalt themselves for their height, neither shoot up their top among the thick boughs, neither their trees stand up in their height, all that drink water: for they are all delivered up to death, to the nether parts of the earth in the midst of the children of men, with them that go down to the pit. Thus saith the Lord God, in the day when he went down to the grave, I caused a mourning, I covered the deep for him, and I restrained the floods thereof, and the great waters were stayed; and I caused Lebanon to mourn for him, and all the trees of the field fainted for him. I made the nations to shake at the sound of his fall, when I cast him down to hell with them that descend into the pit: and all the trees of Eden, the choice and best of Lebanon, all that drink water shall be comforted in the nether parts of the earth. They also went down into hell with him unto them that be slain with the sword, and they that were his arm, that dwelt under his shadow in the midst of the heathen^a. . . . Thy shepherds slumber, O king of Assyria, thy nobles shall dwell in the dust. thy people is scattered upon the mountains, and no man gathereth them. There is no healing of thy bruise: thy wound is grievous: all that hear the bruit of thee, shall clap

^a Ezek. xxxi. 3, 17.

the hands over thee ; for upon whom hath not thy wickedness past continually ^r ? Such was the great empire of *Assyria*, such her glory, as to be accounted, even by God himself, the first and supreme of nations, and such her fearful fall ; nor is all this meant of any other than the monarchy founded by *Pul*, who first began to afflict *Israel*, and *Judah*, and the neighbouring nations ; and whose successors were the first that attempted to extinguish the great nations on this side of the *Euphrates*, who extended their dominion over all lands, and who fell to nought in the person of *Sarac*, *Afferhaddon* II. or *Sardanapalus* ^r ; so that *Assyria* being expunged from the book of nations, and her records long since no more ; falsehood has been invented and propagated to preserve her the honour, which truth was deprived of being able to pay her, and concerning which we should have had next to nothing of genuine to relate, but for the plain assistance of scripture and the most inestimable concurrence of *Ptolemy's Astronomical Canon*.

C H A P. IX.

The History of the BABYLONIANS.

S E C T. I.

The Description of the Country of BABYLON, or CHALDÆA.

WE have already done considerably towards the geography of this kingdom, and particularly with regard to the times immediately successive to the deluge ^r. Its most antient name was *Shinaar*, *Sennaar*, *Senjâr*, *Singara*, and the like ^u, but whether or no it extended to what has been since known more peculiarly for the dominions of *Babylon*, we have already declared we know not ^w, nor is it possible to gather it to any great degree of satisfaction, though there is some reason to think it did, because it is used to de-

^r Nahum. iii. 18, 19. ^r See before in the notes, p. 216.

^r See particularly Vol. I. p. 271. note, (P) and p. 314, 315, in the notes. ^u See Vol. I. p. 313, & seq. ^w See before, in the places of the two foregoing citations.

note this whole kingdom, when in the meridian of empire *. *Babylon* is a name universally supposed to have been borrowed from that of the tower and city of *Babel*; and *Chaldæa* from the *Chaldeans*, or *Chasdim* *.

THESE two last names sometimes extend themselves over the whole territory, being indifferently usurped for each other; but are sometimes limited to certain parts of it, *Babylon* being used for the parts between the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and the country more immediately in the neighbourhood of the city itself of *Babylon*; and *Chaldæa* for the parts more immediately conterminous with *Arabia*, and stretching south-eastward to the shore of the *Persian* gulf. These two great names were also used in distinction of each other upon another account, not so much to our present purpose; finally, they were both sometimes swallowed up by that of *Assyria* †.

Divisions. By this means this kingdom came to be divided into two principal parts, together, it is likely, making up a considerable extent, and including a very great portion of *Mesopotamia*, and a good and valuable tract of what may be, properly enough, called *Arabia*; whence it may be distinguished into the *Mesopotamian* and the *Arabian*.

Extent uncertain. How far this country extended northward is past our determination, but for its limits westward, southward, and eastward, we cannot be very much at a loss, seeing it was to the eastward bounded by the *Tigris*, which divided it from *Assyria*, to the southward by the conflux of the two rivers and the *Persian* gulph, and to the westward by the *Desert Arabia*; to the northward it must have been bounded by some part of *Mesopotamia*, but by what part of it we shall never be able to tell, till we know how far they incroached upon each other, and were considered as distinct countries. Hence it is sometimes a practice with geographers to treat of *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia* at the same time, and once for all ‡, as being properly one and the same country.

THIS ample region may very naturally suit with the majesty of the *Babylonian* kings; but the name must certainly have prevailed, in antient days, beyond its proper limits (L); and that

* Dan. i. 2. * See Vol. I. p. 361. † STRABO, l. 16. p. 36. HERODOT. &c. &c. &c. ‡ Vid. CELLAR. Notit. Orb. Antiq. Vol. II. c. 16. p. 451.

(L) The limits of the *Babylonian* empire were much the same with those of the *Assyrian* empire after the revolt of the *Medes*, and hence

that it did not become even more universal, must have been owing to its being second to the *Assyrian*, which had rooted itself firmly over all the kingdoms about, and for which the *Babylonians* must have had too much veneration to attempt to change it, seeing it may have been by them deemed their greatest glory, that they were of *Assyrian* origin themselves, as will be seen hereafter. But it is certain that the proper *Babylon*, in later times, was confined to the very southermost parts of *Mesopotamia*, which our maps sometimes represent as a peninsula, or rather, as it is, a cluster of islands; this small territory, together with the proper *Chaldæa* already mention-

hence the *Babylonian* name was almost as widely extended as the *Assyrian*, and indeed they are frequently used the one for the other, though this latter seems the most generally to have had the ascendant and pre-eminence, as being prior, and, as it were, superior to the former. “ *Berosus* saith, That *Nebuchadnezzar* held *Egypt*,
“ *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Arabia*; and *Strabo* adds *Arbela* to the
“ territories of *Babylon*; and saying, that *Babylon* was antiently
“ the metropolis of *Assyria*, he thus describes the limits of the *Assyrian* empire, [or more properly the *Babylonian*]. *Contiguous*,
“ saith he, [l. 16] to *Persia* and *Susiana* are the *Assyrians*; for
“ so they call *Babylonia*, and the greatest part of the region about it;
“ part of which is *Aturia*, wherein *Ninus* [or *Nineveh*] and *Ap-*
“ *polloniatis*, and the *Elymæans*, and the *Parætacæ*, and *Chalontis* by
“ the mountain *Zagrus*, and the fields near *Ninus*, and *Dolomene*, and
“ *Chalachene*, and *Chazene*, and *Adiabene*, and the nations of *Meso-*
“ *potamia* near the *Gordyæans*, and the *Mygdones* about *Nihibis*, unto
“ *Zeugma* upon *Euphrates*; and a large region on this side the *Euphra-*
“ *tes*, inhabited by the *Arabians* and *Syrians*, properly so called, as far as
“ *Cilicia*, and *Phœnicia*, and *Lybia*, and the sea of *Egypt*, and the *Sinus*
“ *Issicus* :” And a little after, describing the extent of the *Babylonian* region, he “ bounds it on the north with the *Armenians* and
“ *Medes*, unto the mountain *Zagrus*; on the east side with *Susa*,
“ and *Elymais*, and *Parætacene*, inclusively; on the south with the
“ *Persian* gulf and *Chaldæa*, and on the west with the *Arabes Sce-*
“ *nitæ* as far as *Adiabene* and *Gordyæa* :” Afterwards speaking of
Susiana and *Sittacene*, a region between *Babylon* and *Susa*, and of
Parætacene, and *Cossæa*, and *Elymais*, and of the *Sagapeni* and *Silo-*
teni, two little adjoining provinces; he concludes, [l. 10. p. 745]
“ And these are the nations which inhabit *Babylonia* eastward: to
“ the north are *Media* and *Armenia*, exclusively; and westward are
“ *Adiabene* and *Mesopotamia*, inclusively; the greatest part of *Adia-*
“ *bene* is plain, the same being part of *Babylonia*: in some places it
“ borders on *Armenia*; for the *Medes*, *Armenians*, and *Babylonians*
“ warred frequently on one another (60).” We here see *Assyria* and
Babylonia most remarkably confounded together, not only as the same
empire, but as the same country.

(60) Sir H. Newt. Chron. of Ant. Kingd. p. 324, 325.

ed, is now described for this country, which, in antient days, obtained as far to the northward, as should seem, as *Senjâr* at least.

*Climate
and fer-
tility.*

THIS country, lying within the fifth north climate, enjoys an air very temperate and wholesome for the most part, though at certain seasons of the year no air can be possibly more dangerous to breathe in. The heats are so extraordinary here, that the richer sort were used to sleep in tubs and cisterns of water *, nor could bear to live without this pernicious practice, which still continues, as every body that has been in these parts very well knows; and at certain seasons they have here the dreadful plague of a pestilential wind, much talked of by modern travellers, and which we shall be more particular about in the geography of *Persia*. It seldom or never rains here for certain months of the year; so that the inhabitants, in the northermost parts of this country, and generally all over it, are at great labour and trouble in watering their lands, when the convenience of waters will allow them to do it; and especially along the banks of the *Euphrates*, where their engines and wheels are so frequent, as sometimes to hurt the navigation of the river †. This drought continues commonly eight months of the year ‡; nay, it has been sometimes known not to have rained here for two years and a half together, and the inhabitants reckon, that if it does but rain twice or thrice in a year, it is enough for their purpose ^b: this is remarked by *Herodotus* ^c, who says, that in the land of the *Assyrians* it seldom rained: and that though the country was quite like *Egypt*, its fertility was not caused by the inundations of the river, as in that country, but by the painful labour of the inhabitants, who either actually watered it by hand, or dug trenches, and other conveyances of that kind, for the refreshment and fecundation of this country, though, however, the same sort of labour is necessary even in *Egypt* ^d. The soil being rich, the climate in general excellent, and the industry of the inhabitants what it ought to be, this country for fertility used to vie with any other spot on the face of the earth. We have seen it compared to *Egypt*, as above, and the southermost parts of it between the rivers may be particularly compared with the *Delta* of that country, it being, like that, made up of endless islands, some formed by nature, and some

* PLUTARCH. Sympos. l. 3. p. 640. † See LEON. RAUWOLF'S Travels into the Eastern Country, part, 2. c. 6. p. 160. ^a Vid. PURCH. Pilgr. vol. 1. c. 12. p. 52. ^b RAUWOLF ubi supr. p. 152. ^c l. 1. c. 193. Vid. & STRAB. l. 15. p. 692. ^d See Vol. I. p. 394.

by art, and is besides almost under the same parallel of latitude; nor is the other part of it, *Chaldæa* properly so called, between the *Euphrates* and the mountains of *Babylon*, as they are commonly termed, much less watered by rivers and canals conducted from the *Euphrates*, and large reservoirs or lakes seemingly borrowed from the same river. And hence it is, that *Herodotus*^e compares this country with *Egypt*, and hence, together with the excellence of its soil, it was so fruitful, that the same venerable author^f imagines it impossible any one should believe what he could say about it, that had not, like himself, been an eye-witness of the same; though he ventures to assert, that, for the plenty of its productions, it was reckoned to be a third part of *Asia*, that is of the *Persian* empire, and that, when it exceeded even itself, it would yield 300 fold, but 200 most commonly.

BEING a country of such plenty of waters, and being for the most part low and flat, it may chiefly, of trees, have Productions. abounded with the willow, whence it came to be called *The Valley of Willows*, as *Prideaux*^g would, after *Bochart*, mend the text^h. The palm also flourished naturally all over this land, and chiefly that of the date kind, as we understand the authorⁱ, which afforded them, as he expresses himself^k, meat, and wine, and honey, though the vine, the olive, and the fig, were what this otherwise happy country could not boast of^l, no more than her sister *Egypt*. But for grain it exceeded every other land; the millet and the sesame shot up here to the size of trees, and the leaves of the barley and wheat were usually four good fingers broad^m. The sesame afforded them oil instead of the olive, and the palm afforded them wine instead of the grapeⁿ. In short, for vegetable productions it may be justly compared with *Egypt*; and to dwell on them would be little better than repeating what we have already said about that country^o.

ALL this fertility must have been greatly owing to the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, which were wont in the months of *June*, *July*, and *August*, to overflow their banks, and lay this country under water; the snow in those months melting away in great quantities from the mountains of *Armenia*. But this being found detrimental and destructive to the inhabitants, these inundations were guarded against by numbers of artificial rivers and canals, whereby the waters were dif- Rivers, canals, &c.

^e Ubi supr. ^f Ibidem. ^g Connect. of the Hist. of the Old and New Test. part 1. book 2. p. 105. in 8vo. ^h ISA I.

xv. 7. ⁱ HERODOT. ubi supr. ^k Ibid. ^l Ibid. ^m Ibid.

ⁿ Ibid. ^o See Vol. I. p. 400.

tributed and abated, the country in general benefited, and an easy communication effected between the inhabitants. Some of these canals were so large as to be navigable in the winter months ^p, but the chief of them all seems to have been the *Naharmalcha*, or *Royal River* ^q. Concerning this, and the rest of its kind, we must always be a good deal in the dark; for till of late years we have known next to nothing of the face of this country, from the experience of our own travellers, or the assistance of the eastern geographers, without which it is next to impossible to fix any thing certain about it in the antient western geographers. Nor have we as yet, it is to be feared, sufficient instructions with regard to the particulars of this intricate country, which can never be properly delineated but by an actual and accurate survey, which is what we can never so much as hope for. We shall therefore only observe, that the *Naharmalcha*, which, as represented by the antients, must have been a vast work, is not now easily distinguishable from the other branches and canals of this country. There is some difficulty to make the antient geographers, in this particular case, consistent with the best of our present maps, nor are the same geographers in this case very consistent with themselves; so that in a point of this obscurity we shall be as brief as possible, despairing, with all the lights and assistances we have, to be able to fix this *Royal River* quite to the satisfaction either of the reader or of ourselves. The *Naharmalcha* is then by some ^r supposed to have been the same with the river of *Cûtha*, now called *Couti*, or *Cûti*, which seems to have been an artificial branch conducted from the *Euphrates* into the inland of *Arabia*, where it falls into some lakes or waters, called the lake of *Rabama*, or *Al Batayeh*, in *De Lisle's* maps, and must have been, together with some overflowed lands, farther eastward in the proper *Chaldæa*, the *Paludes Babylonicae* of the antients. This river is said to have been dug by *Cûtha*, or *Cush*, king of *Babel*, but it is more usually by the oriental writers attributed to his son *Nimrod* ^s. This *Naharmalcha* is called a branch of the *Euphrates*, and is said to have emptied itself into the lakes, and upon the overflowed lands, to have divided the country, and to have washed the towns of *Irak*, and is said to have been the same called the river *Sid*, the river of the *Black Country*, or of the *Black Towns* ^t. By this it should have been no more than a branch

^p Herodot. ubi supr.

^q See Vol. I. p. 115.

^r Al.

^s Tabart in cap. de Morte Saræ.

^t Idem ibid.

^u Vid.

Hydr. Hist. Relig. Vet. Persar. p. 40.

of the *Euphrates*, by labour and art conducted into the inland of *Arabia*. The river of *Nehardea*, or *River of Knowledge*, supposed to be the same with the *Naarda* of *Ptolemy*, and to have run not above 20 miles above *Sora*, or at least the university itself of *Nehardea*, a famous one belonging to the *Jews*, is said to have been no farther distant from *Sora*, and to have been seated on the eastern banks of the *Euphrates*, and to have been many miles above the place from whence the *Royal River*, or *Naharmalcha*, was derived on the opposite shore, by which it is to be concluded, that it ran westward or southward of the *Euphrates*, and consequently, that it could not possibly have had any communication with the *Tigris*, whereas by all the antients we understand, that it was a very large canal, navigable by ships, between the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and that it was cut for that very purpose. By *Ptolemy* we understand, that it did not only communicate with the two rivers, but also discharged itself into the *Paludes*, or standing waters and overflowed grounds; by him we understand, that it was derived more properly from the *Tigris*, that it washed the walls of *Babylon*, or at least ran not very far from that city, and that thence, mixing with the *Euphrates*, the canal was immediately continued away to the *Paludes*. It is not to be doubted, but that this *Naharmalcha* was contrived more particularly for the great city of *Babylon*, that so it might have the immediate advantage of both the great rivers at once; and accordingly we have in *De Lisle's* maps a cut or canal represented from the *Tigris* to the *Euphrates*, just by what are now called the ruins of *Babylon*; and exactly in a line with the river *Cútha*, or *Cúti*, as it is now called and represented, which continues itself to the waters in the inland of *Arabia*; and thus we seem to have the true situation and extent of this river, which must certainly have been the same, and the rather as it is to this day called *Aimalec*, the *King*, or *Royal*. It is in the same maps represented as imperfect, and as not reaching quite to the *Euphrates*, and therefore, as much as it may have been formerly considered as a branch of the *Euphrates*, it is now most properly a branch of the *Tigris*. It appears then, that it is partly choaked up, as it was in the days of *Trajan* ^u, who restored it to its pristine state, after it had been for many ages dug by the great *Nebuchadnezzar* ^w. Thus, by comparing *Ptolemy* with the best of our modern geographers, it seems, that we have in general marked out the canal of the *Naharmalcha*, which may at first have included

^u Vid. AMM. MARCELL. p. 498. ^w MEGASTHEN. ex ALYDEN. apud Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. 9. c. 41. p. 456.

no more than the cut between the two rivers, though it came afterwards to be nominally extended to the inclusion of the river of *Cûtha*, which must have been a distinct work. At some distance to the westward of the *Naharmalcha* was another river, corruptedly in *Ptolemy* called the *Maarsares*, for the *Naarsares*, or the *Nabar Sare*, the *Stinking River*; this also he derives from the *Tigris*, and continues to the *Paludes*; but our best maps have no sign of such a river or canal at present in these parts; nor can we thereby fix the place of the *Nehardea*, or *Naarda* of *Ptolemy* above, which, though he mentions it as a town only, must by its name have been a river also, and, as we are told, to the westward of the *Nabar Sare* *. It may be labour in vain to attempt to trace out these and the other numerous branches and canal; which watered the antient country of *Babylon*, though by the best helps we have. Many of them, that have been formerly considerable, may be now no more, and others may have been found since, that were not in antient days; for a country so prodigiously watered, so low withal, and so subject to the violence of extraordinary inundations from two such great rivers as the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and so neglected as it must for ages past have been, may be fairly concluded to have changed face considerably, and frequently, since the time *Ptolemy* flourished; and it must be next to impossible to delineate the exact face of this country, when it was the seat of empire, or when it had strength and riches sufficient to take care of its numerous banks, and to keep them in repair.

The Euphrates.

THE *Euphrates*, thus branched out and divided, may now claim to be considered separately. The name of this river we have already spoken to †, and have now to add, that it takes its rise from the mountains of *Armenia*, and that it continues its course southward, washing the eastern skirts of *Syria*, and south eastward dividing *Arabia* from *Mesopotamia*, till, mixing with its fellow traveller the *Tigris*, it falls at length into the *Persian* gulf. This considerable river is slow, for the most part, in its course ‡, and not very well adapted throughout for navigation, because of some parts of it which are shoal, and some parts of it that are rocky. We are told it is not navigable for the larger sort of barks, any lower from *Bir*, or *Beer*, in *Mesopotamia*, than a place called *Rausvaine* §, which must be the *Rafaine* in some of *De Lisle's* maps, but that the smaller craft may go down quite to *Bassora*. Be-

* Vid. *HYDE* ubi sup. p. 71. † See Vol. I. p. 116. ‡ *RAU-*
WOLF ubi sup. part 2. c. 1. p. 126. § *TRAVENOT. Voy. au*
Lev. part 1. c. 9. p. 46.

yond this *Roufvaine* it seems there are rocks which are dangerous for the larger vessels ^b, but our author seems here to be quite mistaken, for *Roufvaine*, or *Rasaine*, is an inland place, at a distance from the banks of this river. A traveller ^c who actually went down this river, and seems to have had as great a sense of the dangers of his voyage as any man could well have, makes no mention of rocks in this river till he comes down a great way below, to a place he calls *Deer* ^d, and which is considerably beyond *Racka*, or *Racca*, where they were obliged to use the skill and assistance of pilots ^e. At *Bir* in *Mesopotamia*, which was the common place of embarkation from the western parts, this river is compared to the *Thames* at *London*, but was then observed to have been considerably fallen ^f; and indeed the breadth of this river must be very uncertain, and, as the case usually is, depend upon the seasons and the weather. In many places it divides itself into several shallow branches, and forms several islands ^g; in some parts it is broad and shallow, in others wide and deep like a little sea ^h, and, upon the whole, is not near so convenient as the *Tigris* ⁱ. Though the *Euphrates*, we have observed above, is moderate in its course, its water is so continually foul, that there is no drinking it till it has settled for a time, or been passed through a cloth, or a strainer ^k; but its water, when in proper order, is preferred before any in these parts, and said to be lighter than any other, whence the river is known, with the neighbouring people, by a name which signifies the *water of desire* ^l. The fish of this river is also reported to be excellent in kind, and particular notice is taken of one somewhat like a carp, which sometimes weighs 17 or 18 pounds ^m, which is all that may be necessary to say on this subject.

The antient way of navigating this river has something very singular and extraordinary in it. The vessels they used were round, without distinction of head or stern, and were no better than great wicker baskets coated over with hides, which they guided along with two oars or paddles. These vessels were of different sizes, and would some of them carry a burthen of palm wine, or other merchandize, to the weight of 5000 talents, and, according to their size, had live asses on board

^b THEVENOT. *ibid.* ^c RAUWOLF. ^d *Idem. ibid.* p. 152. ^e *Ibid.* ^f MAUND. *Jour. from Aleppo to the river Euphrat.* p. 3. See also THEVENOT *ubi sup.* ^g RAUWOLF *ubi sup.* p. 126. ^h *Idem. ibid.* & p. 102. ⁱ *Idem. ibid.* & THEVENOT. *ubi sup.* ^k RAUWOLF *ubi sup.* p. 126. ^l THEVENOT. *ubi sup.* ^m RAUWOLF *ubi sup.*

of them. Having thus fallen down the river to *Babylon*, and unloaded their cargoe, they stripped off their hides, and selling the rest of their vessel, with the straw and whatever else might have served them for the convenience of stowage, and putting their hides upon the backs of their asses, they returned by land to the place whence they came, where they wrought up another frame, or basket, to repeat their voyage; it being impossible for them to stem the stream up again by water ^u.

*Natural
and artifi-
cial vari-
ties.*

THIS country is more than ordinarily remarkable for the seat of *Paradise*, which is most rationally supposed to have been partly, if not all, within the limits of it ^o; as also for the great plain of *Shinaar*, now *Senjâr*, where the whole race of mankind were gathered together in one body after the flood, and whence they dispersed themselves over the face of the earth ^p. The bitumen of this country we have already ^q spoken of at large, as well as of the place where it more remarkably abounded ^r. The ruins of *Babylon*, and what remains of the tower, as supposed, of *Babel*, might here claim a place, had not another more proper occurred in the former part of this work ^s.

S E C T. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the Babylonians.

Antiquity.

BABEL is the first kingdom we find erected in scripture, and claims an origin prior to that of *Assur*, though, according to the common course of history, it must appear after it. *Nimrod* was the founder of it ^t, but for many ages it enlarged not its bounds, and evidently appears to have remained a petty royalty, till the *Assyrians* paved the way to the empire it attained to. Or, on the other hand, if it be granted, that even under *Nimrod* himself it attained a height of power, nothing seems more natural than to conclude, that it suddenly fell down to a level with its neighbours, and even below some of them, and particularly the famous and antient kingdom of *Elam*, or *Persia*; for so early as the days of *Abraham* we meet with a king of *Shinaar*, the antient *Babylon*, in the army of *Chedorlaomer*

^u HERODOT. l. i. c. 191.

^o See Vol. I. p. 1:3, & seq.

^p Ibid. p. 312, 313.

^q Ibid. p. 320 not. (I).

^r Ibid.

^s Ibid. p. 319, & seq.

^t Ibid. p. 307.

king

king of *Elam*^v, as a vassal, seemingly, and a tributary. The arguments we have formerly used to destroy the boasted antiquity of *Assyria*^w, may be exhibited here to destroy that of this empire ; but not to repeat what we have so fully urged, and which must of course affect this empire, as it confessedly rose upon the ruins of the former ; we would only take notice, that scripture knows nothing of any king of *Babylon* from the king of *Shinaar* above in the army of *Elam*, till the days of *Merodach Baladan*, who was contemporary with *Hezekiah*^x ; as also that, by the several histories of the nations that precede in this work, it is plain, that no *Babylonian* sceptre awed any one of them, till many years after the said *Merodach Baladan*. So that, though we confess this to have been the most antient kingdom of the world, we deny it to have reached the imperial dignity till what we may call very lately, in comparison of what has been vainly boasted, and unwarily believed.

THE *Babylonians*, or *Chaldeans*, however, laid claim to a most enormous antiquity, unwilling to be behind-hand with the *Egyptians*, or any nation else, pretending to have registred the transactions of 150,000 years^y, according to some, or 472,000 years, according to others^z, reckoning down to *Alexander*, from the time they first began to observe the stars ; a most monstrous fable, which needs no refutation, though it may deserve some animadversion (M).

THE

^v Genes. xiv. 9. ^w See before in the preceding chapter *passim*.
^x 2 King. xx. 12. ^y Vid. SYNCELL. Chronogr.
^z DIODOR. SICUL. Bibl. Hist. l. 2. p. 81.

(M) This extravagant and senseless desire of several nations to be thought antient, has not only been, in good part, the destruction of history, but has, to all appearance, also been considerably hurtful to religion. Vanity, as we have shewn (61), first introduced the forging of records to supply the want or loss of them : and as antiquity was thought the most honourable distinction of a people, when nations, as the *Babylonians*, *Egyptians*, or others, came to be great and powerful, and to remark how mean a figure their predecessors made, in comparison, but a few years before, if they had any certain tradition about it, and that they had cannot very well be doubted ; and to perceive, that perhaps some other nations had a great value for themselves for their antiquity, they were ashamed of their deficiencies, scorned in any degree to be inferior to any other nation under the sun, and so not only ran up their antiquities

(61) See before, p. 134.

Their go-
vernment.

THE government of this nation, if the character which generally prevails concerning its founder *Nimrod*^a may be relied

^a See VOL. I. p. 380.

they knew not whither, but removed some of their eminent princes who had lived as yesterday, into ages far beyond the day of creation, and made gods of them; in their glory exalting themselves above their fellows, and claiming a right of superiority over them, which perhaps could never have been accounted for but by this method. We have in great measure given a glaring instance of this in the latter *Syrians*, who, as *Josephus* observes of them, celebrated the memory of their kings, *Hadad* and *Hazaël*, in his time, and carrying their statues about in procession, vaunted their great antiquity, though they had not been dead above 1100 years; but by this they certainly meant no more than to set off the gods of their own country; for though they were strangers in *Syria* at first, and introduced to supply the place of the natives who were carried away captive, they had then been in the country many ages, and reckoned themselves as the original proprietors, just like the *Irish* at this day, who, though chiefly descended from colonies of *English* and *Scotch*, and not very antient ones either, disown both the nations, and glory in what they find peculiar to that kingdom, true or false; and thus these latter *Syrians*, though they had no manner of relation to the antient kings of their country, meant by this vaunting of their gods, *Hadad* and *Hazaël*, to reflect a dishonour upon the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, whose gods they knew by tradition or history to have been younger; and hence you have *Adad, the first of gods* (62).

If the want of regular history was not in some measure the support of idolatry, which it certainly must have been, it was doubtless what gave birth to the notion of the world's being eternal. Philosophers, at a loss for the origin of things, and destitute of a guide to direct them thereto, presently grounded themselves upon false principles, and thence proceeded to subtilise themselves into errors without end, and fancies infinitely absurd, which were soon propagated among the studious men in all branches of literature; to that historians and antiquaries thinking there was room enough to range in, and some of them being more greedy of it than others, though they were all desirous of it, you have by this means the disorder and disagreement among antient authors never to be reconciled to one another, either with respect to affairs at home or abroad. Upon the whole, hence it is you have the variety of accounts given in by nation, one endeavouring to exceed another, as they have been partly collected (63) to our hands, and as they here follow:

(62) See VOL. II. p. 310, note (K). (63) Ludov. Viv. in not. ad Septuaginta. Dan. xii. 10. See the Appendix to Whiston's Essay to establish the true text of scripture, p. 233.

lied on, was in its very infancy tyrannical and despotic; but that it continued so is not to be supposed, except at the same time it be conceived that first prince was succeeded by kings exactly of his own sort. After him it certainly became on a foot with the petty kingdoms of these parts, till the *Assyrians*, in process of time, laid the foundation whereon it afterwards exalted itself as the *Queen of the East*. And as from the former it derived its lustre and majesty, nothing is more likely, or indeed more certain, than that it adhered to the maxims and practices of its founder; and the rather, as these *Babylonians* themselves were *Assyrians*, descended from *Pul* the great *Assyrian*, who immediately gave rise to both the empires, as will be amply made to appear in the sequel. The government therefore of *Babylon*, like that of *Assyria*^b, was haughty and despotic, and the sceptre, as should seem, hereditary. The whole centered in the person of the king, all decrees issued from his mouth^{*}; and how could it be less, when he affected even deity and divine worship, as the custom was with these princes? And here by the way, it may be observed, that this political, not to say blasphemous, arrogance, was but natural to men who had such wide and unwarrantable views of lording it over the whole bulk of mankind. It was one of the most effectual means they could think of, to intimidate the nations who had not yet owned their power, and to restrain those who did, from asserting their right to be governed by whom, and in what manner they pleased. For without some such bridle upon the superstitious minds of men, it had been next to impossible to maintain dominion over parts far remote from the seat of the imperial residence; and no doubt, the argument they used of having prevailed against all the gods of the nations, and of being mightier far

^b See before, p. 131.

^{*} See Dan. iii. 29. iv. 6.

	Years.
<i>Zoroaster</i> lived before <i>Plato</i> 's death	6000
Before the <i>Trojan</i> war	5000
<i>Chaldees</i> had accounts of	470000
From the first <i>Chaldean</i> astronomer to <i>Alexander</i>	472000
<i>Sais</i> in <i>Egypt</i> had chronicles of	8000
<i>Athens</i> built before <i>Sais</i>	1000
From <i>Vulcan</i> to <i>Alexander</i>	40000
Kings of <i>Egypt</i> before <i>Amasis</i> reigned	13000
From <i>Osiris</i> to <i>Alexander</i>	100000
Or	13000
Men reigned in <i>Egypt</i> after the gods	15000

than they ^c, carried a conviction with it, which not only served all purposes for the present but for the future also. And hence it must have been, or upon principles of the same sort, that the great conquerors of the east have always affected retirement from the immediate commerce of others, as too glorious to be beheld by vulgar eyes ; a kind of arrogance which implies a superiority not much inferior to what was claimed by these first monarchs of the *Assyrian* race, as well on the throne of *Nineveh*, as on that of *Babylon*; and is, as we have said, one of the most politic methods of keeping in subjection a number of nations of different languages, complexions, and manners, to a man who must be a stranger to almost all of them. These proud potentates, however, administered their government by officers of several sorts, civil and military, and accordingly we find them divided into three classes, and supposed to be chosen from among the gravest and most noble personages in all the empire ^d; the first had the charge of virgins, and their disposal in marriage, and were to judge in matters of adultery, and the like ; the second took cognizance of thefts, and the third of the rest ^e. We find the subordinate powers under this mighty emperor divided into princes, governors, captains, judges, treasurers, counsellors, and sheriffs ^f, so that it is plain, nothing was wanting to keep peace and good order in the empire, and that the civil and military œconomy was under severe regulation : as for what relates to religion and superstitious matters, that will fall under another head.

*His officers
civil and
military.*

His household.

THIS great *King of Kings* ^g had a household equal to the sublimity of his station, the chief officers of which seem to have been the captain of his guard ^h, the prince of his eunuchs ⁱ, and the prime minister ^k, in the nature of the *Turkish* vizier, who more immediately represented the person of his great master. The first of these had the execution of the arbitrary and sanguinary commands ^l; the second had charge of the education and subsistence of the youth of the palace ^m, and the latter sat in the king's gate, as it is called ⁿ, to hear complaints and to pass judgments. Besides these, there seems to have been a master of the magicians always at hand ^o, to satisfy the king upon any thing he might want to know, with regard to futurity and prognostication.

^c See before, p. 196. ^d STRAB. l. 16. p. 745. ^e Vid. eund. ibid. ^f DAN. iii. 2, 3. ^g DAN. ii. 37. ^h Idem, ibid. ver. 14. ⁱ Idem, i. 10. ^k Idem, ii. 48, 49. ^l Idem, ibid. 14. ^m Idem, i. 7, 8, 9, 10. &c. ⁿ Idem, ii. 49. ^o Idem, iv. 9.

None were allowed the honour of serving in his presence that were not remarkable for beauty of person ^P, and excellence of parts (N); and his wives and concubines, which were, doubtless, the most exquisite of their sex, seem to have been in very great numbers ¹.

BUT though these kings seem to have claimed such high honour, and to have placed themselves at such a distance from the greatest even of their officers and subjects, and in short to have considered the whole world as created for their use and service, and to have consulted nothing but their own glory and majesty; yet we understand, that they would sometimes deign to banquet and revel with their lords and chief men of their dominions, of whom we read, that a thousand of them were at one time entertained by *Belshazzar* ². The common stile of accosting this mighty sovereign was, *O king live for ever* ³; and the man, who was so happy as in a particular manner to gain his favour, was cloathed in purple or scarlet, adorned with a chain of gold about his neck, and invested with some government ⁴.

THE laws of this empire, as we have hinted above, must *Laws.* have been quite vague and uncertain; yet there was one which seems to have been irrevocably fixed, and to have been

^P Idem, i. 4—10—20 ² Idem, v. 2, 3. ³ DAN. v. 1.
⁴ Idem, ii. 4. v. 10. ⁵ Idem, v. 7.

(N) This has always been the custom in the eastern countries, and at this day, “ The youths, that are designed for the great offices of the empire, [in *Turkey*—must be of admirable features and pleasing looks, well shaped in their bodies, and without any defect of nature; for it is conceived, that a corrupt and sordid soul can scarce inhabit a serene and ingenuous aspect; and I have observed, not only in the seraglio, but also in the courts of great men, their personal attendants have been of comely lusty youths, well habited, deporting themselves with singular modesty and respect in the presence of their master. So that when a basha, aga, or spahee, travels, he is always attended with a comely equipage, followed by flourishing youths, well cloathed and mounted, in great numbers, that one may guess at the greatness of this empire, by the retinue, pomp, and number of servants which accompany persons of quality in their journies; whereas in the parts of *Christendom* where I have travelled, I have not observed, (no not in attendance of princes) such ostentation in servants as is amongst the *Turks*, which is the life and ornament of a court (64).

(64) *Sir Paul Ricaut's Pref. State of the Ottoman Empire, c. 5. p. 46.*

very politically contrived to keep up and increase the number of the inhabitants, it being calculated in such manner, that it was almost impossible for any man to live single, and designed particularly to encourage the poorer sort to engage themselves in wedlock, which is generally a great burthen to them the world over. By this law no man had it in his power to bestow his own daughters in marriage^u, but they were to be disposed of by the king, or his officers, in the manner we shall relate hereafter.

Punishments.

As the laws were vague and changeable, the punishments seem also to have been unfixed, and to have been arbitrary and rigorous to the utmost, and such as might best suit with the degree of rage, which for the time happened to agitate the tyrant's breast. Beheading^w, and cutting to pieces^x, and turning the criminal's house into a dunghill^y, and burning in a fiery furnace^z, are punishments we understand to have been executed by order of the kings of *Babylon*.

Their religion.
Chaldees
their
priests,

THE religion and boasted learning of the *Babylonians* are so blended together, that we hardly know how to separate them into distinct heads; for the *Chaldees*, properly so called, were not only their priests, but also their learned men; whose whole science seems to have been subservient to the purposes of superstition and infatuation. The *Chaldeans*, as distinguished from the *Babylonians*, were in some sort distinct from these people, and rather more so than the clergy were from the laity with us. These *Chaldæans* were as much revered in their country, as the *Egyptian* priests were in theirs; and are said to have enjoyed the same rank and degree in the kingdom^a. They were wholly devoted to the business of their superstitious religion, and pretended to prophecy, and the gift of prediction by the rules of augury, the flight of birds, and the inspection of victims; and professed the interpretation of dreams, and to explain all the extraordinary accidents and phœnomena of nature, as portending good or evil to men or nations, and were thought by their enchantments and invocations to affect mankind either with happiness or with misery^b. Having by their situation been early addicted to celestial observations, they, instead of conceiving as they ought to have done concerning the omnipotence of the creator and mover of the heavenly bodies, and of being confirmed in a due belief and practice of what had been handed by tradition down to men by *Noah* and his sons, fell into the impious error of

^u Vid. *Herodot.* l. 1. c. 196. & *Strab.* l. 16. p. 745.
^w *Dan.* i. 10. *Idem.* ii. 5. ^x *Idem.* *Ibid.* ^y *Idem.* iii.
19. ^z *Diodor.* *Sicul.* *Biblioth.* *Hist.* l. 2. ^b *Idem.* *ibid.*

esteeming them as gods, and the immediate governors of the world, in subordination, however, to the deity, who was invisible but by his works and the effects of his power ^c. They concluded then, that God had created the stars and great luminaries for the governance of the world, that he had accordingly placed them on high, and made them partakers with him, and substituted them his ministers; and that it was but just and natural they should be praised, and honoured, and extolled; and that it was even the will of God they should be magnified, and feared, and worshipped; just as a king desires his servants should be respected in honour of himself ^d.

PERSUADED of this they began to build temples, or *Sacella*, to the stars, to sacrifice to them, to praise them, and to bow down before them, that through their means they might obtain the favour and good-will of God ^e, so that they esteemed them as mediators between God and them. For that there was a necessity for a mediatory office between God and man, is observed ^f to have been a notion that generally obtained among mankind from the beginning; “ Conscious of
“ their own meanness, vileness, and impurity, and unable to
“ conceive how it was possible for them of themselves alone
“ to have any access to the all-holy, all-glorious and supreme
“ governor of all things. They considered him as too high,
“ and too pure, and themselves as too low, and too polluted
“ for such a converse; and therefore concluded that there
“ must be a mediator, by whose means only they could
“ make any address unto him, and by whose intercession
“ alone any of their petitions could be accepted of. But no
“ clear revelation being then made of the mediator, whom
“ God had appointed, because as yet he had not been manifested unto the world, they took upon them to address
“ themselves unto him by mediators of their own choosing;
“ and their notion of the sun, moon, and stars being, that
“ they were the tabernacles or habitations of intelligences,
“ which animated those orbs in the same manner as the soul
“ of man animates his body, and were the causes of all their
“ motions, and that those intelligences were of a middle nature between God and them, they thought these the proper-
“ est beings to become the mediators between God and them;
“ and therefore the planets being the nearest to them of all
“ the heavenly bodies, and generally looked on to have the
“ greatest influence on this world, they made choice of them
“ in the first place for their *Gods Mediators*, who were to

^c Vid. eund. *ibid.* ^d RAB. MOS. MATH. in *Me Nevoch.*

^e Idem, *ibid.* ^f See PRIDEAUX, and the authors he cites, POCOCK, GOLTUS, HOTTINGER, &c.

Second
stage of
idolatry.

“ mediate for them with the supreme God, and procure
 “ from him the mercies and favours which they prayed for,
 “ and accordingly they directed divine worship to them as
 “ such; and here began all the idolatry that has been prac-
 “ tised in the world^b.” For persuading themselves of this
 doctrine, they became anxious about the most effectual means
 of making their worship acceptable to the several deities,
 whence they first began to build temples or tabernacles to them,
 as we have seen, dedicated to their service, and to be as places
 of abode for them, but as in matters of this kind there can
 be no stable form, where there is no immediate revelation,
 and men actuated either by fear or avarice, or ambition, or
 ought else, had liberty to pretend to what they knew nothing
 of; in process of time impostors arose, and gave out, that they
 had had it enjoined and commanded them from God himself,
 That this star, or that, or all of them should be worshipped
 in this, or that manner, and represented under this, or that
 form, and that none of any age or degree should be exempt
 from the worship thereof; and this they impudently gave out,
 in a solemn manner, for revelation. Upon this it was, that
 men began to furnish the *Sacella*, tabernacles or temples,
 with images, and to erect the same under trees, and upon
 the tops of hills or mountains; and from henceforward they
 assembled themselves together to pay them worship, and be-
 gan to hope for all good, and to dread all evil, as proceeding
 from them, and to honour them with deepest reverence, and
 to fear them^{*}; and their priests, sensible of the sweets of the
 trade, began to think of forms of duty and practice to be
 observed by the credulous and deluded multitude[†]. Other
 impostors there were who improved upon the first, and pre-
 tended to have been honoured with particular instructions
 from particular stars, concerning the exact mode of the wor-
 ship due or peculiar to them, and what ought, and what ought
 not, to be done to please them; so that, in process of time,
 the name of God became obliterated among them; and the
 most stupid idolatry possessed the whole place of the true re-
 ligion[‡].

SUCH was the rise of idolatry and the first steps of its
 progress, than which nothing can be more natural to con-
 ceive, and such were the original *Sabian* doctrines, which,
 taking root first among the *Chaldæans*, did afterwards spread

^a PRIEBAUX's Connect. of the Hist. of the Old and New
 Test. Part. I. Book III. p. 177. in 8vo. ^{*} Rab. MOS. MAIMONID.
 ubi sup. [†] Vid. eund. ibid. [‡] Rab. MOS. MAIMONID.
 ubi sup.

their branches so far as to over-shadow, at one time, all the nations of the east with their prophane obscurity. For it must be difficult to conceive, how men could have been deceived into so gross an absurdity, as to worship wood, stone, or metal, formed and fashioned by their own hands, if it be not at the same time allowed, that they must have imagined their images to have been, some how or other, animated or informed with a supernatural power, by some supernatural means. A late author¹ thinks it more natural to suppose, that their loss to know how to address themselves to the planets, when they were beneath the horizon, was what first suggested to them the use of images; for that, whenever they paid their devotions to any of them in their tabernacles, or *Sacella*, they directed their worship towards the planet, which they have thought of none effect, when he was absent and hidden from sight; and that therefore they thought to supply his absence by a representation: Thus it may have been, though it may be as natural to suppose, that, as their priests observed the stars as their gods, and made them the chief subject of their study, and persuaded themselves that each star or planet was actuated by an intelligence, they gave out to the people, from time to time, that those superior beings had revealed their will to them, just as their crazy imaginations, or designing craft, may have suggested to them.

LET this have been either this way or that way, it is certain, that the first image-worshippers did not pretend to pay adoration to uninformed wood, stone, or metal, and that the *Sabians*, in their transition from planet-worship to image-worship, pretended to have infused the virtues of the planet into the image that was meant to represent it; which they thought to effect by forms of consecration, and by various incantations, whereby to draw down from the stars their several intelligences into their respective idols; and hence came all the foolery of *Telſms**, or *Talisman*s, and upon these pretended principles of communicative operation, all the branches of magic and sorcery must have had their foundation.

THAT this was the first origin of image-worship is evident, and that the same was first derived from the heavenly bodies, the most conspicuous, and glorious to sight, is evident by the primary gods of the heathen in general, which are *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Mercury*, *Venus*, and *Diana*; by which we can understand no other than the sun, and moon, and the five greatest luminaries next to them¹.

¹ PRIDEAUX, ubi sup.
eund. ibid.

* See PRIDEAUX, ubi sup.

¹ Vid.

THIS was the religion of the *Babylonians*, *Assyrians*, and *Mesopotamians*, even before the days of *Abraham*; nay in the days of *Enos*, the son of *Seth*^m, whose descendants are said to have been the first that cultivated astronomy and astrologyⁿ; the *Sabians* themselves boasting the origin of their religion from *Seth*, and pretending to have been denominated from a son of his called *Sabius*, as also to have among them what they call the book of *Seth*, written by that same patriarch^o.

*Third stage
of idolatry*

THIS was the state of the old *Babylonian* religion, till they came to deify mortal men as well as the celestial bodies. In this we are apt to think they were not the first, and that the *Syrians*, whose empire was confessedly older than either the *Assyrian* or *Babylonian*^p, shewed them the way, by deifying their great kings, *Benhadad* the second and *Hazael*^q. A late learned author^r is inclined to think, that the first *Sabians*, or idolaters, desirous to have all the mediation possible with the supreme God, took it into their heads, that good men had a power with him to intercede for them, and that they deified many of those they thought to be such, and that thus they added to their polytheism: This is allowing much in favour of them, and is reflecting not a little upon the purity of the *Roman* church, which teaches the same doctrine, and allows of the same practice; and calls to our mind, how frequently *Rome* is supposed to be signified under the type of *Babylon*; and, perhaps, there may not be so wide a difference between some parts of the two religions, as may be generally imagined. But to wave this, as foreign to our purpose, we should rather choose to think, that they deified their greatest and most powerful men, and that however they may have paid the same honour to men of virtue, their most conspicuous gods of this class were their greatest warriors and most potent kings.

ACCORDING to this we are told^s, That by the vain-glory of men idols entered into the world . . . That, in process of time, an ungodly custom grown strong, was kept as a law, and graven images were worshipped by the commandment of kings, or [as it is in the margin] tyrants. That whom men could not honour in presence, because they dwelt far off, they took the counterfeits of his visage from far, and made an express image of a king, whom they honoured, to the end that, by this their forwardness, they might flatter him that was absent, as

^m Rab. Mos. MAIMONID. ubi sup.

ⁿ See Vol. I. p. 163.

^o See PRIDEAUX, ubi sup. ^p See before, p. 145, & seq. ^q See

Vol. II. p. 255, & note (E). ^r PRIDEAUX, ubi seq. ^s Wil.

of SOLOMON xiv. 14, 16, 17.

if he were present. This was most certainly the case with regard to the deification of kings, who could not be contented with being less than gods. The same author^c assigns two other reasons for this practice, which must strongly cooperate with the former; first, “The grief of a parent for his child untimely snatched away, whose image he may have been tempted to honour as God when dead, and to deliver to those beneath, or in subjection to him, ceremonies and sacrifices of duty and commemoration;” and secondly, “The skill of the workman, who by his art, might contribute greatly to the deception of the ignorant; for that, ambitious to flatter some great man, he may have exerted all in his power to represent him beyond what he truly was, and so, by the beauty of his work, captivate and delude the unwary multitude, who took him now for a god, whom a little before they honoured but as man; and that thus men, subject either to calamity or tyranny, did ascribe unto stones and stocks the incommunicable name of God.”

SUCH were the causes of idolizing dead men, tyranny to compel to it, immoderate affection to consent to it, and the exquisite skill of the workman to allure to it. That the *Affyrians* and *Babylonians* were, in a particular manner, obnoxious to the first of these, must appear by the histories of their several kings, who seem, at least, to have been as absolute tyrants as were ever suffered to live; and that they did give into this error is plain, both by sacred authors and prophane writers; these last, for the most part, asserting, That the *Affyrians* were the people that first shewed the example of it to others; though that this was false, we have seen in the history of the *Syrians*, who before them deified their great kings^d.

HOWEVER, it was an opinion, that *Ninus* was the first that set up images to be worshipped, and particularly one to his father *Belus*^e, and granted privileges and pardons to those who resorted to it. Who this *Ninus* should have been but *Tiglath-pileser*, the son of *Pul*, or *Belus*, in scripture, we know not, and therefore we must conclude, that *Pul*, and none other, was the first that was worshipped in these parts as a god^f, and that consequently he, who was the undoubted founder of the empires both of the *Affyrians* and *Babylonians*, and none other, was the boasted *Belus* of the latter *Babyloni-*

^c Ibid. ver. 15, 18, 19, 20, 21.

^e See Vol. II. p. 255.

^d AMBR. in Epist. ad Roman. c. 1.

^f See before p. 186, (W).

ans, *Phœnicians* and others, where the descendants of his family extended the dominion he had founded.

His temple

Partly erected to him, and partly to the true god.

THIS *Belus* had a temple erected to him in the city of *Babylon*, and was revered as their primary god, he being the first founder of all the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* grandeur, and source of all the reverence and adoration claimed by his successors, both at *Babylon* and *Nineveh*. To him they erected the tower we have formerly described so famous in all ages since ; though it should seem, that the honour of this tower or temple was meant to be divided between him and the true God. This building, as we have observed before, consisted of eight towers raised upon one another, and in the uppermost was a bed magnificently set forth, and a golden table near it, but no image was here ^y; nor was any body suffered to be here in the night but a particular woman, who, as the priests gave out, was in an especial manner preferred by the god before all others (O). In this place they taught, that he was wont to come and repose himself ^z; so that, according to this, they must have held him to have been the supreme over all, the living and self-subsisting, who either could not be represented, or would not bear such presumption in them as to offer at it. But beneath this there was another temple, where there was a gigantic image of *Jupiter*, [*Belus*] all of gold, with a table before him of the same metal ; his throne was gold also, as was all the furniture about him ; inasmuch that the whole work was valued at 800 talents of gold ^a. This, it seems, was not the only statue in this temple ; for, we think, we read of another all of solid gold, and twelve cubits in height ^b ; but whether our author really designs to describe two distinct idols, by giving the weight of the one, and the dimensions of the other, or whether he gives the weight and dimensions above as belonging to one and the same, is not quite clear.

HOWEVER, this great *Jupiter*, who, we think, cannot possibly be any other than the great *Pul*, or *Belus*, by being thus placed in subordination, as should seem, to the great and supreme God, was exalted to the utmost height they could raise him ; for by this they must, to all appearance, have

^y HERODOT. l. i. c. 180.
 ibid. c. 183.

^z Idem ibid. c. 182.

^a Idem

^b Idem ibid.

(O) The *Babylonians*, it is plain, must have taught of this invisible God, and attributed to him what the *Egyptians* did to their god *Cneph* (65).

(65) See Vol. I. p. 445.

implied, that *Belus*, or *Pul*, divided the empire of the universe with him, and that as he was Lord above, the other was lord below ; that as the former was the God of heaven, the other was at least delegated god on earth, and invested with all power here, by the immediate appointment of the invisible ruler of all things. Thus the thing seems to have been by this account of the temple at *Babylon* (P), and as it is perfectly of a piece with their superstitious persuasions, and agreeable to what we may safely conceive concerning this their first warrior, we know not how to think otherwise; and wonder not at what has been since exaggerated, concerning the age and pre-eminence of this great *Belus*.

As there were two gods in this temple and tower, there *The two* belonged to it also two altars ; they stood without, one of *altars, and* gold of a moderate size, and the other much larger ; upon *the diffe-* the golden altar none but sucking victims might be sacrificed^c, *rent sacri-* and on the great one none that were not full-grown^d; con- *fices upon* cerning which we leave the reader to make his own conjec- *them.* tures, only observing, that as it was evidently two distinct gods they sacrificed to, the golden altar seems to have been devoted to the supreme God, and the other to his subordinate *Jupiter* ; for by the sucking victims they seem to have meant, that they peculiarly belonged to him as the nourisher of all things, and that the full-grown ones, being brought to the perfection he designed them, he committed them to the care and government of his vice-gerent below, who therefore had none but full-grown creatures sacrificed to him. But as here

^c Idem ibid. ^d Idem ibid.

(P) It may be disputed, whether or no the *Babylonians* did not actually mean the sun, rather than God himself. We are told, they never represented the sun, or, at least, that the *Syrians* never did (66), who derived their religion from these people, concluding it ridiculous to represent what was so gloriously conspicuous (67), and we have supposed, that they sometimes paid adoration to the sun and moon immediately (68) ; but it does not seem likely, that these *Babylonians* should ever give it out, that the sun himself was wont to come and repose himself upon the top of this tower, as we have seen ; they never could have persuaded the people to that absurdity ; so that if they had not an immediate view to the great God, in thus leaving his temple free from images, they must have designed it for the intelligence of the sun, and that may with them have amounted pretty much to the same thing.

(66) See Vol. II. p. 258.
 &c. seq.

(67) Ibid.

(68) Ibid. p. 314.

they

they plainly sacrificed to them in distinction of each, they at other times seem to have sacrificed to them in common; for the priests reckoned, that they, every year, upon the great altar, burnt 100,000 talents of fragrant libanotus ^c; this may seem to have been intended for them both, but that it may as likely have been intended as an acknowledgment from *Belus* to the God above him, might be insisted on, so far as it is possible to be certain in things of such an ambiguous nature, were we a little fonder than we are of building upon conjecture.

SUCH was the god *Belus* among the *Babylonians*, and such his temple and the rank he held in it; but that he was the inventor of the sideroal science, or of astrology, as some would have it, must not be wondered at, after what has been attributed to his daughter-in-law *Semiramis*, as we have partly seen already ^d, and as we shall see farther in a more proper place. Nor must this same *Belus*, or *Baal*, be confounded with the others we read of in scripture, before the rise of the *Assyrian* empire, as the *Baal-peor* of the *Moabites* ^e, the *Baal*, or *Moloch*, of the *Ammonites* ^f; the title signifies lord with all these people, who, and particularly all such as are said to have passed their seed through fire, meant thereby the sun, whose heat being, as it were, the life of all things, they accounted the heat of fire to be sacred; which must have been one of the first doctrines of the *Sabians* in *Chaldæa* (Q), who, as we have said, first broached this error, and communicated the same, by degrees, to the nations round about. This appears by what we read of *Abraham*, who left his country, on the other side of the *Euphrates*, for the idolatries of the land ^g, and, to avoid them, came into the land of *Canaan*, where he found the sentiments and practices of men more conformable to religion and the duties we owe to God; for *Melchisedec* was then alive in *Canaan*, and stiled the priest of the most high God ^h, and the people there were, for the most part, in a state of purity in matters of religion, as all the nations about must also have been ⁱ; nay, in these days we do not find, that even *Egypt* was much, if at all, infected

^c Idem ibid. ^d PLIN. Hist. Natur. l. 6. c. 26. ^e See before p. 174. note (I). ^f See Vol. II. p. 82. ^g Ibid. p. 99. ^h Ibid. p. 356. & Vol. I. p. 291. not. (Y). ⁱ See Vol. II. p. 168. ^m See the religions of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Edomites*, &c. in Vol. II. Chap. 4.

(Q) The religion of the *Magians*, who worshipped fire, was derived from the *Sabians*, as we shall observe a little farther on in this section.

with idolatry ; so that whatever the *Greeks* may pretend of the *Egyptians*, that they brought idols and false gods into fashion ^a, the contrary appears by the book of *Genesis*, which sufficiently informs us, that while the country on the other side of the *Euphrates* was thoroughly polluted with all abominations, the countries on this side were as yet strangers to them. Nothing then is plainer, than that all we have said concerning the religion of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Edomites*, *Amalekites*, *Canaanites*, and *Philistines*, is only the old *Sabian* religion of the *Chaldees* ; so that we shall not here need to repeat what we have so fully exhibited in the histories of those several nations.

BUT upon the building of *Babylon* by the *Assyrians*, the old religion, it seems, fell into some discredit, and especially the more inferior branches of it ; nor can it well be doubted, but that if ever they had, before the days of *Pul*, deified any heroes, he must have soared above them all, who could not properly be called the gods of the *Babylonians* before the city itself was built ; for as much is granted by all authors, who suppose *Belus* to have been the immediate founder of the *Assyrian* greatness, and therefore deified ; but who this *Belus* was we may read in scripture ^o, and be confirmed in a certainty thereof by *Ptolemy's* canon, and therefore we are not to look so far back as *Nimrod*, or any man else that lived a thousand years or more after him. Hence it may appear, that by *Bel*, or *Baal*, the *Babylonians* understood either the sun, or their founder *Pul* ; but whether or no they translated him into the sun, or whether they kept their planet-worship and their hero-worship, so distinct as never to confound them with each other, may be past our solution, and a point which might draw us into a needless length.

THE deity next in order to this seems to have been the *Succoth Venus* of latter days in the west, and that she was no other *Benoth*, than the goddess *Astarte* of the *Phœnicians*, may be gathered most evidently from what is to follow. *Succoth Benoth* an *Venus*. is mentioned as an idol of the *Babylonians* ^p, though it was apparently rather the shrine, or shrines of an idol belonging to some deity we have since translated into the lascivious goddess *Venus*, for the import of the word is, *the tabernacles of Benoth*, or, *the tabernacles of the daughters* ^q, though there are those who render them, *a tabernacle of wings* ^r, and suppose the idol itself to have been represented as a hen brooding

^a See Vol. I. p. 443. ^o See before p. 186, not. (W)

^p 2 Kings xvii. 30. ^q Vid. SELDEN de Diis Syr. Syntagn. 2. c. 7. ^r KIMCHI & JARCHI, apud eund. ibid.

The derivation of the name of Venus.

over her chickens, and that she was designed in honour of the constellation, called vulgarly, *the hen and chickens*, but more learnedly the *Pleiades*; but this a dream seemingly. It is more likely, that these tabernacles of the daughters were for *Venus*, whom the *Babylonians* called ^t *Mylitta*, signifying *Genetrix*, or *Mother*, or *Urania*, as the *Greeks* will have it, and to this goddess, the daughters of the country, or the women, were, once in their life-time, bound to make a sacrifice of their modesty and virtue, a practice which will be found among the customs of this people. And hence it is, that a very learned author ^t gathers her not only to have been our *Venus*, but hence it is also, that he derives the very name itself from *Benoth*, by changing the *B* for a *V*, and the *Theta* for a *Sigma*, whence you will have *Venos* (R). This seems partly confirmed by an author, who seems to call her *Binos* ^u; but particularly by what we are told of a city in *Africa*, called *Sicca Venerea* ^w, a name which seems to have been transported from *Phœnice*, and evidently formed from this *Siccoth*, or *Succoth*, *Benoth*; and where there was a temple, where women were obliged to purchase their marriage-money by the prostitution of their bodies ^x. Her temples seem to have been fixed at this place, and at *Aphac* ^y, and at *Babylon* ^z, and may likewise have been erected at other places; but for the convenience of such as had not such a building dedicated among them, the priests seem to have taken them into their consideration, and to have carried small tabernacles, or models of the several temples, upon their shoulders, for the public enolument and their own gain for their labour.

Both masculine and feminine.

THIS god, or goddess, for she is understood to have been both *Mars* and *Venus*, though here placed second to *Belus*, is generally understood to have been of much greater antiquity than the times we are sure he lived in; but this is upon a supposition, that the prophane historians, poets, and mythologists are not out in the length of their computations, and hence you have an argument of her antiquity deduced from

^t HERODOT. l. 1. c. 131. ^u SELDEN de Diis Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 7. ^w VALER. MAXIM. l. 2. c. 6. ^x Idem ibid. ^y See Vol. II. p. 311. not. (N). ^z HERODOT. l. 1. c. 199.

(R) *Vossius* (69) subscribes to this. *Beyer*, in his additamenta to *Selden*, disputes it, though with no great strength of argument.

(69) *De Idololat.*

the words of *Æschylus* ^a, who calls *Phœnicia* the land of *Aphrodite*, or *Venus*, to which the scholiast subjoins, that so it was called, because it was sacred to her on the account of *Byblus* and *Libanus*, where stood her temple at *Aphac* ^b; but this may be no very great argument to prove it; for if the *Assyrians*, whence the *Phœnicians* had her, are not so very antient as pretended, this deity must be deprived of the veneration conceived for it on account of its years. Though the date of this idol will not much depend upon the rise of the *Assyrian*, or *Babylonian* empire, if it was a star they meant by this *Venus*; for we have already observed, that the *Chaldees*, as they are called, worshipped the stars by images before they consecrated the *Assyrian Belus*, or perhaps any other mortal man; so that it may be worth the while just to enquire, whether or no this idol was really designed to represent some star from among the host of heaven, or some woman who may have been preferred to deification, for reasons, in those days, thought meritorious? or whether, as in the case of *Baal*, both a planet and a person may have been intended, and reciprocally translated into each other?

WE have seen, by some parallel circumstances, that she was, to all appearance, the same with the *Phœnician Astarte*, and we shall produce several others, to confirm the same, in the course of this subject. In the mean time, to begin with this *Benoth*, from whom the whole tribe of great goddesses seem to be derived; She is called the celestial *Venus*, and said to have been first of all worshipped by the *Assyrians* ^c, whereby, though our author, it is more likely, means the *Syrians*, properly so called, we shall plainly discover, that the former were the first authors of this worship, and transmitted it to the latter. This goddess was of both sexes, and accordingly it was the custom to worship her sometimes in the habit of a man, and sometimes in the habit of a woman ^d, the men and women mutually changing dresses with each other ^e, whence it is supposed, that *Moses* forbids *the woman to wear what pertaineth to the man, or a man to put on a woman's garment*. According to this, the worship of this planet, or idol, must have been of very antient date; and that the words of the text before us, are meant of this mode of worshipping, is understood by *Maimonides* ^f who observes that in the book of magic, composed by one *Cenir*, as he is

A rite in the worship of the Assyrian or Babylonian Venus.

^a In Supplicib.

^b See Vol. II. p. 311, note, (N).

^c PAU-

SAN. in Attic.

^d Vid. SLIDEN de Diis Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 4.

^e Vid. eund. ibid.

^f Deuteron. xxii. 5.

^g In More Nevoch.

part III. c. 38.

corruptly ^b called, it is written, that a man should put on the flowered garments of a woman, when he stood before the star called *Venus*, and that a woman should put on the arms and armour of a man, when she stood before the star called *Mars* ⁱ; and hence the *Assyrian* priests are said ^k to have been unfit to wait on the goddess *Venus*, except they effeminated their countenance, and assumed all the softness and dress of a woman. And hence a *Greek* author ^l, who calls her the moon, says, that the men sacrificed to her in the habit of a woman, and the women in the habit of a man, and the reason, because she was both masculine and feminine; whereby it is plain, that it is this *Assyrian Venus* he means, though, being translated into *Greece*, he may not exactly have meant the same. That this *Uranian* or celestial *Venus* of the *Assyrians* was the moon, cannot be doubted, by the rank she holds next to *Bel*, or the sun; and that she was so, will be immediately seen by what we certainly know of her, under other names; and that she was of both sexes, will appear as plain by the same evidence. For to bring her nearer to us, we shall find she was the same with the *Syrian* goddess.

She is the
same with
the great
Syrian god-
dess.

THIS *Syrian* goddess, as we have her described to us, and by her rites, was no other than the celestial *Venus* of the *Assyrians*. She was called *Juno*, and the statue of her was contrived so as to partake of *Minerva*, *Venus*, *Luna*, *Rhea*, *Diana*, *Nemesis*, and the *Destinies*, as if she included them all, and that so she did has been sufficiently proved by very great men ^m. She was drawn, or supported, by lions, she had rays on her head, and a tower, and was girt with the cestus, or girdle of the celestial *Venus* ⁿ, and as she was contrived to be the source of all idolatry, in honour of the female sex; so we find her to have been equally honoured by *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Ethiopians*, *Medes*, *Armenians*, and *Babylonians* ^o, who all came in pilgrimage to this mighty goddess of *Hierapolis*, or the *Holy City*, which, in this respect, seems to have succeeded the city of *Babylon*, whence she had been chased by the *Persians*. Her eunuch priests, who took on them the habit and offices of women ^p, declare her to have been one and the same with the *Assyrian Mylitta*; and the *Babylonians*, who, among others, are said to have paid liberal contributions to her, abundantly confirm it.

^b Vid. SELDEN, ubi sup. ⁱ MAIMONID. ubi sup. ^k JUL. FIRMIC. c. 4. ^l PHILOCHOR. apud MACROB. Saturnal. l. 3. c. 8. ^m Vid. LIL. GYRALD. de Diis Gent. SELDEN, de Diis Syr. VOSS de Idololat. ⁿ See Vol. II. p. 258. ^o Ibid. p. 200. ^p Ibid.

IF then it appears, that this great Syrian goddess was no *She is the* other than the celestial *Venus* of the *Assyrians*, the same will *same with* as evidently appear of the *Phœnician Astarte*. We have *the Astarte* seen her the *Queen of heaven*^a, the *Moon, Lucifer, Juno, of the Phœ-* *Venus, Minerva, and Io*^b, and married to an *Assyrian*^c. *nicians.* We have seen her the lustful goddess^d, and the warlike deity^e, and accordingly adressed to under both sexes; nor need we cite the monstrous effeminacies of the men at *Aphac*^w, or the impudent and mercenary prostitution of the women at *Byblus*^x; to prove, that the one is in general a very faithful copy of the other; for as to the prostitution of the women in particular, it must be confessed to owe its origin to an infamous custom, among the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, to be mentioned hereafter.

NOR shall we find, that the *Atargatis*, or *Derceto*^y of *She is the* the proper *Palestine* in general, or of *Ascalon* in particular, was *same with* any other than the *Babylonian* or *Assyrian Venus*. For al- *Derceto of* though she is made distinct from the great *Venus*, and is said *Ascalon.* to have undergone her displeasure, and in consequence of that to have suffered a metamorphosis into a fish^z; the worship that was paid to that animal, under the eye of the great goddess at *Hierapolis*, declares her to have been the same; and this is not conjecture only, for *Atargatis* is said to have been worshipped at *Hierapolis*, by a very judicious author^a, who, in so saying, most evidently confounds her with the Syrian goddess, and makes them one and the same. Nor is he single in this, for others^b do the same, and particularly one^c, who calls her the mother of the gods, and *Astarte*, and the *Hierapolitan*, or *Assyrian* goddess. In short, *Atargatis* was also *Venus*, and *Juno*, and *Minerva*, and the Syrian goddess^d, and consequently the celestial *Venus* of the *Assyrians*. That she must, at the same time, have been *Astarte*, we need not say; but that we may depend as little upon probability as we can, we have an author^e who says, that the *Syrians* abstained from fish, in regard to the rites of *Astarte*; so that we see her the same goddess transported from the banks of the *Euphrates*, into which she is said first to have plunged herself, to

^a Ibid. p. 309. ^b Ibid. p. 310, (L.). ^c Ibid. p. 309, note (K). ^d Ibid. p. 316. ^e Ibid. p. 310, not. (M). ^f Ibid. p. 316. ^g Ibid. p. 315. ^h Ibid. p. 158. ⁱ Ibid. ^j STRABO, l. 16. p. 748. ^k PLIN. Hist. Natur. l. 5. c. 27. ^l MACROB. in Saturn. l. 1. c. 23. ^m Vid. SELDEN, ubi sup. ⁿ ARTEMIDOR. apud eund. ibid.

escape the fury of the inexorable *Typhon*^f (S) ; and but just varied so as to give each particular country the honour of having an original of its own. So the *Syrians*, who seem to have received her first, and were nearest to the place of her native abode, preserved her, it is likely, in the most genuine form ; the *Phœnicians*, who were next, altered her no farther than to make her a *Phœnician* ; and the *Philistines*, or *Ascalonites*, who were a little farther off, that they might make her their own also, turn her into a monster, woman upwards and fish downwards^g, and rather than not have her their own, are willing to allow her to have been in subordination to some other goddess, who had power over her to the degree of chastising her by a change from her first shape^h.

It appears then, that all this adoration to this various goddess came from *Affyria* and *Babylonia*, and that it was established in these countries by the prevailing might of those two potent empires, who successively subjugated all these parts ; and while they flourished, it is likely, they maintained a strict uniformity of worship and tradition among them ; but these empires being abolished by the *Persians*, who had an aversion to all this *Sabianism*, each of them forgetful of the source whence they derived their superstitions, claimed them as peculiar to themselves, and new modelled them accordingly.

*Is worship-
ped as Se-
miramis.*

AND now it may not be amiss to inquire, how far the tradition of *Semiramis* quadrates with what we are told of this goddess ; as also, whether or no we cannot from thence make it out, that she, as well as the moon, the earth, or any other subject, may have been adored as the celestial *Venus*, or *Syrian* goddess. Her presence in the temple at *Hierapolis*ⁱ is as strong an argument as any, that the superstition there migrated from *Babylon* ; and her inferior degree^k there, will argue nothing against her original superiority, if it be remembered, that this temple was rebuilt by *Stratonice*^l the wife of *Antiochus Soter*, who may have had some pique to the memory of *Semiramis*, whom she may have remembered with envy, and therefore resolved to degrade her ; if it may not rather be attributed to the senseless caprice, or some strange

^f MANIL. Astronom. iv.

note, Barb.

^g See before, p. 158. and in the

^h See before, *ibid.*

ⁱ See Vol. II. p. 258.

^k *Ibid.* p. 250.

^l See Vol. II. p. 310, note (M).

(S) We see here *Typhon* introduced into the *Babylonian* mythology, though he was an *Egyptian* ; but we may perceive by some parallel circumstances, that there was no very wide difference between the religions of the two nations.

inconsistence

inconsistence with relation to this *Assyrian* heroine, whom they might some how or other, and in some cases, make inferior to herself. These are points not for us to dive into.

THUS much is certain, we shall in the tradition of *Semiramis* find so many circumstances to make us believe she was worshipped as the supreme goddess of the *Babylonians*, that few will hesitate, perhaps a moment to be of this opinion. We have seen her born of a goddess at *Ascalon*^m, who, for the shame of conceiving her, plunged herself into a lake, and became a fish ⁿ; and hence fish are said to have been worshipped, though indeed not so much upon her own account, as should seem, as on account of her mother *Derceto*, or *Atargatis*, who underwent this transformation. We have seen her miraculously fed by doves or pigeons in a desert ^o, and hence that bird became sacred; hence it should seem, and from other fabulous circumstances it is, that you have the *dove from the land of Assyria* ^p. We have seen it predicted, that she should not die, but vanish from the sight of men, and obtain divine honours from the *Asiatic* nations ^q. We have seen it was pretended, that she made her exit in the form of a dove, and that she went off attended by a flight of them ^r; and hence another reason is given why the dove became sacred. We have seen her the abandoned prostitute ^s, and the martial heroine ^t; and hence she may have been the celestial *Venus* adored under both sexes, and the *Phœnician Astarte*, now painted in arms ^u, and now represented as the patroness of lewdness and effeminacy ^w. In short, we have seen her the first that made eunuchs ^x; and hence we may have the origin of the eunuch priests, or *Galli*, who attended upon the *Syrian* goddess ^y; which was certainly more the case than what is pretended in the idle story of *Combabus* and *Stratonice* ^z, who, being wife to one of the *Seleucidæ*, lived some hundreds of years after *Semiramis*, and who, as we have suggested above, may have affected to raise herself upon the depression of this great *Babylonian* queen, who is said even to have first built the temple at *Hierapolis* ^a, which though it is certainly false, may yet argue the tradition to have been, that she was meant by the celestial *Venus*, or the *Syrian* goddess, and that so she was must appear still further, by her be-

^m See before, p. 158. ⁿ Ibid. ^o See before, p. 158, 159.
^p See before in the notes, p. 159. ^q See before, p. 169. ^r See before, p. 174.
^s See before, p. 168. ^t See before, p. 162.
^u See Vol. II. p. 315, 316. ^w Ibid. ^x See before, p. 174, at the end of note (II). ^y See Vol. II. p. 260.
^z Ibid. ^a Vid. *Voss. de idololatr.* l. 2. p. 303.

ing directly called *Rhea*^b, *Nemesis*^c, and the like, if there could be any necessity further to inculcate this opinion, after such variety of corroborating evidence.

UPON the whole, we think it self-evident to conclude, that the celestial *Venus* of the *Assyrians*, the *Astarte* of the *Phœnicians*, and the *Derceto*, or *Atargatis* of the latter *Philistines* were all derived from *Semiramis*, or whatever else her true name was, the first *Babylonian* foundress ; who seems to have been translated into the bright and various *Queen of Heaven*, the moon ; as *Belus*, or *Pul*, the first *Assyrian* monarch, was into the sun ; and that whatever the mythologists and allegoricians may pretend by explaining all this worship into an adoration of the universe, or nature, or the earth, or any other element, which is what we are very ready to grant them, and what we may professedly treat of in the mythology of the *Greeks*, as we have partly already in the theology of the *Egyptians*^d ; yet nothing is more certain, than that all the *Jupiters* and *Juno's*, and the rest who are supposed to have been once mortal, or conversant here on earth, are all derived from this source, and that on this *Assyrian* or *Babylonian* foundation the whole superstructure of the *Greek* polytheism and idolatry was raised. For the *Greeks* had their religion from the *Phœnicians* partly, and partly from the *Egyptians*, who had theirs originally from the banks of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, as may be pretty clearly gathered from the apparent religious state of the countries on this and that side of the *Euphrates* in the days of *Abraham*, as we have hinted before. The *Egyptians* seem in time, indeed, to have erected a system of their own, though not very widely different from the *Babylonian*, as any body that will compare them together will at the first glance perceive. The *Phœnicians*, who had equally communication with the two nations, seem to have mixed the variations in each together, and we have plainly seen, that they worshipped what the *Babylonians* worshipped, what had been imposed on them by the tyranny of that empire ; in short, *Astarte*, who, as we have proved as plain as things of this nature can be proved, was the celestial *Venus* of the *Babylonians*, was also as plain the *Egyptian* goddess *Isis*^e. And indeed there was hardly any difference as to the main points between the religion of those two great and antient nations, who being in constant rivalship with each other,

^b See before in the notes, p. 175.

animadvers. ^d See Vol. I. p. 415, & seq.

^c Vid. Jos. SCALIG. in

^e Vol. II. p. 309,

note (H)

and emulous of surpassing each other, you thence have the seeming differences between them in religious matters, the *Egyptians* particularly contending the honour of antiquity * and sanctity with the *Babylonians*, though by the *Mosaic* history they must yield to these last ; nor is there any discrepancy between their great and favourite gods, but barely in the names they have conferred on them, to evince them reciprocally their own. Nor is there any thing plainer than that there was, in the main, a perfect uniformity between all the nations on both sides of the *Euphrates*, as to the fundamentals of their religion ; and consequently, if we fix the place whence they were branched, which we think we have done, we have, at the same time, a clue at hand to guide us through the immense labyrinth of heathenism and idolatry : But for want of this certain stand to take the survey from ; for want of a due attention to the natural progress of idolatry, but especially by not accommodating the fabulous writings of prophane writers to the tenor of scripture, which plainly points out to us, who were the first great *Affyrians* or *Babylonians* that were deified and translated ; our mythologists have rambled backwards to *Noah*, and *Nimrod*, and the whole tribe of the postdiluvian patriarchs, to discover in them what is designed more particularly for mortal men, who lived many and many ages after them ; whereby they have most strangely perplexed this part of learning, which would be full intricate enough without this help towards making it the more so, and, what is worse, have cast an impenetrable mist upon the first days of prophane history, which most certainly is fabulous, and quite so, if we make a very few exceptions, till about the first rise of the *Babylonian* empire, in the reign of *Josiah* king of *Judah*. For not only the art or method of writing a regular history was not discovered, or at least practised, as should seem, till the days of *Herodotus*, who lived in about the middle of the *Persian* empire ; but the gods of all these nations being supposed to have been once mere men, and no more, the priests and others had no way to derive a depth of veneration for them, but by making them antient and fabulous, and by that means removing them as far as possible from the then race of mankind. If we had no other instance of this than *Sancho-niatho's Phœnician* history †, it would be abundantly sufficient to justify us in what we say ; and if we had no other example of this affectation than that of the *Syrians* in the days of *Josephus*, who, in those days boasted of the antiquity of their

* See Vol. I. p. 187, & seq. † Ibid p. 174.

Adad not
properly a
Babylonian deity.

great god *Adad*, who was one of their deified kings ^g, who, at most did not live above 901 years before Christ ^h; it might be deemed enough, for our purpose. And here we cannot but note a common inaccuracy, even in the most learned, who, inattentive to the history of the antient empire of *Syria*, suppose this *Adad* to have been an *Assyrian* or *Babylonian* deityⁱ, and only, as should seem, because he is in prophane authors called an *Assyrian*, forgetting, that the name of *Assyria* extended itself over all *Syria* and the adjacent parts ^k. He was then, to all appearance, no *Babylonian* deity, but one who had been translated into the heavens by the antient *Syrians*, and, as should seem, revived again after the destruction of the *Babylonian* empire, whose new gods must have brought him into discredit^l, not only as having proved too weak for the gods of the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, but also as being a stranger to the people transplanted into these parts ^m, in the room of the first inhabitants, by the successors of *Pul*; though some how or other received again into veneration, as we have observed before ⁿ. However, *Adad* was also the sun as well as *Bel*, or *Baal*, *Osiris* and others. And this is what we have thought necessary to premise preparatorily to what we shall hereafter have to say of the *Greek* mythology, and which we have on purpose deferred, till we came to this place, as the most proper for a research of this nature.

Fishes and
doves wor-
shipped,
and
whence.

To return to our celestial *Venus*, or *Syrian* goddess, or *Astarte*, or *Derceto*, or *Semiramis*, we find, that fishes ^o and doves ^p were peculiarly sacred to her; and whence this superstition took birth we have partly seen in the metamorphosis of *Derceto* ^q, and the birth, education, and apotheosis of *Semiramis* ^r, and we have seen, that both at *Ascalon* ^s and *Hierapolis* ^t they were equally revered; so that they may well deserve to be considered as deities with this people, and are seemingly so allied to this great and multiplied goddess, that though we have some other deities of this nation, who may deserve to take place of them, we have not been able to separate them from their great mistress. As for fishes in particu-

^g See Vol. II. p. 285 (X), & p. 310 (K). ^h Ibid. p. 275 in the margin. ⁱ Vid. LYL. GYRALD. Hist. Deor. SILDEN, de Diis. Syris. VOSSIUS, de Idololatr.

^k See before, p. 123, (B).

^l See Vol. II. p. 255. & seq. ^m See before, p. 191, note (D).

ⁿ See before in the notes, p. 234, (M). ^o See before, p. 133.

^p See before, ibid. ^q See before, p. 158. ^r See before, p. 174.

^s See before, p. 158. ^t See Vol. II. p. 257, & seq.

lar, they are said to have been revered by the *Syrians*, or the *Affyrians* rather, not only on account of the metamorphosis above ^u, but also because they were said to have saved one *Derce*, [*Derceto*] a daughter to *Venus*, who happened to fall into the sea ^w, or because she took refuge among the fish when she fled from *Typhon* ^x. It is said, that *Venus* and *Cupid* being in *Syria* on the banks of the *Euphrates*, the giant *Typhon* came suddenly upon them, and made them jump into the river, and take on them the form of fishes to save themselves ^y; in short, *Venus* and *Cupid* are said to have been translated into the zodiacal sign called *Pisces* ^z; such were the reasons given why they not only abstained from fish, but worshipped them likewise. As for doves, they seem to have been worshipped as symbols only of lust and fondness, which made up part of their goddess's character (T); but of these we have said enough in this place ^a.

Salambo, as she is called ^b, was also a goddess of the *Affyrians* or *Babylonians*, and is plainly *Astarte*, or any other of the goddesses whom we have shewn to have been the same with her; but we particularly mention *Astarte*, because this *Salambo*, or *Salambas*, is said to have been a demon, or goddess, who was eternally roaming up and down, and mourning her lost *Adonis* ^c, so that we need add nothing farther concerning her. Salambo:

Shach, *Saca*, or *Seshach*, is another god, or goddess, of Sheshach. the *Babylonians*, as usually reckoned ^d, and supposed to have been the earth, and to have been the same the *Romans* after-

^u See before, p. 158. ^w THEON. apud GYRALD. Hist. Deor. Syntagm. i. p. 85 ^x MANIL. ubi sup. ^y DIO-GENET. apud HYGIN. in Astronom. ^z Vid. VOSS. de Idolol. l. 2. p. 254. ^a See before, p. 133, 159, note (P), & p. 174, note (I).
^b HESYCH. apud SELDEN, & Alios, Etymol. Magn. ad vocem.
^c Etymol. Magn. ibid. ^d Vid. VOSS. SELDEN, &c.

(T) This goddess is said to have been produced from a vast egg, which being rolled out of the water by the fish of the *Euphrates*, was hatched by a dove who sat thereon (70). This must be the primigenial egg, mentioned by *Helladius* (71); and according to this, our great goddess must have been the fabulous *Oannes* (72), concerning which we have nothing to repeat. To animadvert upon so strange an inconsistency, as this seems to have been, or to attempt to reconcile the *Affyrian* goddess into the same with *Oannes*, may be a fruitless task.

(70) Nigid. apud VOSS. de Idolol. l. 2. p. 254. (71) See Vol. I. p. 184. (72) Ibid.

wards worshipped under the names of *Tellus* and *Ops* ^c, and it so, she was partly the same with *Mylitta*, or the *Syrian* goddess, whom we have already seen under the title of *Rhea*, and the mother of the gods ^f, in whom all these titles and imaginary deities are said plainly to have centered. However, there is some doubt, whether or no she may not be more properly a *Perjian* goddess than a *Babylonian*; though that she was the latter, may appear to satisfaction from the prophet ^h; who calls *Babylon* the land of *Shephach*, before the *Persians* arose to any thing like the height they afterwards did; and at a time when *Babylon*, to all appearance, had disdained to have received any thing of this nature from them. In commemoration of this goddess, the *Babylonians* were wont to celebrate a festival for several days together, which we shall take notice of among the customs of this people, and which confessedly gave birth to the *Saturnalia* at *Rome*.

Nebo.

Nebo, or *Nabo*, was also an *Affyrian* or *Babylonian* deity ⁱ, and his name is often compounded in those of the *Affyrian* and *Babylonian* kings ^k: he therefore may be concluded to have once been in high account with them, and bids fair to have been one of their most antient gods. He is thought to have been the *Chemosh*, or the *Baal-peor*, of the *Moabites*, and accordingly we have formerly mentioned him in the religion of *Moab* ^l, and said almost as much of him as we know. However, we have to add, that by the prophet he is joined with *Bel* ^m, and supposed generally to have been the sun; and therefore may have been prior to this latter, whom we have asserted to have been the deified *Pul*, the first *Affyrian* ⁿ, who may, by the vicissitude of things, have taken place of him; though there are others who are of another mind, and conceive, that by their being joined together, we are rather to understand him to have been designed for the moon ^o, *Bel* being, for certain, known to have stood for the sun, concluding it to be a senseless tautology to mention the same deity, at the same time under different names; so that, instead of supposing him to have been one with *Bel*, we are rather to conclude him to have been the same with *Mylitta* the great goddess; but this may appear a weak argument to those who perceive how apt these people, and all that followed them, were to multiply

^c WILLET upon Dan. i. 16. ^f See before p. 284, & seq. ^h Vid. SELDEN, de Diis Syr. Syntagm. 2. ⁱ Jerem. xxv. 26. to 41.

^l Isai. xlv. 1. ^k See before, p. 143. ^l See Vol. II. p. 84.

^m Isai. ubi sup. ⁿ See before, p. 186, note (W). ^o Vid. Voss, de Idololat.

one and the same god into many ; and especially if it be recollected, by what steps sabianism or idolatry advanced among these apparently first founders of it, and how, by degrees, it began from the host of heaven till it degenerated, if we may use the expression, into the adoration of men ; till a full stop seems to have been put to this practice, in honour of the great *Affyrian* and *Babylonian* family, who must, for very strong reasons suggested formerly ^p, have eclipsed all that went before them ; so that nothing need prevent our supposing *Nebo* to have been worshipped as the sun before the rise of *Pul*, to whom he may, according to the fantastic theology of this people, have been accounted inferior afterwards. This *Nebo* seems to have been famous as an oracle, his name being interpreted as signifying prophecy or divination ^q ; but all this, and whatever else may be advanced concerning him, is too palpably obscure for us to dilate on ; all we know for certain, is that he was some god of the *Babylonians*.

HOWEVER, if true it be that he was the same with *Che- Sardana- mosh*, or *Baal-peor*, or *Phegor*, and if what is said of the ob- palus. scene rites of this god ^r be just, we have a seeming reason to assert, that the famous, or, as the common tradition goes, infamous *Sardanapalus* took the place of this shameless idol, in the latter days of the *Affyrian* family ; and that, to all appearance, the *Babylonians* converted him into this god, when they destroyed the city of *Nineveh*, and extirpated the kings there. For that he was a god of theirs is evident enough, by the place given him in the same temple with the *Babylonian Venus* at *Hierapolis*, the *Holy City* ^s. We find him there in a particular habit and attitude ^t, but whether or no this attitude was the same we have formerly mentioned ^u, it is certain, that by the traditionary character of him ^w, and as it is likely, that all the kings of *Affyria* to a man were deified after their death, he may very well have served for a god of beastliness and sensuality. And this is plainly understood by the common way of spelling his name, for the most part in ancient manuscripts, which write him *Sardanapallus* with a double L ^x, and seemingly with an obscene intention, for *Phallus*, or *Pallus*, signifies the privities of a man ; and hence *Cicero* pronounces ^y, he was not more odious for his character than this name ; and the *Priap* which stood near him ^z, in

^p See before in the preceding chapter, *passim*. ^q HIERONYM. in Esai. in loc. supr. citat. ^r See Vol. II. p. 82. ^s Ibid. p. 259. ^t Ibid. ^u See before, p. 179, note (O). ^v See before p. 178, 179. ^w Vid. Jos. SCALIG. Animadvers. ad Græc. EUSEB. p. 64. ^y De Repub. l. iii. ^z See Vol. II. p. 257.

the temple of *Hierapolis*, may have been intended for him ; for as there were confessedly two statues of *Semiramis* in this temple ^a, the same may have been with regard to *Sardanapallus*, as we will for this once write him.

Rach.

OTHER gods the *Babylonians* and *Affyrians* had, as *Rach* ^b, who is generally thought to have been intended for the sun, and therefore we may class him under the great *Pul*, or *Belus*, who, as we have seen, was substituted for the same. But a dispute may take place, whether or no he was a deified man or some intelligence, as for example, that of the sun ; and if this latter be the case, he must be removed higher up, as he must have been much more antient than *Belus*. This we leave to the reader, for there is nothing particular besides related of him.

Nego, and
Nergal.

Nego ^c and *Nergal* ^d were also gods of this people, if they were not one and the same ; but as they are generally agreed to have been worshipped as fire, we forbear further mention of them, till we come to the religion of the *Magians*.

Merodach

Merodach ^e also was a god at *Babylon* ; but who or what he was, is quite in the dark to us.

IN a word, we may call in the gods of the several nations, whose histories precede in this work, to complete the list of the *Babylonian* idols ; for they are confessedly sprung from the city of *Babylon* ; and hence it is, that *Maimonides*, in speaking of the death of *Thammuz*, who was slain a martyr to the *Sabian* religion, relates, That all the idols of the world flew to the great temple of the sun at *Babylon*, and there mourned the death of *Thammuz* ^f ; so that we shall not here need to repeat what we have spoken so largely to already.

THUS we have seen, that the great *Jupiters*, and other gods and goddesses of mortal origin, are to be derived from the banks of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, and that instead of being so antient as mythologists and historians make them, they began not above 771 years before the birth of Christ among the *Affyrians*, who first erected themselves into what we call a monarchy ; as is by all confessed, though falsely, for the most part, related.

Fire worship.

THE *Sabians*, as well as the *Magians*, had a veneration for fire, and therefore we might here consider them in that light, did we not reserve that subject for the section where we shall speak of the *Magian* religion, in the history of the *Persians*.

^a Ibid. p. 258. ^b Vid. WILLET ubi sup. S. I. D. de Diis Syr. Syntagn. II. c. 17. ^c Vid. Eosd. ibid. ^d See before, p. 132. ^e Ibid. p. 143. ^f See Vol. II. p. 318.

THE story of *Bel* and the *Dragon* ^a might here claim to be considered, were we not assured that the whole is spurious. We have therefore only to add, that by the *Dragon* here we should understand a *Serpent*, or *Asp* ^b, which the *Babylonians* used as the symbol of God, for which they had several reasons to give, as that this creature without the assistance of limbs, and by a kind of vertue or power latent within himself, could not only move ^c at a considerable rate, but also wind and turn himself into various forms; that he lived to a great age, and, as it were, renewed his life with his coat every year; and that the acuteness of his sight might aptly enough qualify him to represent divine providence, or God ^k. Other reasons were given for this serpent-worship both by the *Babylonians* and the *Egyptians*, but we wave them, and shall only observe, that these same people revered the same reptile as the symbol of health and of prudence, not forgetting also, that they made him the emblem of fraud ^l.

As the *Babylonians* were hardly at all different in religion from the *Egyptians*, but in many articles concurred with them, and particularly in the adoration they paid to fishes ^m, so in other points of worship they were the same with each other. The goat they worshipped as well as the *Mendesians* ⁿ in *Egypt*, and for the same reasons; and the onion, as mean an object as it may seem, was considered with a religious esteem by both the nations ^o, and for a reason, it is most likely, we have already given ^p.

Worship a goat.

THEIR god *Thurras*, *Thourias*, or *Mars*, we have spoken to already ^q; and now refer the reader for the religious rites and ceremonies of this people, besides what we have observed here, and shall relate hereafter, to what we have said of the kind in the religion of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Canaanites*, *Syrians*, *Phœnicians* and *Assyrians*.

WE have a general view given us of their temples, their idols, and their priests, in the epistle of *Jeremy* ^r. Their idols were of gold, and silver, and wood, and carried about in procession, with multitudes attending them before and behind, and worshipping them. They were crowned, and cloathed in purple, and besmeared with the smoke of incense, though they were carefully wiped and cloathed as they wanted it. Their temples were full of smoke and dust,

Their temples, idols, & priests.

^a In the Apocrypha. ^b See Vol. I p. 457. ^c Ibid. ^k Vid. Voss de Idololatr. l. 9. p. 233. ^l Vid. eund. ibid. ^m See Vol. I. p. 446. ⁿ Ibid. p. 453. ^o ALEXAND. ab ALEXAND. l. 6. ^p See Vol. I. p. 460. ^q See before, p. 175, note (K). ^r BARUCH vi. *passim*.

raised and caused by the numerous resort of votaries ; and their priests took care of themselves. They would sometimes make free with the gold and silver presented to their gods, and either keep it for themselves, or bestow it upon lewd prostitutes, who were accounted sacred. Whatever was offered a sacrifice to their gods, they were wont to embezzle, and appropriate to themselves, and cloath their wives and children with the garments that had been given to adorn their idols. In return for this, they were sure to light up numbers of tapers and candles to their images, and to sit in the temples with their beards and their heads close shaven, and uncovered, and with garments rent and torn, and roaring and crying out before their gods, as for the lamentation of some person deceased ; and finally, that their gods and temples might be in no danger of the spoiler, they were sure to lock and bar them up with great care. Such was the corruption and degeneracy of this people, and such their practice, which must have had a very bad effect on their morals, as will appear in the sequel. In the mean time,

*Human
victims.*

THE *Babylonians* having given rise to all the idolatries and superstitions in vogue among the neighbouring nations, we must charge them with the horrible custom of sacrificing human victims to appease or conciliate their god or gods. That this must have been an antient custom with all these people, we have sometimes as good as asserted, in what we have said of them in their religious capacity ; and that it took birth among the *Babylonians*, must be as readily granted, as that they communicated the rest of their superstitions to all their neighbours about. That this was a practice, in early days, in *Mesopotamia* and *Babylonia*, may appear by the attempt *Abraham* made to sacrifice *Isaac*¹, for he came from those parts ; and though he is abundantly to be justified in that attempt, it is seemingly plain that the thing was familiar to him ; But if we had no other proof of it than in *Jephthah*, who, as the story is commonly taken, actually made a victim of his only daughter², that would be sufficient to charge the deed upon the nations of those early times. This custom, however, grew so shocking to human nature, that the priests seem to have been unable to maintain it long in credit, and by degrees it came to be disused, and seems, in the latter days, at least, of the *Babylonians*, to have been confined to a particular sect or tribe. For the *Sepharvites* are said by way of distinction from the other *Babylonians*, to have burnt their

¹ See Vol. II. p. 375.

² See Vol. III. p. 468.

children

children in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim^u. Who these two gods were, we have seen already^w, and that these *Sepharvites* were *Babylonians*, properly so called, appears very plainly, if we can, with the most learned geographers, agree, that their city was that of *Sippara* in *Ptolemy*. However, there are traces of this ancient cruelty to be discerned in the worship and rites of the *Syrian*, or rather *Assyrian* goddesses, at *Hierapolis*, to whom they without remorse made away with their children, by precipitating them down a steep at her temple^x; which is all we need say about it.

To enter into the allegory of all this worship and deification, is what we have above professed to avoid; for the present, and indeed for the future, we shall have no great matter to add to the subject, which we have in general treated already. In the history of the *Egyptians*† we have already declared almost as much as is known, as to the intent and meaning of all this idolatry in a physical or natural view; nor could we expatiate thereon here without a direct repetition of what goes before. We need only observe, that if the *Babylonians*, and others after them, made gods of the sun, the moon, or any other luminary; that if they extended their view to the whole system of nature in the worship they paid to their great deities, or if by them they meant the earth itself, the air, or any other element or created being of any sort or degree, the whole must be attributed to a kind of mistaken gratitude at first for benefits received (V), which at length degenerated into

^u 2 Kings xvii. 31.
99.

^w See before, p. 132, & Vol. I. p.
^x See Vol. II. p. 262.

[†] See Vol. I. p. 443, & seq.

(V) Sir *John Maundeville* (73) has so judiciously summed up the history and progress of idolatry, that, for the curiosity of it, we cannot, though somewhat long, but present it to the reader, in his own words: speaking of a people in *India*, he says, “ Summe
“ of hem worships the sonne, summe the mone, summe the
“ fuyr, summe trees, summe serpentes, or the first thing that thei
“ meten at morwen; and summe worshipen symulacres, and
“ summe ydoles. But betwene symulacres and ydoles is a gret
“ difference. For symulacres ben ymages made afre lyknesse of
“ men, or of wommen, or of the sonne, or of the mone, or of
“ ony best, or of ony kyndely thing: and ydoles is an ymage made
“ of the lewed wille of man, that a man may not finden among
“ kyndely things; as an ymage, that hathe four hedes, on of a

(73) *Voyage and Travels*, c. 15. p. 198.

into every thing that was bad and stupid ; and this shall suffice for the present to have said concerning idolatry, and less than this

“ man, another of an hors, or of an ox, or of sum other best,
 “ that no man hathe seyn afre kyndely disposicioun. And thei
 “ that worschipen symulacres, thei worschipen hem for sum worthi
 “ man, that was sum tyme, as *Hercules* and many othere, that diden
 “ many marvayles in here tyme. For thei seyn wel, that this be not
 “ goddes : for thei knowen wel, that there is a god of kynde, that
 “ made all thinges ; the whiche is in hevene. But thei knowen wel,
 “ that this may not do the marvayles that he made, but zif it had
 “ ben be the specyalle zifte of God : and therfore thei seyn that he
 “ was wel with God. And for be cause that he was so wel with
 “ God, therfore thei worschipe him. And so seyn thei of the sonne ;
 “ be cause that he chaungethe the tyme, and zevethe hete and no-
 “ risschethe alle thinges upon erthe ; and for it is of so gret profite,
 “ thei knowe wel, that that myghte not be, but that God loveth
 “ it more than ony other thing. And for that skylle, God hath
 “ zeven it more gret vertue in the world : therefore it is gode re-
 “ soun, as thei seyn, to don it worschipe and reverence. And so
 “ seyn thei, that maken here resounes, of othere planetes ; and of
 “ the fuyr also, be cause it is so profitable. And of ydoles, thei
 “ seyn also, that the ox is the most holy best, that is in erthe, and
 “ most pacient and more profitable than ony other. For he dothe
 “ good ynow, and he dothe not evylle. And thei knowen wel,
 “ that it may not be with outen specyalle grace of God : and ther-
 “ efore maken thei here god of an ox, the on part, and the other
 “ halfondelle of a man ; be cause that man is the most noble crea-
 “ ture in erthe ; and also for he hathe lordschipe aboven alle bestes ;
 “ therfore make thei the halfendel of ydole, of a man upwardes,
 “ and the tother half of an ox dounwardes : And of serpentes, and
 “ of other bestes, and dyverse thinges, that thei worschipen, that
 “ thei meten first at morwe. And thei worschipen also specially alle
 “ tho that thei han gode meetynge of ; and whan thei speden wel in
 “ here jorneye, afre here meetynge ; and namely suche as thei han
 “ preved and assayed be experience of long tyme. For thei seyn,
 “ that thilke gode meetynge ei may not come, but of the grace of
 “ God. And therfore thei maken ymages lyche to tho thinges, that
 “ thei han beleve inne, for to beholden hem and worschipen hem
 “ first at morwe, or thei meeten ony contrarious thinges. And
 “ there ben also summe cristene men, that seyn, that summe bestes
 “ han gode meetynge, that is to seyn, for to meete with hem first
 “ at morwe ; and summe bestes wykked meetynge : and that thei
 “ han preved ofte tyme, that the hare hath fulle evylle meetynge,
 “ and twyn, and many othere bestes. And the spharhawk, and
 “ other foules of raveyne, whan thei fleen afre here praye, and
 “ take it before men of armes, it is a gode signe : and zif he fayle
 “ of takynge his praye, it is an evylle signe. And also to suche
 “ folk,

this we could not have said in this place, where the whole seems to center, and where the whole, or at least a great part of it, may be fixed to a chronological æra, which may be of use to us hereafter, in speaking of these deities, or some borrowed from them in climes far remote from this.

IT may be now time to speak of the customs of the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*; and of these one of the chief seems to have been their method of disposing of all their young women in marriage. No man seems to have had a right to dispose of his own daughters, but as soon as they were of age fit to marry, they, with others, were exposed in some public place appointed for the purpose, where, in the midst of a crowd of men who attended upon these occasions, they were sold one by one. The most beautiful of them were first put up, and delivered to the highest bidder, and so on. When all that were valuable for their charms were thus disposed of, the money that was raised by this sale, was applied in behalf of some of them, to whom nature had not been so lavish of her exterior gifts. The homely ones were then offered to such as would take the least money with them; and the poorer sort, to whom the use of a little money was more precious than all the beauty of a wife, were as eager in underbidding each other, as the wealthy men had before been in vying for the fair ones. The consequence of this was, that their young women were all disposed of in marriage; the poorer sort of the men only labouring under this particular restriction, that they should give security to take the girls they had consented to, before they were in proper possession of the money they had agreed to take with them².

WHEN a *Babylonian* had lain with his wife, they both sat by hot perfumes, and took care to wash themselves about

² HERODOT. l. i. c. 196. STRAB. l. 16. p. 745.

“folk, it is evylle meetynge of ravenes. In theise thinges, and
 “in such othere, ther ben many folk, that beleeven, be cause it
 “happenethe so often tyme to falle, afre here fantassyes. And
 “also there ben men ynow that han no beleve in hem. And sithe,
 “that cristene men han such beleve, that ben informed and
 “taughte alle day, be holy doctryne where inne thei schold be-
 “leeve, it is no marvaylle thanne, that the *Paynemes*, that han no
 “gode doctryne, but only of here nature, beleeven more largely,
 “for here symplenesse (74).”

(74) *Ibid.*
 L 1

twilight, accounting themselves unclean till they had performed this ceremonious office, and unfit to touch any thing ^a.

Prostitution to Venus.

EVERY *Babylonian* woman was once in her life-time bound to prostitute herself to strange men, at the temple of *Venus*. A number of them sat crowned with knots and garlands at the door of the temple, while some were continually going and others coming. They were so ranged between lengths of line, and parted by the same in such manner, that the men had passage among them, and the convenience of getting at those they best liked. The women having once sat down before the temple, it was unlawful for any one of them to return home, till some stranger had thrown money into her lap, or bosom, and taken her aside; the man, as he threw the money to her, saying, *I implore the goddess Mylitta for thee*. The money, how little soever it might have been, was by no means to be rejected, being accounted sacred; nor had the woman the power of rejecting any man that accosted her in the form prescribed, but she was absolutely to retire with him without delay; and having suffered his embraces, and performed the accustomed rites to the goddess, she returned home; after which no temptation, though ever so great, could procure the enjoyment of her. Those who were handsome were soon dispatched, but those who were not so happy, lingered a long time before they could fulfil the law; so that they sometimes wasted two or three years in a wretched expectation (W). Those who were rich, and scorned to sit with the meaner sort, were conveyed thither in some covered vehicle, and seated therein ^b, while their servants waited their return at some distance.

Festival of Sacca.

FOR five days in one month of every year they celebrated a festival they called *Sacca*, or *Sacca*, during which the servants commanded their masters, one of them being, for the

^a HERODOT. l. i. c. 198. STRAB. *ibid.*
ibid. c. 199. STRABO, *ibid.*

^b HERODOT.

(W) We have this custom, with some additional circumstances, in *Baruch*, (75); *The women, says he, also, with cords about them, sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume; but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken*. From this particular of their cords being broken, it has been supposed they were cords of rushes (76), which might be easily broken.

(75) *vi.* 43.

(76) See *Purch. Pilgr.* l. i. c. 12. p. 65.

time,

time, constituted chief over the house, and wearing a kind of royal garment they called *Zogana* ^c.

THEIR manner of treating their sick was very extraordinary. Having no physicians among them, it was their custom to expose them publicly in the most frequented places, that so every body might see them, and offer their advice, if they had any knowledge of the case, either from their own experience, or from the experience of others; nor was it lawful for any that passed by to omit this office. Their dead they buried in honey and wax, and mourned for them much after the manner of the *Egyptians* ^d. *Manner of treating their sick, and burials*

THE *Babylonians* were excessively credulous, superstitious to the utmost, and as lewd and as debauched as a nation well could be. Their credulity must appear by the esteem their *Chaldæans*, priests, or juglers were in among them, and their superstition must appear by the same, and what we have said of their religion; and so excessively were they prone to idolatry, that we even find an instance of their great *Nebuchadnezzar* falling down before *Daniel* to worship him ^e. Debauchery ran high among them, in which they were justified by the example of their princes, who lived beyond all the bounds of decency and moderation; as we may gather by the banquet *Belsazzar* was giving when he saw the fatal inscription on the wall ^f. Nor was the king's example all, their religion as inculcated by their priests, as we have seen in the rites of their great goddess and others, together with the reverence paid to prostitutes ^g, completed them the most sensual and abandoned race that can be imagined. Parents and husbands would, for money, expose their wives and children to the embraces of their guests. Drunkards they are particularly said to have been, and their women were admitted to their debaucheries. The women, upon those occasions, first appeared modest and reserved, till putting off their cloaths by degrees, they at length appeared quite naked; and this was the practice even with the married women and the maids, who thought it good breeding thus to reveal whatever belonged to them ^h. Such is the character given of the *Babylonians*, and it seems exactly to agree with their religion, which encouraged such monstrous impudence in the women, and shamelessness in the men; though it cannot be supposed, that in the beginning *The Babylonians*

^c BEROS. apud ATHEN. Deipnosoph. l. 14. p. 639. ^d HERODOT. ibid. c. 199. STRABO l. 16. ibid. ^e Dan. ii. 46. ^f Ibid. c. v. ^g See before, p. 262. ^h QUINT. CURT. l. 5. c. 1.

of their empire they were quite so dissolute as here represented.

Their habit.

THEY seem to have indulged themselves in dress as well as in other respects, and to have affected some pride and effeminacy therein; their under garment was a linen vest, down to their heels, over which they had another of woollen, and over all a white mantle, or cloak. They wore their own hair; their heads were adorned with a tiara or mitre, and their bodies were anointed all over¹ with oil of sesame^k. They each of them wore a seal-ring on the finger, and in their hand a wrought staff or sceptre, adorned at the head with some particular ensign, or figure, as an apple, or rose, or lilly, or an eagle, or some such badge, without which it was unlawful to appear with one of these sticks or staves. On their feet they wore a kind of slippers^l. Traces of which may be picked out of the figures remaining at *Persepolis*, as we may observe hereafter.

Learning of the Chaldees.

THIS people was famed for learning, and particularly those of them that were peculiarly called *Chaldeans*, who were, as is said, their priests, their philosophers, astronomers, astrologers, soothsayers, and the like. And in respect of this pretended claim to learning and supernatural knowledge, the *Chaldees* are distinguished quite from the *Babylonians*, and are said to have inhabited a region peculiar to themselves next to the *Arabians* and the *Persian gulf*^m, just where we have placed them. They were divided into several sects, as the *Orcheni*, the *Borsippeni*, and known by other names of distinction, borrowed either from particular placesⁿ, where different doctrines on the same points were held, or from particular persons, who had doctrines peculiar to themselves. Many of their learned men were famous, and known by name among the *Greeks*, as *Adena*, *Nalurian*, *Sudin*, and many others^o.

WE have already considered this tribe as set apart for devotion and superstitious concerns, when just now we spoke of the religion of this people; we are now to speak of them as philosophers only, and of what they taught as such, as well as of their manner of institution.

Had not their learning from the Egyptians.

WE have already seen how they pretended to have first come by their learning^p, and their strange fable concerning their first instructor *Oannes*, who, long before the deluge, came out of the sea, and formed them in the several branches of policy, religion and learning, and particularly explained to

¹ HERODOT. ubi sup. c. 105.

^k STRABO ubi sup. p. 745.

^l HERODOT. STRAB. ibid.

^m STRABO Geogr. l. 16. p. 739.

ⁿ Idem ibid.

^o Idem ibid.

^p See Vol. I. p. 183.

them geometry and astrology; and have observed, that, as the tradition went, he was a monster, partly man and partly fish, and, that by his coming out of the sea he must have been some stranger, that his name might be, with no great violence, derived from a word, which in *Syriac* signifies a *Traveller*, or a *Foreigner*^q; as also that by some circumstances he must have been the same they meant by their *Mylitta*, or great *Venus*^r, and would now add, that by what is said of his inventions and useful communications to men, he may have been considered as the *Egyptian Isis*, or *Osiris*, or both. However this may have been, the report of *Oannes*'s appearance in *Chaldæa* from out of the sea, has given birth to an opinion, that *Osiris* and *Oannes* were at least contemporaries, and that the *Babylonians* had all their learning from the *Egyptians*, and that not much earlier than the days of *Ammon* and *Sesac*, or *Shishak*, whom our author^c will have to have been the same with *Sesostris*, or not long before the days of *David* and *Solomon*. To prove this, he exhibits the authority of several ancient authors, the one^t writing, That the *Egyptian Belus*, the son of *Neptune* and *Libya*, carried colonies from *Egypt* into *Babylonia*, and that, settling upon the banks of the *Euphrates*, he instituted priests with the same privileges as in *Egypt*, and that these were called *Chaldæans*, and were to observe the stars after the manner of *Egypt*; another^u declaring the *Babylonian Belus* had his name from the *Egyptian* of that name, the son of *Libya*. In a word, our author^w concludes, that when *Sabbaco*, the *Ethiopian*, invaded *Egypt*, multitudes of that country fled from him into *Chaldæa*, and carried with them their astronomy, astrology, architecture, and the form of their year, which they preserved in the æra of *Nabonassar*; and as a farther proof of this, he produces the form of the tower or temple of *Belus* at *Babylon*, which was built pretty nearly after the manner of the *Egyptian* pyramids. All this, according to our author's hypothesis, seems plausible enough, but must be confessed to be quite destructive of what we read in scripture, by which the reverse should appear.

BOTH the nations, their very countries, and situations, *Arguments* have, certainly in all respects a very near resemblance of each *to prove it.* other, and an exact parallel might be deduced between them to make it self-evidently appear. We have seen, that they

^q See Vol. I. p. 183, note, (A). ^r See before p. 257, T). ^c Sir Is. NEWT. Chron. of Ant. Kingd. amend. p. 210, 211, & seq. ^t DIODOR. SICUL. l. 1. p. 17. ^u PAUSAN. l. 4. c. 23. ^w Sir Is. NEWT. ubi sup.

were constant rivals with each other for antiquity*, in which the *Babylonians* must have had the preference, according to scripture, where we read, that they kept possession of what we may call the original seat of mankind after the flood; and must have been therefore settled before any of the other nations, who left them behind in *Shinar*, a country which must have been a good deal improved before the dispersion, when all the rest went out in quest of new seats. This historical circumstance may be sufficient to rank them the first of nations, though the *Egyptians* would never allow them that honour; and if these unjustly arrogated the point over them in this respect, why may they not have done the same with regard to others?

THE truth is both these nations have been strangely addicted to fable, and both of them may be fairly questioned in most we know of their pretences to superiority; and are doubtless to be equally disbelieved. But if the *Egyptians* are preferred to the *Babylonians* in any respect by the *Greeks*, it must be attributed to partiality and prejudice, in favour of such near neighbours as they were in comparison; and if not to this, at least, it may be owing to their better acquaintance with the former than with the latter, and to their hearing of the story but on one side. We have at least as good authority to argue in behalf of the *Babylonians*, as can be produced in favour of the *Egyptians*.

THE early transaction of attempting to raise the tower of *Babel*, in the very country of this people, must imply them to have been informed of architecture in those days, and some of the concomitant arts; and as for the learning of either of the nations, it does not seem to have been such as to deserve the contending for; it appearing to have been rather the corruption of human knowledge, than the refinement of it, or, at least, it seems to have been built upon such principles, as were a reproach to sound reason, rather than an honour to the human understanding, and rather calculated to deceive, than to inform; to spread the mists of ignorance, than to clear up the lights of knowledge.

HOWEVER, to turn the tables, we have as good an authority as to the contrary, that the *Egyptians* were instructed in all their knowledge by the *Chaldees*, and namely by *Abraham*†, who was one of this country. This is the tradition of the *Jews*, the *Arabians*, and the *Indians*, which deserves at least as much credit, and even more, with regard to this people, as the pretences of the *Egyptians*, who were

* See before, p. 255. † See Vol. II. p. 383, (Q).

immediately

immediately parties concerned, or of the *Greeks*, who were particularly biassed in their favour. Nor are these orientals unsupported by the traditions of the westerns, according to whom the *Assyrian* or *Babylonian Belus* was the inventor of the sidereal science ^a, and the nation he belonged to the foremost in antiquity for empire and power, and consequently for the arts and learning; and as they derived their instructor *Oannes* from times preceding the deluge ^a, as should seem, and suppose him to have sprung from the primigenial egg; it is seemingly plain, that whatever constructions may have been put upon his appearance from out of the sea, or the derivation of his name, they acknowledged themselves beholden to no nation under the sun for what they pretended to know; and indeed it must be confessed, that by the bulk of what we understand, both by sacred and prophane writers, our author, has here strained things too violently to accommodate them to his hypothesis; but to insist no longer on this doubt, let us take a survey of what the learning was that is so contested.

THEY acquired not their learning in the manner of the *Greeks*, but possessed what they knew by tradition from father to son, and being exempt from all offices or impositions to divert their studies, they had nothing to do but to apply themselves to the instruction they received, which came not from the mouth of a mercenary pedagogue or master. They never departed from what they imbibed, fully satisfied of what they received from their ancestors; and by a tenacious adherence to their point, they became perfectly knowing in what they professed ^b.

Their manner of institution.

SUCH was the manner of their institution, and the tenaciousness of their adherence to what they had received from their fore-fathers, which if true, we need no other proof to assure us, that they made little or no progress, even in the learning they particularly professed, and that so it really was, may be discovered in the sequel.

THEY taught, that the world was eternal; that it never had beginning, and never shall have end; though they acknowledged a divine providence; that the motions of the heavens were not directed by blind chance, or performed spontaneously, but by the guidance and direction of superior agents, or gods. They are universally said to have been the first that cultivated astronomy, and are pretended to have made such progress therein, as to have not only discovered the exact mo-

Their doctrine about the world.

^a See Vol. I. p. 184.
Histor. l. 2. p. 82.

^a Ibid.

^b Diodor. Sicul. Bibl.

tions of the heavenly bodies, but also to have found out certain influences they have over things below, and to have thence been able to foretel what was hidden in the womb of futurity ^c.

They were more astrologers than astronomers. By this it appears, that whatever advances they made as astronomers, they were more particularly valuable, if we may so express ourselves, as astrologers. From this delusive amusement, they boasted a knowledge of what was to come, to a power of averting of evil, and the procuring of good; hence chiefly they were considered as magicians, and, as we call them, fortune-tellers ^d.

THE planets they called *Interpreters*, and made the greatest account of their influence, and particularly, as we are told, of that we call *Saturn*; the next in degree of eminence with them was *Sol*, or the sun, *Mars*, *Venus*, *Mercury*, and *Jupiter*; six in all, which were all the planets they reckoned; These they called *Interpreters*, as by their motions and aspects they, in a more evident manner, portended the will and pleasure of the gods. They sometimes judged by their rising, and sometimes by their setting, and sometimes by the colour or degree of their light; whence they foretold storms of wind, or of rain, or exceeding droughts; as also the appearance of comets, eclipses of the sun and moon, earthquakes, and the whole train of pretended fore-runners of the good or bad fortune of nations in general, and of kings and private persons in particular ^e.

The system of their astrology. UNDER these six planets they ranged 30 stars, which they called *Counselling Gods*; and half of these they allotted to take notice of what was done under the earth; and the other half to take cognizance of what was done by men, or transacted in the heavens. And they gave out, that once in ten days one of the superior of these stars descended to the inferior, as it were a messenger from those above; and that in return one of the inferior ascended to the superior in the same nature; and that this their mutual correspondence was natural to them, and to continue for ever. They reported, that the chief of these *Counselling Gods* were 12 in number, and assigned to each of them a month of the year, and a whole sign of the zodiac ^f.

ALL these stars they gave out to have influences over the nativities of men, and to forbode whatever is to befall them of evil, or happen to them of good, in the course of their lives. Again, out of the zodiac they selected 24 stars, and

^c Idem ibid.^d Idem ibid.^e Idem ibid.^f Idem ibid.

placed 12 of them towards the north pole, and 12 towards the south. Those of them within our sight they assigned to the living, and those not within it they called the stars or *Constellations of the Dead*; and these stars they termed the judges of all things: In short, the *Chaldæans* were complete astrologers, and pretended to excell all other nations therein ^g.

THEIR astronomy, which ought to have taken place of *Deficient* the former, in respect of its dignity above it, must yield its *in astron-* rank here, it being seemingly what they cultivated as a science *my*. secondary to the other; and accordingly we find it to have been quite coarse and plain. They had notions, that the earth was like a vessel or boat, and that it was hollow within; and had a way of supporting this doctrine by various arguments ^k.

WE have seen their division of the zodiac into 12 signs, throughout which they taught that the several planets performed their revolutions: But they seem to have had no notion of the immense distance of some of the planets from the sun, and accounted for the time they took up in their revolutions, purely by the tardiness of their motion; though, by their theory of the moon, the contrary should appear, for they taught, that she compleated her course the soonest of any, not because of her extraordinary velocity, but because her orbit, as we now speak, was less than the orbit of any other body that circumsolved in the heavens. They taught, that she shone with a light not her own, and that when she was eclipsed she was immersed in the shadow of the earth. But for eclipses of the sun they were quite out and extravagant, nor could fix the time when they would happen ^l. In short, the whole of their philosophy and learning seems to have been chiefly what we now call judicial astrology; a science, falsely so called, as much contemned with us, as it was prized by the antients.

NOR has this boasted knowledge and learning of the *Chal-* *Their boast* *ed learning* *condemned.* *dees* been arraigned by the moderns only; it has also been condemned by the antients, as inconsistent with the nature of things, and as implying a fatal necessity, and destroying the freedom of our will ^k. And this was the mighty learning for which the *Chaldæans* were so famed, as to be denominated, as it were, a distinct nation from the *Babylonians* for the sake of it; and indeed from scripture we gather they were no better; for *Danial*, speaking of them, divides them into four sorts or kinds, as magicians, astrologers, forcerers, and *Chaldæ-*

^g Idem ibid. ^h Idem ibid. ⁱ Idem ibid. ^k Vid. BARDISAN. apud EUSEB. Præpar. Evangel. l. 6. c. 10. p. 273. & ALIOS apud eund ibid.

ans ¹, adding afterwards to these wise-men, or such as divined by lots, and soothsayers or such as foretold events by the inspection of entrails ^m. And though there are those who suppose the *Chaldæans*, as here distinguished from the five other sorts, to have been a sect peculiar to themselves, and to have been of deeper and more solid learning ⁿ; we may easily perceive, that they, as well as the rest, pretended to divination, and that they were called upon, as well as the rest, to discover what was hidden to other men. Whence we may safely conclude, that they all in their several ways were so many oracles, and that they were all devoted to the same end, however they may have been divided as to the means and methods of attaining thereto; so that seemingly these *Babylonians* had their science branched out amongst them, much after the manner the *Egyptian* physicians had theirs ^o. Their learning must have been made up entirely of superstitious practices, and delusive arts, and if any better they had, they must have concealed it under such ænigmas, and far-fetched resemblances and allegories, as must have rendered it quite a secret even to themselves, who, considering that they are said from father to son to have received implicitly whatever was taught them, may have been as little able to explain what was really intended by their doctrines, as others were to conceive them to any solid purpose; and it seems not to have been without good reason, that many ^p of latter times have made slight of them as philosophers, and concluded, that the *Greeks* were in this respect little, if at all, beholden either to them or the *Egyptians*.

Babylonians in distinction from Chaldæes; their arts.

As the *Chaldæes* were peculiarly the men of learning among this nation, so the *Babylonians*, properly so called, were the men of art; though perhaps we shall have more reason to call these the men of learning among them than the former, if true it be that they were wholly addicted to, and set apart for, the sidereal consultations, and the propagation of the extravagancies, which must, as should seem, have made up the system of their philosophy. For in this case the *Babylonians*, as distinguished from the *Chaldæans*, must have been good mathematicians and mechanics, as must appear by the immense buildings they reared, and which could not be effected without great skill in the several branches of the mathematics and in geometry. This we may say in general; but to say how far, or how far not, they excelled in perspective and the true

¹ Dan. ii. 2.

^m Ibid. ver. 27.

ⁿ PURCH. Pilgr. l. i. c.

12. p. 63.

^o See Vol. I. p. 473.

^p CÆL. RHODOG.

JOSEPH. SCALIG. PEUCER. &c. &c.

harmony of proportion, may not be quite so easy a matter, though that their ornaments and decorations fell short of what was afterwards seen in *Greece*, can never be doubted.

This may be plain to any body that has seen the representations of the ruins of *Persepolis*, which must certainly have been built in the *Babylonian* manner, which, how far it was beneath the *Grecian* for elegance and proportion, may be more properly considered, when we come to speak of the *Grecian* architecture, and to compare it with that of the *Egyptians* and this people, who, it is certain, were more ambitious of being vast in their performances of this nature than exquisite. And hence we may pronounce, that their paintings and statues, however gaudy, rich, and colossean, were nothing to compare with the same that took birth with the *Grecian* artists.

MUSIC they had, but in what perfection we must never hope to know; nor would it be worth our while to labour in so unfruitful a field. But that they had a variety of instruments among them, we are well assured; for we read, that they had flutes, cornets, harps, sackbuts, psalteries, dulcimers, and *all kinds of music* ⁹. What these instruments exactly were, no body will ever know; but if we may judge of their skill in harmony, by what we can discover of their painting and statuary, we must not equal them with the *Grecians* in the harmonic science. *Music.*

THEIR poetry we have nothing to say to; but must leave the reader to form his judgment of it, by that of the other eastern nations their neighbours, both antient and modern. Nor do we pretend to say by whom it was particularly cultivated, whether by the *Chaldeans* or the *Babylonians*; but as it has at all times been sacred to religion and superstition, we may suppose the former, as priests, laid claim thereto as a part of their province. *Poetry.*

PHYSIC we have declared to have been no regular science among this people, in what we have said of their manner and custom of treating the sick; though that the same as a science grew into vast repute with the *Persians* their successors, will be observed when it comes properly in turn. *Physic.*

WE have already declared, there is no more difference between the *Syriac* and the *Chaldee*, the language of this people, than between the *English* and the *Scotch* ^r. Their common alphabet we have already given ^c; and as for the *Mendeian* character, which is also peculiar to them, it is not only what we may call modern, but also so nearly like the *Language.*

⁹ Dan. iii. ver. 5.—15. ^r See Vol. II. p. 266. ^c See Vol. III p. 406.

Estrangelo of the *Syriac*^t, that we have thought it unnecessary to insert it. *Bochart*^u supposes they had a sacred character as well as the *Egyptians*, but upon a very unsatisfactory foundation.

Architec-
ture.

THE *Babylonians*, properly so called, were great architects, and ingenious in the casting of metals, and great workmen and contrivers, as will be particularly remarked when we come to speak of their great city of *Babylon*; and therefore it may be needless to expatiate thereon in this place, when we have reserved another, where we intend to do them sufficient honour for their great labour and industry in these respects, wherein they will be observed to have fallen short of no one nation under the sun; and in which they, perhaps in great measure, shewed the way to every nation besides.

Manufac-
tures and
fine linen.

NOR were they less famous for their manufactures, and particularly for their rich embroideries, sumptuous vestments, and magnificent carpets, and fine linen; insomuch that we read of *Cato*, that he immediately sold a *Babylonian* cloak or mantle, which was left to him by inheritance, as being what he was ashamed to wear^w; and elsewhere, that at *Rome* there had been paid for a suit of *Babylonian* hangings for a dining-room six thousand four hundred and fifty eight pounds six shillings and eight pence^x. It were to no purpose to quote authors for further instances of this magnificence, which is known to a proverb; or to aim at a detail of the several products of their industry: we would only add, that the *Babylonians*, as well as the *Tyrians*, had their purple, which they sent into the eastern parts by way of traffic^y. This purple they had from a port called *Apologus* near the *Euphrates*^z; but as it is disputed, whether or no this was what may be called a discovery among them, and whether they were not before used to supply themselves therewith from *Tyre*^a, we shall not insist thereon, any further than to take notice, that their country afforded the best material of its sort for dying, meaning alom, both natural and artificial^b.

Particular
tribes.

THIS people was not only divided into two great tribes, the *Babylonians* and *Chaldeans* properly so called; there seems to have been other subordinate tribes or sects of them. Three

^t See Vol. II. p. 267. ^u Canaan c. 17. col. 773. ^w PLUTARCH. in vita Catonis. ^x PLIN. Hist. Natur. l. 8. c. 48. See ARBUTH. of anc. coins, weights, and measures, p. 142. ^y ARRIAN. Periplus Mar. Eryth. in minor. HUDSON, Vol. II p. 20, 21. ^z Idem ibid. ^a Vid. BOCHART. PHALEG. c. 7. col. 28. ^b Vid. eund. ibid.

of these are said to have fed upon nothing but fish^c, and thereby seem to have infringed a sacred law among them, in reverence of their great goddess, for whose sake the *Babylonians* seem to have abstained therefrom. Thus we have seen, that some of the *Egyptians* worshipped the fish which others of them fed upon. However it may not have been upon a religious principle that this people departed from the rest of their countrymen; and the rather as it seems to be imputed to necessity^d, these tribes living among the fens, and being destitute of corn; to supply the want of which, it was their custom to dry their fish in the sun, which they afterwards made into paste, and having baked it ate it by way of bread^e. Something yet more extraordinary than this we are told of the inhabitants of *Barsippa*, where the bats being much larger than usual in other places, they were used to salt them for food^f; and this, whether it proceeded from any superstition or want, which last seems a little hard to believe in so plentiful a country as this must have been, we leave undecided.

THE trade of this antient people is no where, that we know *Commerce*, of, professedly treated of; but that it must have been very considerable, is not in the least to be doubted, and especially when *Babylon* was in the meridian of her glory; whosoever contemplates the splendor of this monarchy, and the commodious situation of this country in general, and its capital in particular, cannot doubt, but commerce must here have flourished to a very eminent degree. *Babylon* was situated, as it were, in the very midst of the old world, and by means of the two great rivers, the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, had very easy communication with the western and northern parts, as also with the eastern by the means of the *Persian* gulf. In a word, it may, either by land or by water, have had easy commerce with all the points of the compass; and as it was not only the seat of a potent monarchy, but also afforded many productions and manufactures of its own to exchange with its neighbours round about, and lay so within the reach of them all, it is not to be doubted, but that trade was as extensive here as ever it was any where. Whether the *Babylonians* were famous for shipping of their own is pretty much in the dark; though it cannot well be disputed, but they must have been considerable as navigators; the same is hinted at (X),
and

^c HERODOT. l. i. c. 200. ^d STRAB. l. 16. p. 746. ^e HERODOT. ubi. sup. ^f STRAB. ubi sup. p. 739.

(X) Besides what might be gathered to prove this point in the
Prophets,

and as *Babylon* was so much *a city of waters*, as the prophet expresses himself, it is but natural to conclude, that they very much abounded in shipping of their own.

S E C T. III.

The Chronology of the BABYLONIANS, from the first Rise of the Monarchy, to its Dissolution.

WE are here to consider the *Babylonians* in two very different views ; first, as composing a small, though perhaps a formidable, kingdom, immediately after the deluge, the chronology of which we have already settled as exactly as the nature of the thing will bear ^e ; and secondly, as constituting a potent and wide-spreading empire, founded by and at last rising upon the ruins of the *Assyrians*, their brethren ^h ; so that in effect we are here only to look back to the early times of the *Assyrian* monarchy, of which this was a collateral branch, and possessed, as should seem, by princes of the same blood with those who filled the throne of *Nineveh*. We may refer the reader back to what we have said, in the

^e See Vol. I. p. 278.

^h See before, p. 217, & seq.

Prophets, the book of *Revelations* (77^e), describing the fall of *Babylon*, has these words, which at once display the mighty riches of this city as an emporium, and convince they must have abounded in shipping ; *Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen — The merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her, for no man buyeth her merchandise any more : The merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyine, or sweet-wood, and all manner of vessels of ivory, and all manner of vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble, and cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men. — The merchants of these things which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off, for the fear of her torment, weeping, and wailing, and saying, Alas ! alas ! that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls — And every ship-master, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off, and cried — Alas ! alas ! that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea, by reason of her costliness — is — made desolate* (78).

(77) *xviii.* 2. ——— 19.

(78) *Ibid.*

chronology

chronology of the *Assyrians*, to satisfy himself concerning the chronology of this people; for they properly took rise in one and the same person, meaning *Pul* king of *Assyria*, and nearly at one and the same time. But not to anticipate what may be more properly insisted on hereafter in the course of this section, we shall proceed to distinguish the kingdom of *Babylon* from the kingdom of *Assyria*, and to exhibit, according to our custom, a series of the kings of *Babylon*, according to several authors.

A TABLE of the Successions of the Babylonian Kings, according to Ptolemy's Astronomical Canon and the Ecclesiastical Account.

According to the most correct copies of *Ptolemy's* canon. According to the ecclesiastical account in *Syncellus*.

	Years.		Years.
1 <i>Nabonassar</i> reigned	14	1 <i>Nabonassar</i> or <i>Salmanassar</i> reigned	25
2 <i>Nadius</i> - - - -	2	2 <i>Nabius</i> - - - -	8
3 <i>Chinzirus</i> and <i>Porus</i>	5	3 <i>Chinzerus</i> and <i>Porus</i>	5
4 <i>Jugæus</i> - - - -	5	4 <i>Illulæus</i> - - - -	5
5 <i>Mardoc-Empadus</i> -	12	5 <i>Mardocempadocus</i>	12
6 <i>Arkianus</i> - - - -	5	6 <i>Arceanus</i> - - - -	5
7 Inter-reign I. - -	2	7 Inter-reign I. - -	2
8 <i>Belibus</i> - - - -	3	8 <i>Belithus</i> - - - -	3
9 <i>Apronadius</i> - - -	6	9 <i>Aporanadisus</i> - -	6
10 <i>Rigébelus</i> - - - -	1	10 <i>Iregiballus</i> - - -	1
11 <i>Mesessimordacus</i> -	4	11 <i>Messisimordacus</i> -	4
12 Inter-reign II. - -	8	12 Inter-reign II. - -	8
13 <i>Affar-Addinus</i> - -	13	13 <i>Isarindinus</i> - - -	13
14 <i>Saosduchéus</i> - - -	20	14 <i>Saosduchius</i> - - -	9
15 <i>Chyniladanus</i> - -	22	15 <i>Cineladanus</i> - - -	14
16 <i>Nabopallasarus</i> - -	21	16 <i>Napobalasar</i> - - -	21
17 <i>Nabcolassar</i> - - -	43	17 <i>Nabuchadonosor</i> his son	43
18 <i>Ilvarodamus</i> - - -	2	18 <i>Ebidan Merodach</i> -	5
11 <i>Niricassolassar</i> - -	4	19 <i>Nireglesarus</i> or <i>Baltasar</i>	3
20 <i>Nabonadius</i> - - -	17	20 <i>Nabonadius</i> , or <i>Astyages</i> , or <i>Darius</i> , or <i>Assuerus</i> , or <i>Artaxerxes</i> - - -	17

The era of
Nabonaf-
sar.

THIS table contains on the one side a genuine and most correct copy of *Ptolemy's* astronomical canon (Y), and on the other a corruption of it. We shall not here enquire into the differences between these two lists, or the liberty the author of this ecclesiastical account has taken with his original, which we may occasionally consider under the reigns of these kings. *Syncellus*, whence we have taken this ecclesiastical computation, has under the same head another, the authors of them being *Africanus* and *Eusebius*¹. We shall therefore have little to do here; few arguments can be wanting, and indeed none can be necessary, to prove the first rise and duration of the *Babylonian* empire, which is so happily ascertained to our hands by *Ptolemy*, whose canon is so exactly agreeable to scripture history, that if this latter could possibly stand in need of confirmation as to the historical parts of it, so far as it relates to the history of the great empires of the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, nothing could be so effectual towards it as this canon, which has given birth to one of the most famous prophane æra's, that of *Nabonassar* the first king in it, and without which there would be the most palpable darkness over the affairs of these people. Nothing is more surprizing, than that this most noble monument should have been so little examined, by the light naturally reflected on it from the sacred pen-men, as not to have extricated the whole body of chronologers and historians from out of the labyrinth they have almost all bewildered themselves in, misled by the extravagancies of one fabulous *Greek* writer, who has been blindly followed by the antients, and unnaturally by the christian moderns. This canon takes date from about the 23d year of *Pul's* first appearance on this side of the *Euphrates*, about the year 2252 after the flood, according to our computation, and 747 years before Christ; which shews the kingdom of *Babylon* to have been immediately of *Assyrian* origin, according to the prophet *; *Behold the land of the Chaldæans; this people was not till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness; they set up the towers*

¹ Vid. Can. Chron. SÆCUL. xvii.

* Hai. xxiii. 13.

(Y) This canon was particularly rectified from a manuscript in the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford*, and sent by Dr. *Overal*, dean of *St. Paul's*, to *Seth Calvisius*, and first published, with *Ptolemy's Hypothesis*, by Dr. *Bambridge* (79), professor of the mathematics at *Oxford* (80).

(79) Vid. Gregor. *Posthum. de æra & Epoch. c. 7. p. 149.*
(80) Vid. *Marla. Can. Chron. Sæcul. 17.*

thereof,

thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof. The kingdom of *Babylon* was then founded by the *Assyrians*. This is so plain, that it may be needless to multiply words in proof of it, especially after what we have said in the chronology of *Assyria*, which tends directly to make it appear.

Ptolemy, we may perceive, could discover no king of *Babylon* older than *Nabonassar*, and therefore begins with him; and scripture mentions no king of *Assyria* before *Pul*, who appeared on this side of the *Euphrates* about 23 years before the first year of the canon; and as *Nabonassar* is an *Assyrian* name, most evidently compounded of *Nebo-atdan-assur*, we may be certain, that he was the son or grandson of *Pul*, who upon his death divided his monarchy between his children. This is a most evident point, and abundantly helps us to understand what the prophet means in the text above; and without which it is impossible to understand how the *Assyrians* should have founded the land of the *Chaldees*. This kingdom of *Babylon* being then of *Assyrian* extraction, and considered as a sister kingdom with *Assyria*, and being a natural branch of it, we have nothing here to add to what we have already urged, except that we can fix the date of it with somewhat more certainty than that of the *Assyrian* empire, which we could have no notice of till the first appearance of *Pul* in the west. It may begin then with us in the 24th year of *Pul*'s appearance to the westward of the *Euphrates*, 2252 years after the flood, and 747 years before Christ: It ends 2462 years after the flood, and 537 years before Christ. So that its whole duration was no more than 210 years complete; to which if we add the 23 or 24 years of *Pul* before the date of this canon, we shall have a number not exceeding 234 for the years of the duration of the great *Assyrian* family; whether at *Nineveh* or at *Babylon*, with respect to what we know of the rise of these kingdoms; and that *Nineveh*, which is confessedly the oldest, did not much exceed this number, must appear to any one that gives himself the trouble to recollect what we have so amply observed in the third, fourth, and fifth sections of the preceding chapter.

THE *Chaldees*, we are told, were founded by the *Assyrian*; and, by the undoubted authorities of scripture and *Ptolemy*'s astronomical canon, this *Assyrian* can have been no other than *Pul*. If any one can prove the existence of another *Assyrian* conqueror or founder before him, we shall be very ready to congratulate him upon the discovery. The canon itself directs us when to date the fall of the *Babylonian* empire, meaning the 18th year of *Nabonadius*; though according to the canon he reigned but 17 years; for every king's

reign there begins with the last Thoth of his predecessor's reign.

S E C T. IV.

The History of the Babylonians.

BEFORE we enter upon the history of this people, as constituting a wide and most famous monarchy, we must just take a retrospect of their first establishment as a kingdom, which is vainly given out to have existed before the deluge. In doing of this, we have little more than to remind the reader, that we have already exhibited the antediluvian princes of this part, according to the several authors, and that we have already said as much of its first founder *Nimrod* as we have been able to collect. We have therefore now nothing that remains, but to declare who are said to have been his immediate successors in this infant kingdom, a list of which we have transcribed.

A T A B L E of the Kings of Babylon, that immediately succeeded Nimrod.

According to <i>Eusebius</i> .		According to <i>Syncellus</i> .	
	Years.		Years.
1 <i>Evechoos</i> or <i>Nimrod</i> reigned . . .	6	1 <i>Evchoüs</i> or <i>Nimrod</i> } reigned . . .	6
2 <i>Chomasbolus</i> . . .	7	2 <i>Chosmabolus</i> . . .	7
3 <i>Porus</i> . . .	35	3 <i>Porus</i> . . .	35
4 <i>Nechobes</i> . . .	43	4 <i>Nechubes</i> . . .	43
5 <i>Abios</i> . . .	48	5 <i>Abius</i> . . .	48
6 <i>Oniballus</i> . . .	40	6 <i>Oniballes</i> . . .	40
7 <i>Zinzirus</i> . . .	45	7 <i>Zinzirus</i> . . .	45
	224		224

OUR authors, we see, perfectly agree as to these kings who are called the dynasty of the *Chaldees*, and indeed, in this case, *Syncellus* has faithfully copied *Eusebius*. This dynasty, which lasted no more than 224 years, was no sooner expired, than the *Arabians* became uppermost, and produced a race of six kings at *Babylon*. This *Arabian* dynasty lasted 216 years, and the two dynasties together 440 years.

The

The whole interval, as we have stated it, between the first of the reign of *Nimrod* and the call of *Abraham*, is 646 years. This *Arabian* dynasty then expired 206 years before the call of *Abraham*, and was succeeded by the *Assyrian* dynasty, beginning with *Belus* and ending with *Sardanapalus*, as we have given it in the chronology of the *Assyrians**. The *Assyrians* must then have erected their monarchy long before the call of *Abraham*, and the same must have continued at least a thousand years after him, without any intermission, according to the most common accounts, which may be sufficiently disproved by this one argument. Besides there can be well no doubt, but these *Arabian* kings were, according to scripture, of the country of *Elam* or *Persia*; for under *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, we find *Amraphel* king of *Shinar*, the undoubted *Babylonia*, warring upon the kings of the *Canaanites*; we may then as good as satisfy ourselves, that this *Arabian* dynasty, as it is called, subsisted after the call, when *Abraham* rescued his brother *Lot* from them; so that hence it may appear, that if any people can claim to have been properly the first monarchy, the *Elamites* or *Persians* are the people, as we shall observe in its proper place.

FROM the year of the flood 431, or from its foundation, *First kingdom of Babylon*, we have no certain notice of any thing relating to this kingdom, except that, about 600 years afterwards, there was a bylon, king of it called *Amraphel*, who warred under the king of *when Elam*¹. This is all we have to say concerning these early *founded*. times of this antient kingdom, except we adopt the *Ctesian* *Amraphel* accounts of *Semiramis*, who, according to him, must be called the foundress of *Babylon*; and that is what we need not repeat.

HOWEVER, we cannot but take notice, that the series we have given of the *Assyrian* kings, as they stand in *Eusebius* and *Syncellus*, is reckoned as the third dynasty of the *Chaldeans* or *Babylonians*, and called the *Assyrian*; but concerning this we must refer the reader to our chronology of the *Assyrians*, where we hope he will meet with what may satisfy him of the little weight this succession of dynasties ought to have with him.

ACCORDING to this method of arrangement, the kings in *Ptolemy's* canon should be called the fourth dynasty of the orientals, and distinguished by the title of the *Babylonian*; but this we must reject as built upon no tolerable foundation, and especially with us, who distinguish, so widely as we do,

* See before, p. 138, & seq.

N n 2

See Vol. II. p. 361.

between

between the antient kingdom of *Babylon* and the monarchy or empire of the same.

We have now brought all the history we know of this people down to the æra of *Nabonassar*; but before we begin with that genuine race of princes, who are the only kings of *Babylon* we can possibly acknowledge, from the days of *Amraphel* above to the said *Nabonassar*, we must relate what is fabulously reported of the man, who, according to some prophane authors, must be accounted the first king of *Babylon*.

The story of HE is by some called *Belesis* ^m, and by others *Nanybrus* ⁿ,
Belesis, or and both affect to give us an extraordinary story of him, which
Nanybrus will be almost all we shall be able, in these authors, to find concerning the *Babylonian* empire, till it was put to an end.

UNDER the name of *Belesis*, this first prince is represented as a crafty and a mean-spirited knave, and as nothing less than a hero. It is said he was base enough to circumvent *Arbaces*, his colleague and friend, in the most shameful manner, by pretending a vow he had, in the midst of the war, made to his god *Belus*, That if success was the event of it, and the palace of *Sardanapalus* was consumed, as it was, he would be at the charge and trouble of removing the ashes that were left to *Babylon*, and there heap them up into a mount near the temple of his god; there to stand as a monument, to all who should navigate the *Euphrates*, of the subversion of the *Assyrian* empire. He, it seems, had been privately informed, by an eunuch he kept close up to himself, of the immense treasure which had been consumed in the conflagration of the palace at *Nineveh*, and knowing it to be a secret to *Arbaces*, he was tempted to forge this pretence. His request was granted him, the ashes were given to him, to do with them as he would; and not only so, but *Arbaces* constituted him king of *Babylon*, with an exemption from all tribute. *Belesis*, by this artifice, carried a prodigious treasure with him to *Babylon*; but when the secret was discovered, he was called to an account for it, and tried by the other chiefs who had been assistant in the war, and who, upon his confession of the crime, condemned him to the loss of his head. But *Arbaces*, a magnificent and generous prince, freely forgave him, left him in possession of the treasure, and also in the independent government of *Babylon*, saying, The good he had done ought to serve as a vail to his crime; and thus he became at once a prince of great wealth and dominion^o.

^m See before, p. 181. ⁿ NICOL. DAMASC. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 424. ^o CRIS. apud DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. p. 78.

IN process of time, and under the successor of *Arbaces*, he became a man of dress and shew, and effeminacy, unworthy of the kingdom or province he held. *Nanybrus*, for so we must now call *Belesis*, understanding a certain robust *Mede*, called *Parsondas*, held him in the utmost contempt, and had solicited the emperor of the *Medes* to divest him of his dominions, and to confer them upon himself, offered a very great reward to the man who should take *Parsondas* and bring him to him. *Parsondas*, hunting somewhere near *Babylon* with the king of the *Medes*, and straggling from the company, happened at length to fall in with some of the servants of the *Babylonian Nanybrus*, who had been tempted with the promised reward. He had been all the day at his exercise, and being very thirsty, and these servants being purveyors to the king of *Babylon*, he asked them for a draught of wine, and they, knowing him, very readily plyed him therewith, and not only so, but prevailed upon him to stay and eat a meal with them. *Parsondas*, who was thoroughly fatigued, thankfully accepted the offer, and sending the prey he had taken to his king, he indulged himself in what was laid before him, and especially in some rich wines, which were plentifully poured out on purpose to inebriate him. *Parsondas* quite flustered called for his horse, that he might go to the king of the *Medes* where he was encamped, but instead of his horse they brought him some beautiful women, and desired he would pass the night with them, and defer his departure till the light of the next morning. He consented, and being sated with his pleasures, and fallen into a profound sleep, they rushed upon him in the midst of the night, bound him, and carried him off to *Nanybrus*; who no sooner saw him, than he began to expostulate with him for his subdolous attempts to displace him in *Babylon*, without any the least offence given on his part, that should make him an enemy. In the end, *Parsondas* resolutely declared, That he thought himself to be more worthy of the dominion, than so indolent and effeminate a prince as he was; which the other taking into high disdain, and reflecting on him for the manner in which he had suffered himself to be surprised by his servants, vowed he would make him as soft, and as tender, and as delicate as any body ^P.

HAVING thus sworn by the gods *Belus* and *Molis*, [or *My-litta* as it should be] he called for the eunuch who had charge of his music girls, and ordered him to shave him, and smooth, and paint him, and dress him just after the manner of those girls, and to see that he learned their art, and by all the means and methods possible to transform him into one of

^P NICOL. Damasc. ubi sup.

them;

them; so that in a very short time *Parsondas* was quite effeminated, and became more delicate than the fairest female of them all, and exceeded them all in singing, and playing, and the other arts of allurements; and whoever saw him at the entertainments the king gave, not only pronounced him a woman, but the most beautiful of the train in waiting ⁴.

THE king of the *Medes*, *Artæus* it seems by name, had in vain sought after his favourite companion *Parsondas*, and in vain offered rewards to whoever should produce him alive or dead, and hearing no news of him gave himself up to grief for his faithful servant, concluding, he had been destroyed by some wild beast in the chase when he lost him. At length, after seven years, it happened, that an eunuch having been most cruelly scourged and beaten by *Nanybrus's* order, *Parsondas* took the opportunity of the man's discontent, and with great promises, prevailed on him to fly to the king of the *Medes*, and to make known to him his metamorphosis. The eunuch went and told what he was ordered, and the king of the *Medes* no sooner heard it, than he was moved with the highest indignation. Immediately he dispatched an officer to *Nanybrus* to demand *Parsondas*; but when the officer arrived at *Babylon*, he denied, that he had ever known any thing of any such person. This answer being carried back to the *Mede*, he sent a more resolute and robust officer, than the former, with letters commanding *Nanybrus*, without delay or reserve, to send him the man whom he had shamefully debased and confined among his eunuchs and music girls, or to expect the sudden loss of his head; and ordered the officer, if he persisted in the denial to bind him with his sash or girdle, and to lead him to immediate execution. *Nanybrus*, scared at this, and consulting his own safety, promised to deliver up the man, though he could abundantly justify himself with the king of the *Medes* for what he had done in this respect. He then entertained the officer at table, and the dishes were no sooner placed before them, than 150 women, among whom *Parsondas* was, made their appearance, singing and playing upon various instruments; but *Parsondas* was more charming to the eye and to the ear by far than any of the rest; and accordingly *Nanybrus* inquiring of the *Mede* which he liked best? he immediately pointed at *Parsondas*. The *Babylonian* at this clapt his hands; and fell into an immoderate fit of laughter; and asking his guest, whether or no he should be willing to pass his night with his favourite? and he declaring his desire that the thing might be so; *Nanybrus* told

⁴ Idem, ibid.

him he could not possibly grant it: Why then did you ask me the question, said the *Mede*? *Nanybrus* paused a while, at last, This, says he, is the *Parsondas* you want. The officer was astonished, and incredulous of what he heard, till at last the *Babylonian*, convincing him that what he told him was fact, alledged, that what he had done with *Parsondas* he could answer for before the king of the *Medes*. *Artæus*, wondering at the prodigious alteration he saw in *Parsondas*, asked him, how it had been possible for him to live so long under such a load of infamy? *Parsondas* pleaded necessity, and the desire he had to see his face again, as also to live to see himself revenged; and begged of all things that he would take revenge for him accordingly. *Artæus* promised him fair, and *Parsondas* recovered himself to his former masculine habit and appearance^r.

Artæus came to *Babylon* attended by *Parsondas*, who was continually calling upon him for justice; but when *Nanybrus* appeared before the king, he pleaded his cause with great resolution, urging that *Parsondas*, towards whom he never was guilty of the least offence, would subdolously and barbarously have procured his death, that so he might succeed him in the kingdom of *Babylon*. The king of the *Medes* observed, that this was but a weak argument in him, who had presumed to act as judge in his own cause, and inflict punishments in his own right, instead of appealing to him, and submitting to what he should have seen to have been most proper to be done in the case; and in short, declared, that in ten days time he would pass the sentence on him he had deserved^c.

Nanybrus, terrified at this, repairs to an eunuch called *Mitraphernes*, who was in greatest favour with the king of the *Medes*, and promised him 10 talents of gold, 100 talents of silver, 10 golden cups, 200 of silver, and a great quantity of fine cloathing, if he would but stand his friend. As for the king of the *Medes* himself, he made him by this eunuch, at the same time, an offer of 100 talents of gold, 1000 talents of silver, 100 golden goblets, 300 of the same in silver, innumerable vestments, and other rich gifts, if he might but have his life spared, and the kingdom of *Babylon* secured to him^t.

THE eunuch, thus tempted, repaired to the king's bed-chamber, and pressed him very much in the behalf of his client, representing, that he had done nothing worthy of death, that he had not even taken a cruel revenge on *Parsondas*; that he had abstained from his blood, and served him only in kind.

^r Idem, *ibid.*^c Idem *ibid.*^t Idem, *ibid.*

He then urged, that, if after this it should be thought right to deprive him of life, he might be spared for his sake, and promised, that if the favour was granted him, the *Babylonian* should present him with vast gifts, and give *Parsondas* 100 talents of silver. The king, at length, gave ear to the insinuations and arguments of this his favourite eunuch, and sentenced *Nanybrus* to a fine accordingly ; which, as it gave great joy to *Nanybrus*, affected *Parsondas* equally with indignation and disdain, who bestowed his maledictions upon the man that first found out gold, seeing for the sake of that he was to live the sport and derision of an effeminate *Babylonian*. The eunuch, who had thus interposed with his good offices, understanding, that *Parsondas* still glowed with rage, and even more than ever, not only exhorted him to be reconciled to *Nanybrus*, but told him, it was the king's will and pleasure he should be so. But *Parsondas*, deaf to all that could be said to him on that subject, continued to meditate revenge both on *Nanybrus* and his friend the eunuch ; and in the end had the satisfaction of being revenged on both^u.

BUT we have been too particular in these stories about this first king of *Babylon*, so self-evidently fabulous, and to dilate thereon would only lead us into a repetition of what is gone before in disproof of all of it.

The genuine history of the Babylonians.

Nabonassar.

FROM this fictitious relation then, to proceed to the genuine history of the *Babylonians*, in which there is a vast chasm of many hundreds of years, between the times of *Nimrod* and *Amraphel* to the times we are now reached down to ; the first *Babylonian* king after these, and those we have mentioned to have succeeded between them, that we meet with in history sacred or prophane, is *Nabonassar*, the first in *Ptolemy's* canon. Concerning this king, so well known for the æra that passes under his name, we have nothing particular recorded ; but as it may be of great use to know in what manner he came to be king of *Babylon*, and how it comes to pass, that *Ptolemy* could be assured of no *Babylonian* king who lived before his time, so late in comparison of what has most generally, and till very lately, been pretended, we will venture to supply the deficiency by some probabilities and conjectures, which may carry so much weight with them, after what we have said of the first rise, progress, and apparent obscurity of the antient kingdom of this people, as may satisfy every reader, that no point of history has been so perfectly mistaken, as that which relates to the first rise of the *Babylonian* kingdom, so much talked of by prophane writers.

• Idem, *ibid.*

TOWARDS this attempt we have done much already ; but this must be here premised, or rather repeated, that however, we distinguish the *Affyrians* and *Babylonians* from each other, they were but two branches of one and the same family. By scripture this most evidently appears, where the *Babylonian* names are pure *Affyrian* ; and by prophane authors as much is explicitly confessed, who own and declare the city of *Babylon* was built by the *Affyrians* ; and hence we are to conclude, that the antient people that were in immediate subjection to *Nimrod*, have properly nothing to do with the great *Babylonian* kingdom, which arose in after-times, but that the whole must be attributed to the people who migrated with *Ashur*, or *Affur*, and ever after retained his name. If any proof of this could be wanting, after what we have so often attempted in favour of it, we might not only recur to *Ctesias* himself and to *Herodotus*, but to the whole tribe of *Greek* and *Latin* writers ; we therefore shall insist no farther on it here, supposing it to be what must be universally granted, and shall only observe, that in *Ptolemy's* canon the Kings of *Babylon* are called *Affyrians*, and that in the same the kings of *Persia* are called the kings of the *Medes*, as it were in honour to the two nations of which they were natural branches ; for, in strictness, the history of the empire of *Babylon* is no other than a continuation of the history of the *Affyrian* empire ; just as the empire of the *Persians* is of the empire of the *Medes*, and hence in the title of the canon above, you have mention only of the *Affyrians* and the *Medes*, though none but the kings of *Babylon* and *Persia* are to be found therein, excepting the princes which follow *Alexander* the great.

HAVING settled this point, as we think, beyond the possibility of dispute, we shall next endeavour at the proof of what we suggest, by the very situation of the countries in respect of each other, and the nature of things ; by which it must be plain, that the kingdom of *Babylon* took birth with the kingdom of *Affyria*, and that they were twin sisters, or at least produced within a few years of each other. Previous to this we must just repeat, that *Pul*, the first *Affyrian* with us, does not appear as a conqueror westward above 24 years before the first of the reign of *Nabonassar*, and we would venture to assert, that *Pul* must then have been in the middle of life, and that after this he may have lived at least 24 years. And this being supposed, as it very naturally may, we shall have as good a proof as we can almost require, that he divided his empire between two of his sons ; for, according to *Ptolemy*, *Nabonassar* had *Babylon* for his portion, and, according to

scripture, *Tiglath-pileser* had *Affyria* for his ; for in scripture we find him as the immediate successor of *Pul*, in about seven years after whose death, as we have here stated it, he appears on this side of the *Euphrates*, and leads off with him a number of captives of different tribes and nations ; so that no chronologies can more exactly concur together than the scripture and the canon in this particular ; and what is more, they will, at the same time, help us to some lights to guide us to the truth of what *Ctesias* and his followers have so seemingly disguised, as we shall not fail to observe. In the mean time to return to our point : The very situation of these countries may convince us, that the thing was as we contend ; for they so mutually extend against each other on the banks of the *Tigris*, which was the common boundary of both, and the only partition between them, and *Babylonia* was so throughout a barrier between *Affyria* and the western parts, that the *Affyrian* could not have reached any of them, but by crossing some part or other of the country of *Babylon* ^w ; and but to imagine he attempted to cross the *Euphrates*, before he had made a conquest of this rich and fertile land, were an absurdity of the most glaring kind. And accordingly we find, that *Ctesias*, how inconsistent soever he may have been in other points, was so sensible of this, that he makes this the first conquest the *Affyrians* attempted, even though he as good as confesses his *Ninus* never to have crossed the *Euphrates*, concluding, it would appear ridiculous, that a man who had taken it into his head to become a conqueror, and to extend his dominion over all other countries, should not first make sure of so near a neighbour, which must have been more tempting to him than any other he could possibly have in view.

The kingdom of Babylon in subjection to that of Affyria.

Now, as we have plainly seen, that the two kingdoms took birth together in one man, it is inconsistent to suppose, they were not in subordination to one another ; and accordingly it appears, that *Nabonassar* was the younger son, and consequently in subjection to his brother *Tiglath-pileser*, who is stiled the king of *Affyria*, and held his residence at the original seat of the empire, *Nineveh*, which, that it was older than the city called by us *Babylon*, is not only to be gathered from the prophet * and other passages in scripture, but from the bulk of prophane authors, who concur, that *Nineveh* was finished before the foundations of *Babylon* were laid.

THIS being settled, we shall have no more reason to wonder, that these two kingdoms were in perfect harmony, than that two brothers should agree together ; the ambition of the one

* See the map of these countries

* See before, p. 281.

must

must have contributed to the grandeur and prosperity of the other reciprocally ; and that a right of superiority was acknowledged by the younger branch at *Babylon*, towards the elder at *Nineveh*, may be easily conceived. If this was not exactly the case, we shall have such difficulties start up against us, both in the history of *Babylon* and that of *Assyria*, as are quite insurmountable. We know they existed as collateral kingdoms ; for while the great *Sennacherib* was in his full glory, and warring in the west, we read of an embassy from *Merodach-baladan*, king of *Babylon*, to *Hezekiah* ; not to mention the other kings before him and after him in the canon. Now if there had not been the strictest union, and a most natural subordination, between the two kingdoms on the other side of the *Euphrates*, is it to be imagined, that any king of *Assyria* would have crossed that river to war in the west, while he was disjoined from his own country by so formidable and powerful a kingdom as *Babylon* must have been, and who might have taken the advantage in his absence, when he had, as it is likely, drained his country of the choicest of his soldiery, to spoil and destroy it ? Or might they not have joined the *Ciseuphratensians* against him, and have surrounded him on all sides, and, by the additional numbers they must have brought into the field, have routed and utterly destroyed him ? And must not this or the other have really been the case some time or other, if the kings of the two countries had not been bound together by the most solemn ties of obligation every way ? Could the *Babylonians*, who were confessedly a kingdom all the time, have been so supine as supposed, with such a neighbour at their very door ; and when, at the same time, they must have known, that all the western nations would most readily have joined them to destroy these ambitious princes, who, by so frequently crossing the *Euphrates*, exposed themselves, as powerful as their armies may have been, as often in great measure to their mercy ? Other irresistible arguments may be urged to maintain us in what we would here advance ; but, apprehending, we have said rather more than enough to convince the reader already, we shall pass them over as needless.

FROM all this we may gather, that *Nabonassar*, this first Nabonassar king of *Babylon*, bids as fair to have been the *Ninus* of *Ctesias* far likely, to as as *Tiglath-pileser*, and rather more so ; and particularly as *have been* he was, as is most likely, the husband of *Semiramis*, who, if *the* *Ninus* she had any right to be denominated from any city of these *of profane* parts, was confessedly, according to the common notion, a *authors.* *Babylonian*, as we shall observe immediately. For notwithstanding the *Ninus* of *Ctesias* is said to have raised the city of

Nineveh, in which he differs from what we think very evident, he agrees in so many other points with the person of *Nabonassar*, that he makes full amends for it. We have seen him the visible son of *Pul*, whom we have asserted to have been the *Belus* of that author; and that he was a warrior, cannot be doubted, when it is considered, that the family he was a branch of had just begun to establish a power, by conquest, over all the nations they could reach. But that he may have been magnified a little beyond the truth, or indeed a great deal, must not astonish us, when we remember, that this younger family, rising upon the ruins of the elder, may have arrogated more to themselves than was really their due, and that even what they did arrogate may have been enlarged by tradition, which always spreads as it goes.

Thus far again we see a resemblance between *Ninus* and *Nabonassar*; the conquests of the former are confined wholly to the *Transseuphratensian* regions, he never once makes his appearance on this side of the river †, except in the romantic lists of his conquests. And so it is most likely to have been with *Nabonassar*, who may have warred upon the *Medes*, the *Bactrians*, and neighbouring people, while the emperor, his eldest brother, was prosecuting a war, and grasping at conquests of far greater importance; whereby he hoped to become master of the great and wealthy kingdoms of *Syria*, *Phænice*, and *Palestine*, and thereby to pave his way to *Egypt* itself, states who, for their great opulence, must above all others, have allured a race of princes possessed with an unnatural lust to live upon the spoil.

As we have seen that he may possibly have been the *Ninus* of prophane writers, we are next to declare, that he can never have been either the *Shalmaneser* of scripture, or the *Belesis* of *Ctesias*, according to the generality of christians. *Shalmaneser* he cannot possibly have been; for he had, according to the canon, been dead five years before *Shalmaneser* seems to have begun his reign; nor can he have been *Belesis*, for if he be a prince any where in the canon, he must have been *Nabopallasar*, and indeed can have been no other. Now *Nabopallasar* did not begin to reign at *Babylon* till full 118 years after *Nabonassar* had been departed this life. Nor consequently can he have been *Nanybrus*, who was confessedly the same with *Belesis*.

To dwell no longer on the mistakes that have been committed with regard to this first king of *Babylon*, we would next observe, that the *Semiramis* of the *Greeks* must have

Semiramis
most likely
to have
been the
wife of
Nabonassar.

† See before, p. 150, 151, & seq.

been his wife, if ever there was such a queen of *Babylon*; whereby we shall still more amply evince that he may have been *Ninus*. We have been told she was born at *Ascalon* in *Syria*, that she was brought from that country by a certain officer belonging to the king of *Assyria*, and that *Ninus* fell in love with her, though married to that officer, and made her his queen². Now as we have stated the chronology of *Assyria* and *Babylonia*, it was about the middle of *Nabonassar*'s reign at *Babylon*, that his seeming brother, *Tiglath-pileser*, crossed the *Euphrates*, and captivated some of the tribes and nations to the westward. Among these captives, it is very likely, *Semiramis* may have been, according to the story of *Ctesias*; and, as she must have been a woman of very superior wit and beauty, it is not strange, that some great *Assyrian* lord should take her to his bed, and even make her his most favourite wife. It is possible also, that she may have attended him to the war with the *Bactrians* as related³, where we have made it probable, that *Nabonassar* may have commanded. And that this was something of the case appears by this, that *Ninus* lived not very long with her, and left her behind him with a young child⁴. Now *Nabonassar* reigned but 14 years in all⁵; and it was in the seventh year of his reign that *Tiglath-pileser* first made any captives from this side of the river. If then we suppose, as according to the story we may, that she lived with her first husband five years, she must have fallen to the lot of *Nabonassar*, if she was his wife, in the latter end of his 12th, or the beginning of his 13th year, and so he can have lived with her but barely two years; and this agrees seemingly with *Ctesias*, who, as we apprehend, makes the duration of their marriage to be very short⁶.

If we build upon any foundation, as possibly we may, we shall hereby be able to discover, how it came to pass that she had the sovereign sway over *Babylon*, as also that her reign was but very short. For, considering her own personal excellencies, that she must have been the idol of her deceased husband, and the mother and nurse of a tender infant he had left to succeed him, nothing is more natural, than that she should assume the reins of the government, and in consequence thereof attempt to make herself an everlasting name, for her exploits abroad, and her works at home. Accordingly it is possible she may have headed armies to some of the people mentioned in her story; and though she did not build the city of *Babylon*, which by all circumstances we may assure ourselves she did not,

Whence it came to pass, that Semiramis ruled over Babylon

² See before, p. 163. ³ See before, p. 160. ⁴ Ibid. p. 163.

⁵ See before in the canon, p. 279. ⁶ See before, p. 163.

she may so have added to it, or embellished it, as to have intitled her as much, in proportion, to the honour of being reckoned the foundress of *Babylon*, as *Nebuchadnezzar* had to be esteemed the founder. A woman of the sort she must have been, could never slip so favourable an opportunity of making herself conspicuous to all ages; and by her example she is said to have stirred an emulation in a queen, who succeeded almost 200 years after her, and who, it seems, vied with her to the degree of eclipsing her^c. The name of this queen is *Nitocris*, and between her and *Semiramis* there is said to have been five generations^f; which, according to the common way of computing, being equal to 150 years, and the sum of the years of the *Babylonian* kings amounting to 210, if from thence we deduct the 14 years of *Nabonassar's* reign, and as many from that of *Nabonadius*, who was the last king, and the son of this *Nitocris*^g, we shall have a remainder of 182 years. This will be an argument against us, with regard to what we are attempting to prove of *Semiramis*, and we confess it; for after this rate *Semiramis* must have lived above six generations before *Nitocris*; we would therefore, since we have so many concurrent circumstances in our behalf, conclude, that *Herodotus* is mistaken in this matter, which he well may be, in so traditionary a piece of history as this must have been in his time. If no historian had made greater mistakes than this, we should not have been involved in such labyrinths, as we have often been throughout the course of this work.

*Her reign
but short.*

Now if things were as we suspect them to have been, this great and deified *Semiramis* reigned but two years^h, for her son, according to this, lived no longer, and must have died at two or three years old; and indeed we have formerly made it an objectionⁱ, that she should have reigned so great a length of time after her son was arrived at years of discretion. Nor can she have been any other than the wife of *Nabonassar*, by the tradition which makes her the foundress of *Babylon*, of which she is reported to have laid the very foundations; this is supposing her to have been the first queen there, and if so, as at the bottom of the prophane accounts there may be something of truth, as we have observed^k before, she can have been queen to no *Ninus* but *Nabonassar*, and can have reigned no longer than her infant son, who was king but two years.

HAVING thus picked some seeming truth out of *Ctesias's* fiction, we may from the several particulars reflect a light on

^c HERODOT. l. i. c. 185.

^f Idem ibid.

^g Idem ibid.

^h See before in the canon, ubi sup.

ⁱ See before p. 174, note

(11).

^k See before, p. 141.

the worship that was paid to her, particularly in *Palestine*, *Syria*, and *Babylon*^l. For she may have really been born in the first, transported from the second, and deified in the third; so that, each having a sort of natural claim to her, it is no wonder they so eagerly contended to do her honour. All this may stand with the times we here suppose her to have lived in; but can possibly suit with no other that we know of. And that she was of mean extraction at *Ascalon*, that she was in the state of a servant in *Syria* or the parts adjacent; and that thence she was carried to *Nineveh* or *Babylon*, does not only appear by the *Ctesian* account of her, and by what is positively asserted of her, that she was originally a servant or slave^m, but also by the fable invented to cover the obscurity of her birth. In a word, the circumstances, as related of her by prophane authors, may very naturally be deduced from the circumstances of the first rise of the *Assyrian* monarchy in scripture; and it is plain, they are put backwards a number of ages, only to reflect the greater degree of reverence on her; nor must we wonder, that she had forty years added to the length of her reign, by the priests, or others, who may have had a greater interest in magnifying her, than in an adherence to the naked truth, any more, than that she should be said to have done infinitely more than it is certain she did; or that in the end she should have been deified; for whatever could contribute to derive the greater honour on her, contributed the more to confirm her in the superstitious awe that in time came to be contracted for her.

HAVING thus seen that *Semiramis* must, in all probability, have been the wife of *Nabonassar*, the first *Babylonian* king, and son to the great *Pul*, or *Belus*, we shall next take notice of some circumstances concerning her, which we purposely omitted when we gave her history as queen of *Assyria*. *Particulars concerning her.* She is equally famed as the foundress of the city of *Babylon*, and as a fortunate heroine, who aimed at no less than the conquest of the whole known world, as we have seen: That she may have embellished or added greatly to that city we have granted, nor can we refuse some sort of credit to so general a tradition; nor will we deny, but she may have warred against the *Bactrians*, and other nations in those partsⁿ; and this her masculine turn of mind may, by the way, confirm us in a belief, that she was from her youth bred up to the toil and labour of a servant, as reported, which must na-

^l See before, p. 251. ^m See before p. 164, note, (Y), & PRIN. Hist. Natur. l. 35 c. 18 p. 694. ⁿ See before, p. 109. 170.

turally have formed her to such exploits. As for what she did at *Babylon*, it must have been but little in comparison to what was done to it afterwards, when it came to be improved by the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, as we shall hereafter observe ; only for the present taking notice, that, as the city must in her time have been in its infancy, and she at most reigned but two years without the participation of her husband, and not above four years in all, and in the midst of the wars then waging by the *Assyrians* with all the nations round about, it is not conceivable, but she must have left that city in no very extraordinary state for magnificence or grandeur.

AGAIN, as her reign must have been very short, we would urge, that she did not any thing like what is reported of her as an heroine ; and that it is almost clear, that she did no more than finish the war with the *Medes*, or with the *Bactrians*, or perhaps with both, as tradition informs us ; and that thus she compleated what her husband *Nabonassar*, according to our supposition, had begun and conducted towards an end. More she certainly cannot have done in the short space of her administration, whether in the days of her husband or of her son ; and this must have intitled her to immortal fame, if, at the same time, as it seems, we must grant, she did any thing notable towards the improvement or embellishment of the city of *Babylon* ; nor is it strange, that after this we should be shewn her through the magnifying glass of prophane authors, who had their accounts from the *Babylonians*, who may have thought, they could not possibly do themselves too much honour in reporting wonders of this their first and most fortunate queen. And all their tales being greedily swallowed even by the most judicious, we have her thence compared with *Sesostris* ^o a fabulous hero ; and hence we see her building fleets, arming legions, raising *Babylon*, and, in short, circumnavigating the *red-sea*, or *Indian* ocean, and reducing the *Arabians* and *Ethiopians* ^p ; and hence her altars, together with those of *Hercules*, the *Liber Pater*, and others towards the confines of *India* ^q. Hence she is represented to have been a tyranness of the most rigid and inexorable sort ^r ; and hence she is fabled to have been so active in keeping the people in subjection and awe, that hearing of a tumult and an insurrection of the *Babylonians*, as she was dressing her

^o PLEUTARCH, Γεναικων ἀριτάν, p. 243.

^p Idem, Περὶ τῆς

ἱαλιέωνος τοῦ Ἰσχυροῦ ἀριτοῦ λόγου, β. p. 336.

^q PLIN. Hist. Nat.

l. 6. c. 16. p. 314.

^r Excerpt. Chronol. ex AFRICAN

Histor. & alio, p. 74.

head, she would not give herself time to finish what she was about, but rushed forth from her chamber, with her hair half about her ears, to reduce the revoltors, and would never so much as set her hair in order before she had done as she had resolved ^c; and that thenceforward she was represented, by a statue at *Babylon*, in an undress, and with her hair half dishevelled ^d. Hence it is she is represented as a monster of lust ^e; and hence she is celebrated for the many mighty deeds and exploits we have formerly related of her ^w, and others equally fabulous, which we shall not here insist on. In fine, she is said to have been the first *Assyrian* queen and lady, to have first surrounded *Nineveh* with walls, and to have changed its name into *Babylon* ^x, a strange absurdity we need not animadvert on. But after all that is boasted of her by the same author ^y he acquaints us, that she died in her bed ^z.

THE second king of the *Babylonians* is called *Nadius* ^a, who reigned but two years; and if what we have ventured to conjecture in the foregoing reign was at all the case, as, by comparing things together as we have there done, it seems to have been, this *Nadius* must have been the *Ninyas* of *Ctesias* and his followers, and must have dyed an infant of about three years old. Nadius.

THE next that filled the throne were *Chinzirus* ^b and *Porus* who reigned five years: Concerning these we have nothing to conjecture. The names seem to belong to two persons, and they may have been brothers; or it may be, that one man may have born both the names, which seem to have no direct affinity either with the *Chaldee* or the *Assyrian*. Chinzirus
and Porus.

Jugæus ^{*} reigned next; there is nothing recorded of him, nor can we offer at one conjecture concerning him, except that he, as well as those he immediately succeeded, and those that came after him, down to *Affar-addin*, did nothing worthy notice, and that they may have passed their days in sloth and effeminacy. Jugæus.

Mardoc-empad ^c, he is certainly the *Merodach-baladan* of *Mordocæ* scripture, the same that sent an embassy to *Hezekiah* king of *Judah*. The times of the former in the canon, and of the latter in scripture, agree exactly; and it must have been in the seventh or eighth year of his reign that he sent to *Hezekiah*. In *Isaiab* ^d he is called *Merodach-baladan*, as we have

^c VALER. MAXIM. l. 9. c. 3. ^e Idem ibid. ^w PLIN. nbi sup. ^x See before in the fourth Sect. of the Hist. of *Assyria*.
^y SUIDAS ad vocem Σημίσσαρις. ^z Ibid. ^a Ibid.
^b See before in the canon, p. 279. ^b Ibid. ^{*} Ibid. ^c Ibid.
^d Isai. xxxix. 1.

written him above, but in the book of *Kings* he is called *Berodach-baladan*^c, and in both places, the son of *Baladan*, whence we gather, that the *Jugæus* above, who seems to have been his father, would be more properly called *Baladan*, though that is what we would not venture to do. If, as is most generally supposed, he sent this embassy to *Jerusalem*, to inquire concerning the regression of the shadow upon *Abaz's* sun-dial^f, he must be concluded to have been a prince of curiosity, and a man that cultivated astronomy, or at least encouraged it in others: Though that this was all the business of this embassy, may be disputed; for there seems to have been some other view in it, by the parade *Hezekiah*, upon this occasion, made of his warlike stores and treasures^g. It may be suspected there was something more than the solution of a curious enquiry intended; for, as *Sennacherib* was then alive, it cannot well be conceived, how there should have been such a liberty taken by his *Babylonian* relation or dependant, as to correspond with an enemy by ambassadors. This is the first *Babylonian* king we read of in scripture to have had any intercourse with the kings at *Jerusalem*; and he must have been a man of resolution and ambition, if we suppose he wanted to draw *Hezekiah* into an alliance with him against the *Assyrian* emperor. Upon the whole, the men he sent from *Babylon* seem rather to have been private agents than public ambassadors, and what was transacted with them seems to have been quite a secret. He may have understood, that the *Medes* were on the point to revolt, as they certainly did a very short time afterwards, and that other nations, their neighbours, were ripe for the same; this he may have known, and may therefore have attempted alliances with the *Jews* and others, on this side the *Euphrates*, against *Sennacherib*, to secure his own dominions, or to enable him to withstand such incursions, as he may have dreaded from the same people; but we forbear to expatiate farther hereon. Thus far is certain, that things now began to threaten some calamity to *Assyria*; and it is likely, *Berodach-baladan* might have foreseen it, and bestirred himself to make sure of what belonged to himself. This prince reigned 12 years and was succeeded by

Arkianus. *Arkianus*^h, concerning whom all we know is, that he reigned but five years, and that after him there was an inter-reign of two years. This is distinguished as the first inter-reign in the *Babylonian* kingdom, and thereby it might be fairly concluded, that the line of *Nabonassar* became extinct

^c 2 Kings xv. 12.

^f See before, p. 86.

^g Isai. xxxix. 2.

^h See before in the canon, ubi sup.

ⁱ See before, ibid.

in the last king, or that it was set aside, if it be not more rational to suppose, that the kingdom was not hereditary, so as to fall of course to the eldest son. There may have been disputes among the sons about the succession, or the king of *Nineveh*, who may have appointed the kings of *Babylon* according to his own pleasure and good liking, may not, in this space of time, have determined who should next be king of *Babylon*. *Affar-haddon* was now emperor of *Affyria*, and the *Medes* had actually revolted five or six years before, and he may now have been at a loss whom to substitute in the throne of *Babylon*, which, if what we have observed be right, may have been filled with slothful and inactive princes ever since the death of *Nabonassar*, or his wife, if she was so, *Semiramis*. For while the kings of *Nineveh* were successively warring in the west, the kings of *Babylon* may have degenerated considerably, and have fallen into disgrace and vice, in conformity to what prophane authors relate of the successors of *Semiramis*; and may, by their indolence or connivance, have encouraged the *Medes* to shake off the yoke.

Belibus * succeeded to this inter-reign, but by what means, *Belibus*. or by what right, we know not, except that it may plainly appear, that he was appointed by *Affar-haddon*. He reigned but three years, at the end of which term, whether he died, or was displaced, may be doubted, by the shortness of his duration as king.

HE made room for *Apronadius* ¹, who reigned six years, *Apronadius*. and gave place to *Regibélus* ^m, who, possessing the throne but ^{us.} one year, made way for *Mesessimordacus* ⁿ, who held the ^{Regibélus.} sceptre but four years, and gave place to an inter-reign ^o, ^{Mesessimordacus.} which lasted full eight years. To fill up this chasm, it may hence be confirmed to us, that the kings of *Babylon* were at the pleasure of the king of *Affyria*, and appointed by him, as he thought proper, out of the *Babylonian* family; the shortness of the four preceding reigns may persuade us, that the ^{Second} kings, between this inter-reign and the former, did not suc- ^{inter-reign.}ceed each other as father and son, and the same we may indeed conclude of the kings between *Nabonassar* and the first inter-reign, who were but a little while on the throne, and seem to have been rather appointed governors for a certain term of years, than kings succeeding in right of each other; nor can it well have been otherwise. The elder family at *Nineveh* must in time have assumed considerably over the younger at *Babylon*, and contracted a jealousy of them, and imposed such hardships on them, or have some way or other behaved to them so as to provoke them at last to join with

* See before, *ibid.*¹ *Ibid.*^m *Ibid.*ⁿ *Ibid.*^o *Ibid.*

the *Medes* to destroy them. Thus the thing seems to have been.

Assar-addin.

THE eight years of this inter-reign being expired, *Assar-addin*^p, the *Esar-baddon* of scripture, possessed himself of the kingdom of *Babylon*. We have already said all we positively know of him, when we formerly gave his reign as king of *Assyria*. It is remarkable, that he should deliberate so long as eight years, before he assumed the government of *Babylon* in person. We formerly made it a doubt^q, whether or no he seated himself master here by art or by violence; but by what we think we plainly discover of these collateral kingdoms of the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, he now set aside the *Babylonian* family as useless, or dangerous, to his empire, which must now have been in a very crazy condition^r. By this step of policy he seems to have re-established the *Assyrian* monarchy; and remarkable it may be thought, that he made no attempts towards the recovery and extension of the *Assyrian* conquests westward, till he had thus taken *Babylon* to himself^s. Hence it may appear, that the former division of the empire, however small it may have been, was now judged hurtful thereto, and that so it had been, appears by the consequences of this junction, after which the *Assyrians* rose to a higher pitch than ever they had been, at least in the western parts, where under this king they established their power more firmly than it ever had been, and even conquered *Egypt*^t. The obscurity of the kings of *Babylon*, between *Nabonassar* and this *Assar-addin*, may have given birth to what is related of the sloth and inactivity of all the kings that succeeded between *Semiramis* and *Sardanapalus*, a name which we have as good as proved to have belonged to this prince^u; but at the same time we have shewn there were two of the name, a warrior and an effeminate man. This then must have been *Sardanapalus* the warrior, for his history declares him to have been such, but that is what we need not repeat. He reigned at *Babylon* 13 years, and was succeeded by

Sarsducheus.

Sarsducheus, or *Sarsiluchinus*^w, who, as well as his predecessor, was king both of *Nineveh* and *Babylon*. We have already said all of him we have been able to collect^x, as king of *Assyria*. He reigned 20 years, and was succeeded by

Chyniladan.

Chyniladan^y, whom we have shewn to have been the *Nebuchadonassar* of the book of *Judith*^z, where we have given

^p Ibid.

^q See before, p. 201, & seq.

^r See before, Ibid.

^s Ibid. ^t See before, p. 203.

^u See before, p. 205, note (M).

^w See before in the canon, ubi sup.

^x See before, p. 205. ^y See

before in the canon, ubi sup.

^z See before p. 207, note (Q).



all the history we know of him. He, as well as his two predecessors, was king both of *Assyria* and *Babylon*, and reigned 22 years. The length of these three reigns, which in sum make up 55 years, which exceeds the sum of the nine reigns and two inter-reigns between *Nabonassar* and *Assar-addin* by two years, may convince us, that the kings of *Babylon* during that interval were little better than governors, placed and displaced by the kings of *Assyria* at their will and pleasure ; and continued or discontinued just as they approved themselves more or less trusty and serviceable to the *Assyrian* kings. Hitherto the kingdom of *Babylon* had been dependent on the emperors at *Nineveh* ; it now begins to emerge, and to rear up the head as an empire, exalting itself on the ruins of the *Assyrian* monarchy.

FOR *Nabopallasar* ^a succeeded *Chyniladan*, and is said to Nabopal- have wrested the kingdom of *Babylon* from the *Assyrians*, lasar. and to have seized on it himself, and is plainly the man who transferred the seat of the *Assyrian* monarchy to *Babylon* ^b. His name declares him to have been an *Assyrian*, and to have derived his origin from *Pul* and *Nabonassar* his son, it partaking equally of both ; for as *Nabonassar* is plainly compounded of *Nebo-addon-assur*, this man seems to have rejected the *Addon* for *Pul*, and to have had his name compounded from *Nebo-pul-assur* ; which, it is likely, he may have assumed upon his revolt from the *Assyrian* *Sarac*, *Sarchedon*, or *Sardanapalus* ^c, and claims, as should plainly appear by his name, to have been lineally descended from *Pul* by *Nabonassar*, and so, it is likely, pretended to a right of inheritance in the kingdom of *Babylon*, of which his family had been unjustly deprived by the elder branch of *Assyria*. Thus it seems natural to conclude ; if so it was, he had a fair opportunity of asserting his right, for being appointed over *Chaldea* upon the death of *Chyniladan*, who left the *Assyrian* affairs in great confusion, and at a time when the *Medes* were in the full vigour of their pursuit against the kings at *Nineveh* ^d, he took the advantage, and, seizing on the kingdom of *Babylon* for himself, he entered into alliances with *Astyages* the *Mede*, and to confirm the same desired his daughter *Amyite* in marriage for his son *Naboclassar* ^e, and joining heartily in the war with him against the kingdom of *Assyria*, they reduced it to a very humble condition, though, as we have

Year of
the Flood,
2373.
Year be-
fore Christ
626.



^a See before in the canon, ubi sup. ^b See before, p. 215. note (A). ^c See before, ibid. ^d See before, p. ibid. ^e ALEX. POLYHIST. apud SYNCIEL. p. 210. EUSEB. in Chron.

made it appear ^f, he did not live to see the final destruction of it ; for the irruption of the *Scythians* put a stop to the progress of these new allies, for the space, as we are told, of 28 years ^g.

THIS prince is called by contraction *Nabulassar* ^h, but by the same author he is also called *Nebuchadonosor* ⁱ, as he is by others ^k *Nebuchadnezzar*, whence he is distinguished from his son, as the first of the name ^l ; in a word, he, and no other, must have been the *Belesis* of *Ctesias* ^m, and the *Nanybrus* of *Nicholas* of *Damascus* ⁿ ; but what is seemingly strange, he is also called *Sardanapalus* ^o, which we have taken notice of already. This prince, besides what he must have suffered and apprehended from the *Scythians*, who during his time prevailed in *Asia* ^p, was in imminent danger of being blasted in his hopes by an invasion from *Egypt*. For *Pharaoh Necho*, at that time king of the country, understanding, that the kingdom of *Assyria* was as good as dissolved, by the combination of the *Babylonians* with the *Medes*, and that the confederates themselves were under restraint from the *Scythians*, thought this a proper opportunity to be revenged on the *Trans-euphratensians*, who had captivated the kingdom of *Egypt* in the days of the great *Esarhad-don* ^q, and to raise himself an empire over the kingdoms and countries on this side of the *Euphrates*, which had, for some time past, been under the kings of *Assyria* by conquest. He prosecuted his design, succeeded to his wish, and even took the great city of *Carchemish*, *Circutium*, or, as it is most corruptedly written, *Car-chabesa* ^r, upon the *Euphrates* ^s. This we are told was his case, but we have seen it is false ; for before this invasion of *Necho* he must have been dead ^t some time, as appears by the circumstance we are told of *Jesiah*'s death, who was slain at *Megiddo* in making head against *Necho*, as he was marching against the king of *Assyria* ^u, who can have been none other than *Sarac* ^v ; for as *Jesiah* reigned full 31 years ^w, he must according to the course of scripture and *Ptolemy*'s canon,


ⁱ See before, p. 218, & seq. ^h Ibid. note (E). ^k *BEROS.*
apud *JOS. PH.* contr. Ap. l. 1. p. 1044, & *Antiq.* l. 10. c. 11.
^l Idem apud eund. *Antiq.* l. 10. c. 11. ^m In *Libr. JUCHA-*
714. p. 136. ⁿ *DAVID GANTZ II.* Chron. l. 2. n. 285.
^o See before, p. 284. ^p See before, *ibid.* ^q See be-
fore p. 215, note (A). ^r See before, p. 218, note (E).
^s See before, 203. ^t *JOS. PH.* *Antiq.* ubi sup. c. 7. ^u See
Vol. II. p. 47. ^v See before p. 219, note (G). ^w See
before, p. 99. ^x See before. p. 215. ^y See before, p. 99.

have survived *Nabopallasar*. It is therefore plain, that we cannot rely upon *Berosus* *, when he informs us, that he sent his son *Nabuchadonosor* to quell the rebellious satrapa, or governor, of *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, as he plainly calls *Pharaoh Necho* ; nor did *Nabuchadonosor* effect this till after his death, and after he had subverted *Nineveh*, which was brought to pass by his valour and good fortune, in conjunction with *Cyaxares* the *Mede* his brother-in-law †. There was then no war between *Babylon* and *Egypt* during the life of *Nabopallasar*, nor was there any such officer as a satrapa over *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, in his time, for the *Assyrians* ; *Egypt* had recovered itself a considerable time before ‡ from the conquest and captivation of *Esar-haddon* ; and *Judah* was all this time under her own king *Josiah* §, and that all the western regions, on this side of the *Euphrates*, had shaken off the *Assyrian* yoke is plain, not only by the history of *Chyniladan* ¶, but by the trouble the great *Nebuchadnezzar* had afterwards to reduce them to *Babylon*. We may perceive then, that *Berosus*, in the passage before us, confounds the father and son together, and that he is too hasty in bringing on the destruction of *Nineveh* ; for till that had been effected, there is no supposing the *Babylonians* could have pretended to cross the *Euphrates* ; and that there was a king of *Assyria* subsisting in the day that *Josiah* was killed by *Necho*, we learn from scripture **, and that *Josiah* survived *Nabopallasar*, we understand by comparing the same with the canon ††. This satrapa of *Egypt* and *Syria* must be understood proleptically, except we suppose the office to have subsisted upon the conquests of *Esar-haddon* ; which if it did, whoever enjoyed it had little to boast but the empty title, as may be easily discovered. We are certain then of no one particular fact relating to *Nabopallasar*, except that he withdrew obedience from the king of *Assyria*, that he joined with the *Mede*, in order to put an end to that kingdom, and that he reigned 21 years, and was succeeded by his son

Nabocolassar ‡‡ ; this is the great *Nebuchadnezzar* of scripture, by the *Greeks* called *Nabuchadonosor* (A). It was he that
Nabocolassar.

* Apud Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. & contra Apion. l. 1. † See Newton's Chron. of anc. kingd. amend, p. 292. ‡ See before p. 203, note (K). § See before, p. 92, 93, & seq. ¶ See before, p. 205, & seq. ** 2 Kings xxiii. 29. †† See before p. 219, note (G). ‡‡ See before in the canon, p. 279.

(A) His name, taken which way you will, may be discovered to have been *Assyrian*, by the termination *Assar*. We have already given

Year of the Flood, 2394. Year before Christ 605.  that compleated what his father had aimed at, and subjected the throne at *Babylon*; it is he that must be called the first *Babylonian* monarch. It has been said, that his father, grown old and feeble, had intrusted him with the reins of the government some years before he died, and that in consequence of this, he waged war with *Pharaoh Necho*, who had conquered all *Syria* to himself, while the *Medes* and *Babylonians* were under restraint by the *Scythians*, or busied in the reduction of *Nineveh*; and that in this war he not only wrested *Carchemish*, or *Circesium*, or *Circutium*, a considerable town on the *Mesopotamian* side of the *Euphrates*, from *Pharaoh Necho*, and routed him with a great slaughter; but reduced all the provinces on this side of the *Euphrates* which had been seized by *Necho*, and made a conquest even of *Egypt* itself, where, understanding his father was dead at *Babylon*, he took the necessary measures to secure those countries, and by the shortest way of the desert, hastened to *Babylon* †. This we have shewn to be a mistake, so far as it is possible to detect an error of this nature (B). He certainly did

† *BEROS.* apud *JOSEPH.* contr. *APION.* l. 1. & apud *EUSEB.* in *Præp. Evang.* l. 9. c. 40. p. 455.

given the seeming derivation of it, and only mention it here to remind the reader of what we have so often asserted, that the *Babylonian* monarchy, how much soever it may have been distinguished from the *Affyrian*, was no more than a continuation of it. And this may be the more pertinently remarked here, as this prince was not only the first emperor at *Babylon*, properly so called, for his father can never be quite considered as such; but as he was also the man in whom the *Affyrian* or *Babylonian* greatness arrived at its utmost height, as appears by *Daniel*, who, summing up the whole of it in his person, declares, that the golden head he saw in his vision was meant to signify himself *.

(B) We have already (1) demonstrated the thing to have been as we here suggest, concerning the death of *Nabopallasar*; but as it is a point which immediately concerns the history of this branch of the *Affyrian* family, we may be allowed to repeat our attempt here, by stating it in another manner, and to make it still clearer, if it be possible so to do. From the death of *Affar-addin* to the first year of the reign of *Chyniladan* is twenty years, and from the first of the reign of *Chyniladan* to the 12th, that he warred upon the *Medes*, is

* *Dan.* ii. 38. (1, See before, p. 206, note (Q), & p. 219, note (C).

did not cross the *Euphrates*, before he, in conjunction with his brother-in-law *Cyaxares* the *Mede*, had put an end to *Nineveh*, and established himself on a solid basis in the east.

THIS

32 years. *Manasseh* was taken prisoner by *Affar-addin* in the 21st year of his reign, and, according to all appearance, in the 9th or 10th year of *Affar-addin*'s reign at *Babylon*. The 9th or 10th year we say; because, as he took *Manasseh* captive not long before he invaded *Egypt*, and was to hold *Egypt* but three years (2), according to the prophet, and reigned at *Babylon* but 13 years, we cannot be induced but to think, he effected his conquest of *Egypt* in the latter part of his reign, and that, as he certainly must have kept the same in subjection all his life-time, he died within three or four years after he had taken *Manasseh* prisoner. This being stated, if *Manasseh* was made a captive in the 9th or 10th year of *Affar-addin* at *Babylon*, and, as *Manasseh* reigned 34 years after his said captivity, if, to the 32 years between the war *Chyniladan* made upon the *Medes* and the death of *Affar-addin*, we add three or four years, to make the 13 years of this last king complete at *Babylon*, it must follow, that *Manasseh* died either in the 10th or 11th year of the said *Chyniladan*; and as between the last year of *Manasseh* and the first of *Josiah*, there is an interval but of two years, *Josiah* must have begun his reign either in the 12th or the 13th year of the same *Chyniladan*; from the 12th or the 13th of *Chyniladan* to the last year of his successor *Nabopallasar*, the father of *Nebuchadnezzar*, must, according to this, have been either 30 or 31 years. Now *Josiah* reigned 31 years, and therefore must either have outlived *Nabopallasar* by one year, or have died the same year he died, supposing the reign of this *Babylonian* to have ended with his life, and we know not how to think otherwise; for if he had committed the reins of his government ever so much to the guidance of his son, he must have been considered, according to all appearance, but as his lieutenant; the father must still have been king, tho' we consider him but as colleague with his son, and the years he lived and reigned, either in whole or in part, must have been reckoned to him accordingly. Now when *Josiah* was killed, there was a king of *Affyria* still in being; it was not against the *Medes* and *Babylonians* that *Pharaoh Necho* went up, as *Josephus* * in a hurry mistakes the matter: his business was apparently to get a share of the *Affyrian* empire, which the *Medes* and *Babylonians* were on the point of dividing between them; *Nabopallasar* then could have claimed no lawful homage of the king of *Egypt*, who can have been no rebel to him, nor can he have even sent his son to such remote parts as *Egypt*, when he had so much to do at home, and found, that his whole force, combined together with that of the *Medes*, was not more than necessary to destroy the old *Affyrian* family;

(2) See before, p. 203, & seq. * *Antiq.* l. x. c. 6.

THIS when he had done, he crossed the *Euphrates* (C) to recover what formerly made a part of the *Assyrian* empire, taking

not to mention the *Scythians*, who, if ever they held any dominion in these parts of *Asia*, must have held it now, in this interval between the fall of the *Assyrians* and the rise of the *Babylonians* and the *Medes*. *Berosus* then, in what he says of the expedition *Nabopallasar* sent his son against his pretended satrapa of the *Syrians* and *Egyptians*, seems rather to have desired to magnify this first *Babylonian* hero, than to adhere to the truth. No attempt can have been made, either by him or his son, on this side of the *Euphrates*, till *Nineveh* had been destroyed and the *Scythians* expelled. Now in the very last year of his reign *Pharaoh Necho* came upon his very frontiers, and took *Carchemish* from him, as we have here stated it, though, as we computed before †, this invasion and success of the *Egyptian* must have fallen out full four years after his reign had been expired. So that take it which way you will, and make all the allowances you possibly can in the behalf of *Berosus*, it is plain, he is not sincere with us in this case. *Pharaoh Necho*, who must have been the satrapa or governor he talks of in the western parts, must have been by far a more powerful prince than *Nabopallasar* his pretended master; and we are, for this reason, inclined to think, that by the same rule he degrades this potent *Egyptian*, he must have spun out the life of his *Babylonian* beyond its natural limits, and have made him a mightier man than he was. If *Berosus* abounded with many such mistakes as these seem to have been, he deserves to be as little regretted as *Trogus*, or any other we have condemned.

Here we would beg leave to rectify an oversight and seeming inconsistency, that formerly (3) escaped us, where we suppose the city of *Nineveh* to have been some time destroyed in the fourth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which, as we have stated things there, coincides with the year *Josiah* was slain by *Necho*, though, according to scripture, there was then an *Assyrian* king absolutely in being, and though we have elsewhere determined (4), that *Nineveh* was not ruined but in the second, third, or fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, which is what we still adhere to as most probable: By the computation here above it must appear, that *Nineveh* had been some time destroyed in the fourth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*; though there had been, as there actually was, a king of *Assyria*, when *Josiah* was slain at *Megiddo*.

(C) *Eupolemus* (5) tells us, that *Nabuchadonosor*, king of *Babylon*, understanding that *Jeremiah* had prophesied in his favour, entreated *Assibares*, the king of the *Medes*, to assist him in this expedition against *Syria* and *Palestine*. That accordingly the army of

† In the note, p. 206.

(3) Ibid. p. 210, note (G).

4. 9. c. 39. p. 454.

(3) See before, p. 207, note (Q).

(5) Ibid Euseb. Præpar. Evang.

aking *Carchemish* from the *Egyptians*, and reducing *Syria* as elated; but as for *Egypt*, he laid no hands on that till many years afterwards; as not only appears by the history of *Egypt* itself, as delivered by prophane authors, but also by the plain concurrence of scripture.

HAVING destroyed the city of *Nineveh*, and possessed him-
self of *Carchemish*^g, he crossed over to this side of the river *Euphrates*, and, having conquered *Syria* and the neighbour-
ing countries, came with a mixed number of nations^h, and having ravagedⁱ *Samaria*, *Galilee*, *Scythopolis*, and the *Jews* in *Galaaditis*, he at length laid siege to *Jerusalem*^k, and took it on the 9th of the month *Chaslev*, or *November*, a day the *Jews* commemorate even in our times^l. He now took *Jehoiakim* prisoner, and bound him in chains with design to carry him to *Babylon*; but he changed his mind upon the humble deportment of the captive king, who swearing to be true to him as his vassal and tributary, he restored him to his liberty; though he did not abstain from the plunder of *Jerusalem*, whence he transported the vessels in the temple to that of *Belus* in *Babylon*^m, and took with him some of the choicest and most promising youths, whom he committed to the care of *Ashpenaz*, the prince of his eunuchs, with a charge to see them instructed in the learningⁿ and language of the *Chaldees*, and to educate them in such manner, that they might be fit to attend him as his royal domestics. Of these, particular notice is taken of *Daniel* and his three friends, *Hananiah*, *Mishael*, and *Azariah*^o. *He takes Carchemish, and conquers Syria.*

THUS did *Nebuchadnezzar* begin to establish himself in the west (D), and returning to *Babylon*, he resolved to adorn *Babylon*. *Returns to west (D), and returning to Babylon, he resolved to adorn Babylon.*
and

^g BEROS. ubi sup. ^h EUROL. apud EUSEB. Præpar. Evang. l. 9. c. 39. p. 454. ⁱ 2 Kings xxiv. 2. ^l EUPOLEM. ubi sup.
^k 2 Kings xxiv. 11, 12. ^m Dan. i. 2. ⁿ USSER. Annal. ad Ann. Mund. 3398. ^o Dan. i. 3. ^o Ibid. 6.

the *Medes* and *Babylonians* united together,¹ and consisted of ten thousand chariots, one hundred and eighty thousand foot, and one hundred and twenty thousand horse. By this author then it appears they had made an end of the *Assyrian* monarchy, before they attempted any thing upon *Syria*; which though it is certain, without any such evidence, we may yet quote it, to confirm what we have endeavoured to clear up in the note above.

(D) Thus it was, and most natural it must appear: he had settled himself in the east, and his business now was to strip *Pharaoh Necho* of his new empire over *Syria*, which had formerly belonged to the *Assyrian* monarchy. He does so, drives the *Egyptians* from *Carchemish*,
Q q 2

and inlarge the seat of his growing empire, in proportion to the sovereignty it was to possess over the nations far and near^p; and being thus employed at home, it happened, that he was, in an extraordinary manner, affected by dreams^q. Under great anxiety of mind, he called together his magicians, sorcerers, astrologers, and *Chaldeans*, and not only demanded of them the interpretation of a certain dream which had escaped his memory, but also what the dream had been. Perceiving it was in vain he consulted them, his disappointment wrought upon him to that degree of fury, that he resolved to put them all to death^r, and gave his orders accordingly to *Arioch*, the captain of his guard; who, being on the point to do as he was commanded, was accosted by *Daniel*, who, expostulating with him upon the rashness of the decree against the wise-men, and requesting him to suspend the execution of it, gave him assurance, that he could satisfy the king in what he was so solicitous to know^s.

His dream
of the
image.

Daniel then went into the presence of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and, begging that he would grant him a little time to consider of the thing, repaired to his three companions above-mentioned, and joining with them in an address to heaven, the secret was revealed to him in a night vision^t. Thus instructed from above, he went to *Arioch* the captain of the guard, desiring, he would not so much as think of the orders he had received against the wise-men, but conduct him to the king, whom he was prepared to satisfy^u. When the king saw *Daniel*, or *Belteshazzar*, (that was his name in *Babylon*) he asked him if he could tell him his dream, and what it portended; to which he answered, with a prefatory introduction to instil into the haughty prince some notions of the might and majesty of God, that his dream had been as follows^w, That

^p Berosus ubi sup. ^q Dan. ii. ^r Ibid. ver. 12. ^s Ibid.
ver. 16. ^t Ibid. ver. 19. ^u Dan. ii. 24. ^w Ibid.
ver. 31.

Carchemish, whence they pretended to curb the *Babylonians* even in their own country, recovers all the dominions of *Syria* and *Palestine* quite to the river of *Egypt* (6), and the king of that country dares no more shew his head in these parts (7); being more solicitous to defend himself in his own country, which was to have its turn of invasion, as having been joined to the *Affyrian* empire by *Esharbadlon* (8), than any thing else.

(6) 2 Kings xxiv. 7.
note (K).

(7) Ibid.

(8) See before, p. 203,

in his sleep he saw an image, vast and resplendent, and terrible to the sight ; that the head of this image was of fine gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, the legs of iron, and the feet of part iron and part clay ; that from an invifible power he saw a ftone, that ftuck the image on the feet, which were part iron and part clay, and crufted them to pieces ; that immediately all the metals in the body of the image became as duft, which was fwept away by the wind and no more feen ; while the ftone, which had caufed this deftruction, remained behind, grew into a mountain, and filled the whole earth *. That as for the interpretation of this extraordinary dream, He himfelf, as king of kings, was fignified by the golden head of the image ; that a fecond kingdom, inferior to his, fhould arife, which was denoted by the breast and arms of filver ; and that from thence a third kingdom of brass fhould arife, and lord it over the whole earth ; that a fourth kingdom fhould arife, and be as ftiong as iron, and deftroy all that had gone before ; but that, the feet and toes being part iron and part clay, this fourth kingdom fhould be nevertheless partly ftiong and partly feeble : That after thefe, God would fet up a kingdom which fhould endure for ever, and that this was fignified by the ftone hewn or thrown without hands, and which had flattered the gold, the filver, the brass, the iron, and the clay of the image into duft, which had been fcattered abroad by the wind †.

A. M.

* Ibid. ver. 35.

† Ibid. ver. 45.

(E) “ In this vifion of the image compofed of four metals, the foundation of all *Daniel’s* prophecies is laid. It represents a body of four great nations, which fhould reign over the earth fucceffively, viz. the people of *Babylonia*, the *Persians*, the *Greeks*, and the *Romans*. And by a ftone cut out without hands, which fell upon the feet of the image, and brake all the four metals to pieces, and became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth, it further represents, that a new kingdom fhould arife after the four, and conquer all thofe nations, and grow very great, and laft to the end of all ages.

“ The head of the image was of gold, and fignifies the nation of *Babylonia*, who reigned firft, as *Daniel* himfelf interprets. *Thou art this head of gold*, faid he to *Nebuchadnezzar*. Thefe nations reigned till *Cyrus* conquered *Babylon* ; and, within a few months after that conquest, revolted to the *Persians*, and fet them up above the *Medes*. The breast and arms of the image were of filver, and represent the *Persians*, who reigned next. The belly and thighs of the image were of brass, and represent the *Greeks*, who under the dominion of *Alexander the great*, conquered

Nebuchadnezzar, amazed at what he heard, fell on his face and worshipped *Daniel*, commanding that they should straight offer him an oblation and sweet odours, acknowledging his God to be a God of gods, and a Lord of kings . He then promoted him to a great height of dignity, made him great presents, invested him with the government of all the province of *Babylon*, and made him chief of the presidents of all the wise-men. But *Daniel* requested, that his three friends, *Shadrach*, *Mesbach*, and *Abed-nego* (so they were called in *Babylon*) might have charge of the affairs of the province of *Babylon*, and the thing was so ; while *Daniel* was appointed to sit in the gate of the king, as next immediately to himself ^a.

Sends several nations to barra's Jehoia-khim.

WHILE he was thus at *Babylon*, news came to him, that *Jehoiakim* had rebelled against him, and refused to pay him any more tribute ; but not having a proper opportunity to chastise this distant king in person, he ordered the *Chaldees*, *Syrians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites* to make incursions into the territories of *Judah* ^b ; and in this manner did they continue to perplex him for the space of three years ; till, at length uniting, they besieged *Jerusalem*, and laying hands on *Jehoiakim*, they slew him, and threw his body into the highway ^c ; a warfare related a different way by *Josephus* ^d, according to whom *Nebuchadnezzar* must now himself have been before *Jerusalem*, and must have taken it in person, and have put the flower of the inhabitants to the sword, and have carried off 3000 of the chief citizens into captivity.

Year of the Flood, 2400.
Year before Christ 599.

BUT to return to scripture ^e ; these confederated nations, though they had thus destroyed the king of *Judah*, did not possess themselves of *Jerusalem*, but continued to blockade it

^a Ibid. ver. 47. ^b Ibid. ver. 49. ^c 2 Kings xxiv. 1. ^d See before, p. 105. ^e Antiq. l. x. ^f Ubi sup.

“ quered the *Persians*, and reigned next after them. The legs
“ were of iron, and represent the *Romans*, who reigned next after
“ the *Greeks*, and began to conquer them in the eighth year of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For in that year they conquered *Perseus* king
“ of *Macedon*, the fundamental kingdom of the *Greeks* ; and from
“ thence forward grew into a mighty empire, and reigned with
“ great power, till the days of *Theodosius* the great. Then, by
“ the incursions of many northern nations, they brake into many
“ smaller kingdoms, which are represented by the feet and toes of
“ the image, composed part of iron and part of clay *.

* Sir Is. NEWTON's *Observ. on the Prophecy of Dan. Part i. c. 3.*
p. 25, 26.

till

till *Nebuchadnezzar* came, who appeared in a few months (F) at the head of his whole army; and investing it with a regular siege, he forced *Jehoiachin* to surrender himself, with the circumstances before related ^f. He now resolved to exert the utmost of his rigour, and to give a glut to his avarice; and, in consequence thereof, he emptied the sacred and the royal treasuries, and cutting to pieces the golden vessels of the temple, he carried all off, together with the inhabitants that were considerable either for valour or ingenuity; draining the land to that degree, as to leave none but the poorer sort just to cultivate the land; and appointing *Mattaniah*, whose name he changed into *Zedekiah*, king over the desolate kingdom of *Judah* ^g. Thus did he march back in triumph to *Babylon*, laden with the spoils of the *Jews*, and followed by numbers of the captive people, who, by their valour and skill, might have been, and no question were, of great use to him in the stupendous works he had begun or projected at *Babylon*, and highly serviceable to him in the prosecution of his conquests. And thus ended his second war with the *Jews*.

No sooner was this over, than *Jeremiah* ^h began to prophesie the increase of this prince's dominion, and particularly, that he should subdue *Elam*, a kingdom on the river *Ulai*, to the eastward of the *Tigris* (G). This country must have been

^f See before, p. 105.

^g Ibid. p. 106.

^h Jerem. xlix.

34.—39.

(F) If it be wondered, how it came to pass, that *Nebuchadnezzar* neglected, for at least three years, to appear in this war personally; it is answered (9), That it is uncertain what detained him so long, though it is very probable, he was busied in the conduct of his vast designs at *Babylon*; that, however, he may have been engaged, as a mediator between the *Medes* and the *Lydians*, who, after a war of several years, being on the point of fighting a decisive battle, were interrupted by a total eclipse of the sun (10), which, as they interpreted it, prevailed on them to submit to the arbitration of two neighbouring princes, they should agree to chuse for each other. It is now supposed, that *Nebuchadnezzar* was chosen by the *Mede*, and that he was employed in that affair, while the nations mentioned made war upon *Judah*; but *Herodotus* expressly saying it was *Labyntus* (11) who was this mediator, we shall defer what may be suggested thereon to the time of his reign.

(G) By the words of the prophecy *Elam* must have been a great and potent kingdom; *Behold I will break the bow of Elam, the chief*

(9) PRIDEAUX's *Connect. of the Hist. of the Old and New Test.* Vol. I. part i. l. 1. p. 69. &c.

(10) HERODOT. l. 1. c. 71.

(11) *Idem* l. 1. c. *ibid.*

been the *Susiana* of the *Greeks*, and lay so opportunely for him, being, as it were, a borderer on him, that he can have been no very great while in the completion of this advantageous prophecy. And accordingly we find, that, in after-times, the capital of this country, *Shushan*, was sometimes honoured with the presence of the *Babylonian* monarchs.

THIS mighty prince, the darling of heaven, or the instrument rather of God's wrath to punish the wickedness of the nations round about him, had always his victories and accessions of fortune preceded by prophecies from the mouth of *Jeremiah*, or some other prophet; nay, plots and seditions contriving against him were blasted, while yet in embryo, by typical remonstrances from men divinely inspired. So, when the kings of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* would have tempted *Zedekiah*, the thoughtless king of *Jerusalem*, to rise against the *Babylonian*; *Jeremiah* ⁱ sent to each of the ambassadors in his court, a present of yokes and bonds, to be carried to their masters, with this declaration, That the Lord of hosts, the God of the whole earth, had doomed them all to be servants to *Nebuchadnezzar*; that they should all serve him, his son, and his son's son; that such as should but offer to reject his yoke, he would punish with the sword, and with famine, and with pestilence, till they were utterly consumed by him; but that those who quietly submitted their necks, and faithfully obeyed the king of *Babylon*, should find mercy, and remain in possession of their country ^k; such was absolutely to be their fate if they resisted, and such their reward if they behaved submissively under their bondage.

A more sublime elevation no man can be shewn in than this, which exalts him to the height of being, as it were, God's immediate vicegerent here on earth. But how great and terrible soever he was represented, he was dreaded but for a time, by the western nations especially; who, notwithstanding the severe remonstrance and declaration of *Jeremiah*,

ⁱ Ibid. xxvii. ^k Jerem. xxvii.

of their might. And upon *Elam* will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven, and will scatter them towards all those winds, and there shall be no nation whither the outcasts of *Elam* shall not come. For I will cause *Elam* to be dismayed before their enemies, and before them that seek their life; and I will bring evil upon them, even my fierce anger, saith the Lord, and I will send the sword after them till I have consumed them. And I will set my throne in *Elam*, and I will destroy from thence the king and the princes, saith the Lord (12).

(12) Jerem. xlv. 35 — 38.

were

were contriving how they should free themselves from the Year of king of *Babylon*. *Nebuchadnezzar*, understanding that the the Flood, *Egyptians*, the *Jews*, and the other nations, were contriving 2409. to withdraw themselves from his obedience; and that *Zedekiah*, whom he had appointed king of *Jerusalem*, had been Year before Christ 590. encouraged by *Pharaoh Hophra*, or *Apries*, king of *Egypt*, to set him at defiance, resolved particularly to punish such ingratitude and infidelity¹ in the most extraordinary manner; and putting himself at the head of his army, he advanced to the frontiers, at the same time to chastise all these presumptuous nations; where being arrived, and considering with himself, that he had a number of them to deal with, he remained in suspense for a while, dubious where he should first open the war; till at last he referred this important business to the ordinary methods of divinatory direction in practice with the *Chaldees*, who, consulting of entrails, their images, or *teraphim*, and their arrows (H), delivered it as their opinion, That

¹ 2 Kings xxv. 1. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17. Jerem. xxi. 1. xxxiv. 1.

(H) This practice of divining by arrows continued among the *Arabs* till *Mohammedism* prevailed, which absolutely forbids it (13), and appears to have been the very same in use with the *Babylonians* at this time. “The arrows used by them for this purpose were like those with which they cast lots, being without heads or feathers, and were kept in the temple of some idol, in whose presence they were consulted. Seven such arrows were kept at the temple of *Mecca*; but generally in divination they made use of three only; on one of which was written, *My LORD hath commanded me*; on another, *My LORD hath forbidden me*; and the third was blank. If the first was drawn, they looked on it as an approbation of the enterprize in question; if the second, they made a contrary conclusion; but if the third happened to be drawn, they mixed them and drew them over again, till a decisive answer was given by one of the others. These divining arrows were generally consulted before any thing of moment was undertaken; as when a man was about to marry, or about to go a journey, or the like [*Ebn al Aibir, al Zamakh. & al Beid. in Kor. c. 5. Al Mostatraf. &c. Vid. Poc. Spec. p. 327. &c. & D’Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Acdâh.*] This superstitious practice of divining by arrows was used by the antient *Greeks*, [*Vid. Pott. Antiq. of Gr. vol. i. p. 334.*] and other nations; and is particularly mentioned in scripture, [*Ezek. xxi. 21.*] where it is said, that *the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination; he made his arrows bright, (or, according to the version of the Vulgate, which seems*

(13) See the *Koran*, c. 5 p. 94. of Mr. Sale’s translation.

“ preferable

That the war should first break out against the *Jews* ^m. The *Babylonian* army then made its way to the kingdom of that people, and in a few days became master of all their cities, except *Lachish*, *Azekah*, and *Jerusalem* ⁿ; which in the latter end of *December*, the same year, was blocked up by *Nebuchadnezzar*, with all his formidable army, and a close and vigorous siege ensued ^o.

WHILE he thus was employed, he had advice, that *Pharaoh Hophra* was on his march to relieve the besieged; whereupon he broke up from before the city, and marched to give the *Egyptian* battle ^p, and attack him before he could be possibly joined by any of the discontented nations mentioned above; but before he left *Jerusalem*, he took care to send all the captive *Jews* in his camp, amounting to 832 persons, under a good guard to *Babylon* ^q. He then moved against the *Egyptians*, who, not daring to abide the onset, as should seem by the prophet ^r, retreated in proportion as *Nebuchadnezzar* advanced; though others ^s tell us, they ventured on a battle, which ended in their overthrow.

HAVING thus driven the *Egyptians* back again into their own country, he had leisure once more to prosecute the vengeance he had resolved to take on the king at *Jerusalem*, which city he besieged once more, raising works about the place from whence he so annoyed the inhabitants, that they did not so much as dare to shew their heads on the walls ^t. And yet this siege continued so long, and was in a way of continuing so much longer, that *Nebuchadnezzar* seems to have lost all patience, and to have retired to recreate himself at *Riblah* ^u; if it was not business rather than pleasure that drew him thither. While he was at *Riblah*, his generals, *Nebuzaradan*,

^m Ezek. xxi. 19.—24. ⁿ Jerem. xxxiv. 7. ^o 2 Kings ubi sup. Jerem. xxxix. 1. lii. 4. ^p Jerem. xxxvii. 5. ^q Idem lii. 29. ^r Idem xxxvii. 7. ^s Joseph. Antiq. Jud. ubi sup. c. 10. ^t Idem ibid. ^u 2 Kings ubi sup. ver. 6.

“ preferable in this place, *he mixed together, or shook the arrows*)
 “ *he consulted with images, &c.* The commentary of St. *Jerom*
 “ on this passage wonderfully agrees with what we are told of the
 “ aforesaid custom of the old *Arabs*. *He shall stand, saith he, in*
 “ *the highway, and consult the oracle after the manner of his nation,*
 “ *that he may cast arrows into a quiver, and mix them together, being*
 “ *written upon, or marked with the names of each people, that he may*
 “ *see whose arrow will come forth, and which city he ought first to*
 “ *attack*” (14)

(14) See the prelim. Disc to the same, p. 126, 127.

Nebusbasban, Rabfarris, Nergal-sharezzer, and Rabmag (I), Year of stuck close by *Jerusalem*; and at length perceiving the inhabitants to be quite exhausted of their strength and courage, they assaulted the city in the middle of the night, ^w and took it after a twelvemonth's siege. At first they missed *Zedekiah* and his family, but they took him the next morning, as he was attempting to escape. *Nebuchadnezzar* no sooner saw *Zedekiah* brought before him at *Riblah*, than, severely upbraiding him for his perfidy and ingratitude, he caused his children and all his friends that had been taken with him, to be put to death before his face, and then, depriving him of his eye-sight, ordered him to be bound with chains of brass, and in that deplorable condition to be carried away captive to *Babylon* *. Year of the Flood, 2411. Year before Christ 588.

He then dispatched *Nebuzaradan*, the captain of his guard, with orders quite to dismantle the city of *Jerusalem*, to burn the temple there, and the royal palace, and in short the whole place. This was executed with the utmost rigour; and to compleat the tragedy, every soul in the land was led away into captivity, except some few of the most miserable of the people, who were left to take care of the soil and the fruits as yet ungathered. Thus did the *Chaldeans*, under *Nebuchadnezzar*, deal with the *Jews*; they stripped the temple of all its furniture, and destroyed the brazen sea, and the two brazen pillars †.

AMONG the prisoners *Nebuzaradan* brought with him to *Riblah* were *Seraiah* the high-priest, *Zephaniah* the second priest, the three governors of the temple, *Zedekiah's* chief general, and five of his favourites or counsellors, together with his muster-master, who was also his secretary; *Nebuchadnezzar* ordered all these to be beheaded. In the midst of his fury, however, he concluded it was adviseable not to leave the land without somebody to look to the miserable remnant that was in it, and to this office he appointed one *Gedaliah* ‡: Nor did he fail to extend his mercy and favour towards the prophet *Jeremiah*, giving *Nebuzaradan* a favourable charge with regard to that holy person, to leave him to his choice of remaining behind in his own country, under his particular

^w Ibid. ver. 4. * See before, p. 109. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 110.

(I) *Josephus* (15) calls them *Nergelcar, Aremantus, Emegar, Nabajaris, and Echarampsaris*.

(15) *Antiq. Jud. l. 10. c. 11.*

protection, or of going forward with him to *Babylon*, there to enjoy himself in peace and plenty in his palace. And now *Nebuchadnezzar* returned once more in triumph to the city of his residence, adding great strength and glory to it, by an immense booty he brought with him, and a numerous accession of new inhabitants.

WITH the gold he amassed in this expedition, it is thought, he erected ^a the monstrous colossus of that metal in honour of his god *Bel*, in the plain of *Dura* in the province of *Babylon*. It was sixty cubits in height, and six cubits in breadth, and all of gold; and having summoned together all his princes, governors, captains, judges, treasurers, counsellors, and all the rulers of provinces, to the dedication of this idol, proclamation was made, That all people, nations, and languages, should no sooner hear the sound of various musical instruments, than they should fall down and worship the golden image *Nebuchadnezzar* the king had set up; under the fearful penalty of being thrown into the midst of a burning fiery furnace ^b. They failed not to obey at the signal given, all but the *Jews*, and particularly *Shadrach*, *Mesbach*, and *Abed-nego* (K), who being brought before the king, and accused of the neglect, and contempt, and persisting in a refusal to do as was commanded, he became quite furious against them, and ordered, that the furnace should be heated seven times more than ever it had been, and that they should be thrown into it ^c. They were then bound with all their apparel about them, and thrown in; but the heat or the fire of the furnace was so violent, that it killed the men who had charge of the execution ^d. This was

^a PRIDEAUX, ubi sup. l. 2. p. 87. ^b Dan. iii. ^c Ibid. ver. 20. ^d Ibid. ver. 22.

(K) It may be thought strange, that *Daniel* was not accused as well as his friends, it being impossible to suppose, he fell down and worshipped the image. To this it is answered (16), that he must have been either absent, or, if present, must have been too great a man to be accused: It is observed (17) to be most probable, that he was present, it being impossible well to conceive, how so important an officer could have been absent upon so general a summons, and upon so solemn an occasion; but that his enemies might think it dangerous to begin with him, and chose to pave the way to his destruction by that of his three friends, who being miraculously delivered, *Daniel* escaped all danger of course.

(16) See Prid. ubi sup. p. 87. (17) Idem. ibid.

no sooner over, than *Nebuchadnezzar* became all astonished; and hastily inquiring, if they had not thrown three men bound into the furnace, and being answered accordingly, he cried out, *I see four men loose walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt, and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God*^e. He then drew near to the mouth of the furnace, and conjured the three men, as servants of the most high God, to come out to him. They did so, and all were astonished at what they saw, when they perceived, they had not received the least hurt or alteration, even in their garments^f. *Nebuchadnezzar* blessed the God of *Shadrach*, *Mesbach*, and *Abed-nego*, and decreed, that whosoever of any people, nation, or language, should presume to speak any thing amiss of the God of *Shadrach*, *Mesbach*, and *Abed-nego*, the criminal should be cut in pieces, and his house turned into a dunghil^g.

THIS mighty prince, thus reformed, was obliged once more to cross the *Euphrates*, to make war on the nations on this side, whose turbulence of spirit could not rest. It had been prophesied, that he should subdue *Egypt* (L), and serve her

^e Ibid. ver. 25. ^f Ibid. ver. 27. ^g Ibid. ver. 29.

(L) The prophet's words are (18), *Son of man, take up a lamentation for Pharaoh king of Egypt, and say unto him, Thou art like a young lion of the nations, and thou art as a whale in the seas; and thou camest forth with thy rivers, and troubledst the waters with thy feet, and fouledst the rivers. Thus saith the Lord God, I will therefore spread out my net over thee, with a company of many people, and they shall bring thee up in my net . . . For thus saith the Lord God, The sword of the King of Babylon shall come upon thee . . . There be the princes of the north all of them, and all the Zidonians, which are gone down with the slain, with their terror they are ashamed of their might, and they lie uncircumcised with them that be slain by the sword . . . Pharaoh shall see them (that is, Pharaoh shall see the Zidonians, or Tyrians destroyed before him; for *Nebuchadnezzar* subdued *Phœnicie* before he invaded *Egypt*), and shall be comforted over all his multitude, even Pharaoh and all his army slain by the sword, saith the LORD God.*

That this prophecy immediately relates to *Nebuchadnezzar*, appears by the recapitulation, made in this same chapter, of the conquests of this monarch, as *Assur*, or *Assyria*, *Elam*, &c. *Jerusalem* may not have been mentioned, as not being yet destroyed. The same prophet dilates much upon this fearful destruction and captivity of *Egypt* in other places (19). *Jeremiah* is quite explicit upon the occasion, and mentions (20) this king by name, *Thus saith*

(18) *Ezek.* xxxii. 2—31. (19) xxix, xxx, xxxi. (20) xliii. 10—13.

the

her as *Judah* had been served, and that the same fate should also befall the city of *Tyre* (M).

Year of the Flood, 2414. Year before Christ 585. In completion of these predictions he sat down with his army before *Tyre*, and underwent a most tedious siege of 13 years there, and at last had nothing but an empty town for

the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Behold, I will send and take Nebuchadnezzar my servant . . . And when he cometh, he shall smite the land of Egypt, and deliver such as are for death, to death; and such as are for captivity, to captivity; and such as are for the sword, to the sword. And I will kindle a fire in the houses of the gods of Egypt, and he shall burn them, and carry them away captives, and he shall array himself with the land of Egypt, as a shepherd putteth on his garment, and he shall go forth from thence in peace. He shall also break the images of Bethshemeth, that is in the land of Egypt, and the houses of the gods of the Egyptians shall be burn with fire. Much more to the same purpose is to be found in this same prophet (21).

(M) These are the words of the prophet (22), Son of man, because that Tyrus hath said against Jerusalem, Aha, she is broken, that was the gates of the people . . . Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against thee, O Tyrus . . . Behold I will bring upon Tyrus, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, a king of kings, from the north . . . shall slay with the sword thy daughters in the field, and he shall make a fort against thee, and cast a mount against thee, and lift up the buckler against thee. And he shall set engines of war against thy walls, and with his axes he shall break down thy towers. By reason of the abundance of his horses their dust shall cover thee, thy walls shall shake at the noise of the horsemen, and of the wheels, and of the chariots, when he shall enter into thy gates, as men enter into a city wherein is made a breach. With the hoofs of his horses shall he tread down all thy streets; he shall slay thy people by the sword, and thy strong garisons shall go down to the ground. And they shall make a spoil of thy riches, and make a prey of thy merchandise; [This seems to contradict what is said of the removal to the island, and the emptiness of the place when Nebuchadnezzar got possession of it, but may be meant only to exaggerate the destruction of the old town] and they shall break down thy walls, and destroy thy pleasant houses; and they shall lay thy stones, and thy timber, and thy dust, in the midst of the water . . . And I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon: thou shalt be built no more . . . Then all the princes of the sea shall come down from their thrones, and lay away their robes, and put off their broidered garments; they shall cloath themselves with trembling, they shall sit upon the ground . . . and be astonished at thee; and so on in this place, and in others (23) of this same prophet, to the same purpose.

(21) xlii. xlii. xlii. &c. (22) Ezek. xxvi. 2—16. (23) xxvii. xxviii.

his pains ^h. For the *Tyrians*, perceiving his obstinacy against them, and sensible they must sooner or later fall into his hands, bethought them of removing to the island opposite to them, and not above half a mile or so from the shore; where they built them a new city, whither they conveyed all their effects, and left *Nebuchadnezzar* to vent his rage upon the empty walls of the old town, which he failed not to do ⁱ. However, during this siege, he from time to time, by detached parties, seems compleatly to have subjugated all the countries about; and this he certainly did, in pursuance of the several prophecies of *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel*. Thus during this siege, he sent *Nebuzaradan* with a party into *Judæa*, to take vengeance on them for the murder of their late governor *Gedaliah*: In consequence of which he brought off with him all the inhabitants he could meet with, and which amounted to no more than 745 persons, and thereby compleated the desolation of the land.

WHAT *Nebuchadnezzar* may probably have done at *Tyre*, Year of before he departed thence, we have declared already ^k. But the Flood, to make amends for this disappointment, it was promised by 2427. the prophet, that *Egypt* should pay him for what he had suf- Year be- fered before *Tyre* ^l. *Egypt* was at this time as weak as *Tyre* fore Christ was apparently strong; for the country was at this time in 572. great distraction, caused by a civil war then raging between *Apries* and *Amasis* ^m. But concerning this his expedition against *Egypt* we have no manner of account, except what we find relating thereto in the prophecies of *Ezekiel* and *Jeremiah*; whereby we understand, that *Egypt* suffered as much by him as any nation had till then done (N). And now it must

^h See Vol. II. p. 345.
p 49.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 346.

^k Ibid.

^l Ibid.

^m Ibid. p. 50.

(N) This, besides what we have cited from the prophets to prove it, is directly said by *Jeremiah* (24), addressing himself to such of the remnants of the captivity as thought to have found a sure place of refuge in *Egypt*; Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, If ye will only set your faces to enter into *Egypt*, and go to sojourn there, then it shall come to pass, that the sword, which ye feared, shall overtake you there in the land of *Egypt*, and the famine, whereof ye were afraid, shall follow close after you, there in *Egypt*, and there ye shall die. ye shall it be with all the men that set their faces to go into *Egypt*, to sojourn there, they shall die by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence: and none of them shall remain, or escape from the

must have been also, that he conquered the *Libyans*, and *Ethiopians*, and other adjacent nations, according to the prophecies concerning him (O). As for *Egypt*, it is quite uncertain in what state, or upon what conditions, he left that country, or whether or no he did not appoint *Amasis*, so famed among the *Egyptians*, his lieutenant or viceroy there ⁿ. The glory and prosperity of the reign of this *Egyptian* king, as represented by the *Egyptians* themselves ^o, need not prevent us from concluding, he was no better than a substitute and tributary to the king of *Babylon*, and the rather, as the prophet foretels of them, that they should be confounded and desolate for 40 years afterwards ^p, which is a space of time nearly equal to the reign of *Amasis* ^q; and his defection in the end may have been as good a reason as any formerly given for the rage, as it is represented, of *Cambyfes* against him ^r, when the *Persians* had destroyed the empire of *Babylon*.

BUT to desist from uncertainties of so very dubious a nature, *Nebuchadnezzar* is said to have carried his arms into the very heart of *Libya* and *Iberia*, and to have far exceeded even

ⁿ Ibid. p. 52. ^o Ibid. p. 53. ^p Ibid. p. 49. ^q Ibid. p. 59. ^r Ibid. p. 56.

evil that I will bring upon them. For thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, As mine anger and my fury hath been poured forth upon the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, so shall my fury be poured forth upon you, when ye shall enter into Egypt: and ye shall be an execration, and an astonishment, and a curse, and a reproach, and ye shall see this place no more (25).

(O, Son of man * prophesy and say, Thus saith the Lord God, Howl ye, wo worth the day. For the day is near, even the day of the Lord is near, a cloudy day, it shall be the time of the heathen . . . Great pain shall be in Ethiopia, when the rain shall fall in Egypt, and they shall take away her multitude, and her foundations shall be broken down. Ethiopia, and Libya, and Lydia, and all the mingled people, and Chub, and the men of the land that is in league, shall fall with them by the sword. Thus saith the Lord, They also that uphold Egypt shall fall, and the pride of her power shall come down: from the tower of Syene shall they fall in it by the sword, saith the Lord God. And they shall be desolate in the midst of the countries that are desolate, and her cities shall be in the midst of the cities that are wasted. And they shall know that I am the LORD, when I have set a fire in Egypt, and when all her helpers shall be destroyed. In that day shall messengers go forth from me in ships, to make the careless Ethiopians afraid, and great pain shall come upon them, . . . for so it cometh (26).

(25) Ibid. 15—18. * Ezek. xxx. (26) Ibid. 2—9.

Hercules

Hercules himself *. Thus far we have seen him a warrior beyond all that had gone before him; we have now done with his martial deeds, and must retire with him to *Babylon*, and take a view of what he did there, and seeing the magnificence of that city is wholly attributed to him, we cannot do it better than by a description thereof, which we have particularly reserved for this place; for it was this prince that enlarged and adorned it, and enriched the temples of it with the spoils he had taken, and, in fine, did most of what is attributed to *Semiramis*, except the immediate foundation; and, indeed, as it is evidently under him, and almost under him only, as monarch of *Babylon*, that the country flourished, and lorded it over the nations, and divided the empire with the *Medes*, who upon his death seem to have been upon no very good terms with the *Babylonians*, so nothing is more natural than to conclude, that the city attained its splendor under him, and that what was done to it after him, was rather to preserve it from assaults of the enemy, than to set it off as the queen of the east.

TOWARDS the description of *Babylon*, and what *Nebu-Babylon chadnezzar* did there, we have little or nothing to add to *described*. what has already been said for us; and therefore we shall have no more to do than to transcribe it, and particularly in the method of a late learned author †.

Semiramis, as we have seen, by some ‡, and *Belus* § by others, is said to have founded this city; but whether it was originally founded by *Belus* or *Pul*, or his son *Nabonassar* the first *Babylonian* king in *Ptolemy's* canon, it was *Nebuchadnezzar* that made it one of the wonders of the world. The most famous works in and about it were the walls of the city itself; the temple of *Belus*; *Nebuchadnezzar's* palace, and the hanging gardens belonging to it; the banks of the river; and the artificial lake and canals made for the draining of the river; works which for magnificence and expence, were exceeded by no one attempt of human labour, excepting the wall of *China*.

THE walls that surrounded the city were every way pro- *The walls.* digious; for they were in thickness 87 foot, in height 350 foot, and in compass 480 furlongs, or 60 of our miles ¶. These are the measures according to *Herodotus*, who was him-

* ABYDEN. ex MEGASTH. apud EUSEB. Præpar. Evang. l. 9. p. 456. & BEROS apud JOSEPH. † PRIDEAUX in his connect. ‡ See before, p. 165. § ABYDEN. ex MEGASTH. apud EUSEB. Præp. Evang. l. 9. p. 457. QUINT. CURT. l. 5. c. 1. ¶ HERODOT. l. 1. c. 178.

self at *Babylon* ; and though there are those who differ from him in these dimensions, yet most, who agree in any measures of these walls, give us ^x the same, or nearly the same he does (P). These walls formed an exact square ^y, each side of which was 120 stades, or 15 miles, in length, and were all built of large bricks, cemented together with bitumen ^z, a particular product of the neighbourhood of this city ^a, and much more durable and strong than lime. On the outside of these walls was a large ditch full of water, and the earth dug out of it served to make the bricks which built the walls ^b, so that from the great dimensions of the walls, those of this ditch or moat may be readily conceived. In each side of this square were 25 gates, 100 in all, and all of solid brass : Between every two of these gates were three towers, and four more at the four corners of this great square, and three between those corners and the gates next on each side, and each of these towers was ten foot higher than the walls. But this is to be understood only of those parts, of the walls, where towers were needful for defence ^c. For some parts of them being upon a morass, and inaccessible by an enemy, there the labour and cost was spared, which, though it must have spoiled the symmetry of the whole, must be allowed to have favoured of good œconomy ; though that

^x PLIN. Hist. Nat. l. 6. c. 26. PHILOST. l. 1. c. 18. ^y HERODOT. ubi supr. ^z Idem ibid. c. 179. QUINT. CURT. l. 5. c. 1. STRAB. l. 16. p. 743. DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. p. 69. ARRIAN. de expedit. ALEX. l. 7. ^a See Vol. I. p. 319, note (I). ^b HERODOT. ubi sup. ^c DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. p. 68.

(P) *Diodorus Siculus*, as we have seen before (27), diminishes the circumference of these walls very considerably, and takes somewhat from the height of them, as in *Herodotus*, though he seems to add to the breadth of them, by saying, That six chariots might drive abreast thereon ; while the former writes, That one chariot only might turn upon them ; but then he places buildings on each side of the top of these walls, which, according to him, were but one story high (28) ; which may pretty well reconcile them together in this respect. It is observed (29), that those, who give the height of these walls but at fifty cubits, speak of them only as they were after the time of *Darius Hystaspes*, who had caused them to be beaten down to that level. To dwell particularly on the varieties in authors that have spoken of this city, would be both endless and fruitless.

(27) P. 165.
ubi supr. p. 95.

(28) L. 1. c. 179.

(29) Vid. Prid.

is what one would not have expected from a prince who had been so determined, as *Nebuchadnezzar* must have been, to make the city complete both for strength and beauty; and hence it should seem, that we see a woman in after-ages completing the walls of *Babylon*; which may have been no more than supplying the deficiency of towers in the parts so destitute of them, which may be better considered, when we come to speak of her in particular. The whole number then of these towers amounted to no more than 250, whereas a much greater number would have been necessary to have made the uniformity complete all round. From the 25 gates in each side of this square there was a strait street, extending to the corresponding gate in the opposite wall, whence the whole number of the streets must have been but 50; but then they were each about 15 miles long, 25 of them crossing the other 25 exactly at right angles^d. Besides these whole streets, we must reckon four half streets, which were but rows of houses facing the four inner sides of the walls. These four half streets were properly the four sides of the city within the walls, and were each of them 200 foot broad^e, the whole streets being about 150 of the same. By this intersection of the 50 streets, the city was divided into 676 squares, each of four furlongs and an half on each side, or two miles and a quarter in compass. Round these squares on every side towards the streets stood the houses, all of three or four stories in height, and beautified^f with all manner of ornaments; and the space within each of these squares was all void, and taken up by yards, and gardens, and the like, either for pleasure or convenience.

A branch of the *Euphrates* divided the city into two, running through the midst of it, from north to south (Q), over which, in the very middle of the city, was a bridge, a furlong in length^g, or rather more, and indeed much more, if we hearken to others, who say, it was no less than five stades or furlongs in length, though but 30 foot broad^h, a

^d HERODOT. ubi supr. c. 180. ^e DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. p. 67.
^f HERODOT. ubi supr. PHILOSTR. l. 1. ^g STRAB. ubi supr. p. 738.
^h See before, p. 166.

(Q) It seems rather to have been a branch of the *Euphrates* (30), than the main stream itself, that thus divided this city. In *Ptolemy's* maps it is seated upon the *Naharmalcha*, or royal river.

(30) *Vide eund. ibid.*

S f

difference

difference we shall never be able to decide (R) ; this bridge however is said to have been built with wonderful artⁱ, to supply a defect in the bottom of the river, which was all sandy. At the ends of this bridge were two palaces^k; the old palace on the east side, the new one on the west side of the river ; the former of which took up^l four of the squares above-mentioned, and the latter^m nine of them. The temple of *Belus*, which stood next to the old palace, took up another of the same squares.

THE whole city stood in a large flat or plain, in a very fat and deep soilⁿ ; that part or half of it on the east side of the river was the old city^o, and the other on the west was added by *Nebuchadnezzar*^p, both being included within the vast square bounded by the walls aforesaid. The form of the whole was seemingly borrowed from *Nineveh*, which was also 480 furlongs ; but though it was equal in dimensions to this city, it was less with respect to its form, which was a parallelogram^q, whereas that of *Babylon* was an exact square : It is supposed, that *Nebuchadnezzar*, who had destroyed that old seat of the *Assyrian* empire, proposed that this new one should rather exceed it than not^r, and that it was to fill this great intended city with inhabitants, that he transported such numbers of captives from other countries hither^s ; though that is what may be disputed, seeing he therein only followed the constant practice of the kings of *Assyria*, who must have re-

ⁱ DIODOR SICUL. l. 2. p. 68. HERODOT. l. 1. c. 186. QUINT. CURT. l. 5. c. 1. PHILOSTR. l. 1. c. 18. ^k BEROS. apud JOSEPH. Antiq. Judaic. l. 10. c. 11. HERODOT. ubi supr. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supr. QUINT. CURT. ubi supr. PHILOSTR. ubi supr. See before, ubi supr. ^l DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supr. ^m Idem ibid. ⁿ HERODOT. ubi supr. c. 193. ^o BEROS. ubi supr. ^p Idem ibid. ^q DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supr. p. 65. ^r Vid. PRIDEAUX's Connect. of the Hist. of the Old and New Test. vol. 1. l. 2. p. 97. in 8vo. ^s Vid. eund. ibid.

(R) By the former of the dimensions of this bridge, it is plain, the city was not immediately upon the great river of *Euphrates*, but rather upon some artificial canal, or inferior branch of the main stream. By the latter indeed it may seem, that it stood upon the main stream itself ; however, as they both agree so well in the breadth of the bridge, we may be inclined to think the former was the true length thereof, the latter being quite disproportionate thereto ; and hence we may be brought to conclude, that the city of *Babylon* was not immediately upon the great river *Euphrates*. Other arguments, this way tending, may be alledged ; but, as it is a point of such obscurity, we wave them.

curred thereto, as the most certain means of assuring their conquests either to themselves or their posterity.

THUS far however appears ; this city was never near inhabited, and, with respect to the very meridian of its glory, may be compared with the flower of the field, which flourishes to day, and to morrow is no more ; for as we shall see in the course of this work, it never had the time to grow up to what *Nebuchadnezzar* visibly intended to have made it ; for *Cyrus* removing the seat of the empire soon after to *Shushan*, *Babylon* fell to decay, and never flourished to the degree of any thing like what *Nebuchadnezzar* had certainly proposed to himself. Thus far is allowed, no country could have been better able to support so vast and populous a city as this was intended to have been, had it been the will of fate that it should have been compleated up to the first design (S).
But

(S) This it is thought never to have been ; for “ when *Alexander* “ (31) came to *Babylon*, *Curtius* tells us, no more than 90 furlongs “ of it was then built, which can no otherwise be understood than “ of so much in length, and if we allow the breadth to be as “ much as the length, (which is the utmost that can be allowed) “ it will follow, that no more than 8100 square furlongs were “ then built upon, but the whole space within the walls contained 14400 square furlongs, and therefore there must have been “ 6300 square furlongs that were unbuilt, which, *Curtius* tells us, “ were plowed and sown. And besides this, the houses were not “ contiguous, but all built with a void space, on each side, between house and house. And the same historian tells us this “ was done, because this way of building seemed to them safest. “ His words are, *Ac ne totam quidem urbem testis occupaverunt, per 90 stadia habitatur, nec omnia continua sunt ; credo, quia tutius est pluribus locis spargi.* i. e. Neither was the whole city built upon, “ for the space of 90 furlongs it was inhabited, but the houses were “ not contiguous, because they thought it safest to be dispersed in many “ places distant from each other. Which words [they thought it “ safest] are to be understood, not as if they did this for the better securing their houses from fire, as some interpret them, but “ chiefly for the better preserving of health ; for hereby, in cities situated in such hot countries, those suffocations and other “ inconveniences are avoided, which must necessarily attend such as “ there dwell in houses cloiely built together. For which reason “ *Delhi*, the capital of *India*, and several other cities in those warmer parts of the world, are thus built ; the usage in those places “ being, that such a slated space of ground be left void between “ every house and house that is built in them ; and old *Rome* was

(31) *Id. c. 1. lib. 7.*

“ built

But neither did *Nebuchadnezzar* live long enough, or the empire itself subsist a time sufficient to bring this to pass.

THE

“ built after the same manner. So that, putting all this together,
 “ it will appear that *Babylon* was so large a city in scheme rather
 “ than reality : for according to this account, it must be by much
 “ the larger part that was never built, and therefore, in this respect,
 “ it must give place to *Nineveh*, which was as many furlongs in
 “ circuit as the other, and without any void ground in it that we
 “ are told of. And the number of its infants, at the same
 “ time, which could not discern between their right hand and
 “ their left, which the scripture tells us, were 120,000 in the time
 “ of *Jonah*, doth sufficiently prove it was fully inhabited.”

Upon this we have to remark, that nothing can be concluded from what is related by *Curtius*, at a time when the city must have suffered a very great decay ; and when the houses and private buildings in particular must have been deserted and gone to ruin, and levelled with the ground, the ground that became void, amounting to a considerable space, may have been converted to the uses of tillage and pasture. For when *Alexander* came to *Babylon*, it must have been little better than the skeleton of the old city ; so that let what *Curtius* reports concerning it be ever so true, it proves no more, than that such was the state of *Babylon* when *Alexander* came there, not what it had been, and doubtless was, when the seat of the *Babylonian*, or latter *Assyrian* empire. Again, as to what is alledged in the citation above, to confirm what is asserted by *Curtius*, as to the distance left between house and house, and the example produced in *Delhi*, and other cities in hot countries, which are built in that straggling manner, it may be needless to animadvert thereon, when at the same time it is granted, that in the length or breadth of 15 miles there was no more than 25 streets, or 26, including the two half streets, or rows, at the ends and at the sides. A city built in this proportion must have been full airy enough, and by the proportions it must appear, that there were such void spaces behind all the houses, as must have answered all the purposes of preventing suffocations, and other inconveniencies the inhabitants may have been in danger of. And besides, if *Delhi* and other cities in the east, are built in the extensive and incoherent manner above suggested, other cities there are, in climates to the full as warm, and under much better regulation, which are not only built, without this discontinuity, but as close as possible, and with streets so narrow, that there would not be much more than room for one of our coaches to pass through them ; as *Canton* in *China* (32), and other cities in the same country, and others.

(32) See the *Dutch Embassy*.

Lastly,

THE next work in *Babylon*, attributed to *Nebuchadnezzar*- Temple of *Belus*^t. This temple or tower, as to *Belus*. its form and dimensions, we have sufficiently described already^u, where we have also declared our thoughts concerning the first foundation and completion of it^w; but some particulars we must however add, to give a more distinct idea of

^t *BeROS*, ubi sup. ^u See Vol. I. p. 321. note (K). ^w *Ibid*.

Lastly, it is almost certain, that *Nineveh* was never so big as *Babylon*, notwithstanding what is inferred from the 120,000 souls there, who could not distinguish their right hand from their left; which, as we have suggested formerly (33), may be as justly understood of a religious blindness, as a natural incapacity; and is a figurative expression, which may be very aptly used on the occasion when *Jonah* was to open their eyes, that they might see the dangers their sins were like to bring upon them. *Nineveh* was in the time of *Jonah* in its infancy (34); there was as yet no king of *Affyria*, distinguished as such (35), and therefore to suppose that city, in the days of *Jonah*, to have been more considerable than *Babylon* was, at the height of her meridian, is a little out of the way. Nor will it be much more just to imagine it to have exceeded this city, even when it was at the greatest; for it is plain, by the history of all the *Affyrian* kings at *Nineveh*, that they never established a settled dominion over the parts of their empire, as it is called, but were forever diverted by foreign wars; so that they lived rather upon the spoil, from time to time, as they made their incursions upon this kingdom or that, than upon any regular or continued revenue or tribute from the several people they over-ran, who never rested quietly, for any space of time, under their yoke. *Esar-baddon* was the most powerful of them all, and extended his dominion even over *Egypt*, which none of his predecessors ever did, and was in a fair way of effecting the monarchy his fore-fathers had in vain aspired at; but he dying soon after he had thus established himself, and being as it seems, succeeded by a prince of no active genius, the empire mouldered away by degrees till it became no more. *Nebuchadnezzar*, of all the *Affyrian* race, seems to have raised the family to the utmost it ever was. His great successes, and the length of his reign, in comparison of what was enjoyed by any *Affyrian* king before him, may abundantly convince us, that he raised *Babylon* to a pitch of magnificence and grandeur, which had never been seen at *Nineveh*; and if thereto we add his passion to aggrandise and embellish this city, which plainly eclipsed her sister in *Affyria*, we cannot so much as doubt of it; though after all, we are very ready to think, *Babylon* never was so very enormous as represented.

(33) See before p. 186, (W). (34) *Ibid*. (35) *Ibid*.

what

what it was. The ascent to it was by steps on the outside, by the slope lines which formed the eight retractions or benchings in, which shaped it, as it were, into eight distinct towers, as may be observed in the representation we have copied of it. What the uppermost of these towers was set apart for, we have seen already †; but on the top of this there was, it seems, an observatory *, by the means of which the *Babylonians* are pretended to have advanced themselves to their great pretended knowledge in the sidereal sciences. Till the times of *Nebuchadnezzar*, it is thought, this tower was all the temple of *Belus*, but as he did by the other antient buildings of the city †, so he did by this ‡, making great additions thereto, by vast edifices erected round it §, in a square of two furlongs on every side, and just a mile in circumference, which exceeded the square at the temple of *Jerusalem* by 1800 foot ¶. On the outside of these buildings was a wall, which inclosed the whole; and in consideration of the regularity wherewith this city was to all appearance marked out, it is supposed * that this wall was equal to the square of the city wherein it stood, and so is concluded to have been two miles and an half in circumference. In this wall were several gates leading into the temple, and all of solid brass †, which it is thought ‡, may have been made out of the brazen sea, and brazen pillars, and other vessels and ornaments of the kind which *Nebuchadnezzar* had transported from *Jerusalem*; for in this temple he is said to have dedicated his spoils brought from that of *Jerusalem* §.

In this temple were several images or idols of massy gold, and one of them, as we have seen §, 40 foot in height, the same, as supposed ¶, with that which *Nebuchadnezzar* consecrated in the plains of *Dura* †. This last is said to have been 60 cubits, or 90 foot high; which, though it vastly exceeds the dimensions of the former of 40, yet this last is thought to have been so extraordinary for size, that it has been attempted to reconcile them into one ‡, by supposing, that in the 90 foot the height of the pedestal is included, and that the 40 foot are for the height of the statue without

† Ibid. p. 244. * DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. p. 98. † BEROS. apud JOSEPH. ubi sup. ‡ Idem apud eund. ibid. § HERODOT. ubi sup. ¶ Vid. PRID. Connect. Vol. I. part 1. l. 2. p. 100. in 8vo. * Idem ibid. † HERODOT. ubi sup. ‡ Vid. PRID. ubi sup. § Dan. i. 2. † Chron. xxxvi. 7. ‡ See before p. 107. † Vid. PRID. ubi sup. † See before, p. 316. ‡ Vid. PRID. ubi sup.

the pedestal (T); and being said to have weighed 1000 talents of *Babylon*¹, it is thence computed, that it was worth three

¹ See before, p. 167.

(T) With the pedestal or without, this golden colossus must be allowed to be a wonder, and especially if it was all of gold. We will forbear to talk of the proportions of this statue, as a late learned author (36) has done; they may have been just, for ought we know, though that is what we are apt to suspect, as well as that *Diodorus*, by the statue he mentions (37), means that which *Nebuchadnezzar* raised in the plain of *Dura*. It shall suffice, that we take notice, that the same late learned author (38) imagines this statue, vast as it was, weighed but 1000 talents of *Babylon*; and consequently, that, according to the value of the *Babylonish* talent in *Pollux's Onomasticon*, it amounted to three millions and a half of our money. The golden statue in *Diodorus* is placed in the temple of *Belus* (39), where *Herodotus* has also seemingly two golden statues of solid gold, the one, which he represents as large, of *Jupiter* or *Belus* (40), in a fitting posture, on a throne of gold, and with a table of the same metal before it, the whole together weighing 800 talents of *Babylon*; and another of 12 cubits high, all of solid gold, which if it weighed so much as 800 talents, must have been much larger than the former; which, with its throne and all its furniture, weighed no more; and that to *Herodotus* (41) seems so much, that he cautiously reports it on the credit of the *Chaldeans* themselves. Whatever was the difference in weight between these two statues, it may thence appear that *Diodorus*, in allowing but 1000 talents for his statue of 40 foot high, is egregiously mistaken, and consequently, that our author (42) was a little inattentive to this seeming absurdity, except he concluded his statue to have been hollow, or plated over with a thick sheet of gold; that indeed might alter the case, and he would have done well to have made this distinction; but he plainly concludes it to have been of massy gold (43).

We formerly declared (44), we were not sure, that *Herodotus*, by the height he gives of the one and the weight of the other, does not mean the same statue; our reason for this, among others, is his omitting to name whom the last statue represented, which being so remarkable a piece of furniture in this *Babylonian* temple, we wonder how so exact a writer should have been guilty of the omission; and this inclines us to think they were both *Jupiters*, and consequently the same god, and perhaps the same image. If so, he may have thought it needless to repeat the name, which would have been quite necessary if they had been distinct deities; but as we formerly made it a doubt (45), so now we are far from pretending to decide the matter.

(36) See *Prid. ubi sup.* p. 101. (37) See before, p. 167.
 (38) *Prid. ubi sup.* (39) See before, *ubi sup.* (40) See before,
 p. 244. (41) *l. i. c.* 183. (42) *Prid. ubi sup.* (43) *Ibid.*
 p. 100. (44) See before, p. 244. (45) *Ibid.*

millions and an half of our money ^m. In a word, the whole weight of the statues and decorations in *Diodorus Siculus* amounting to 5000 and odd talents in gold, the whole is estimated at above ⁿ one and twenty millions of our money; and a sum about equal to the same in treasure, utensils, and ornaments, not mentioned ^o, is allowed for; which we leave to the reader, with this one observation, that our author supposes this immense treasure to have been about 2000 years in collecting, and that as he is most apparently mistaken in that, he may as likely be out in his computation; which, if it was curtailed considerably, might have been, together with other plunder of the sort, a sufficient indemnity to *Xerxes* for his *Grecian* expedition.

*The two
palaces.*

NEXT to this temple ^p, on the same east side of the river, stood the old palace of the kings of *Babylon*, being four miles in circumference. Exactly opposite to it, on the other side of the river ^q, was the new palace built by *Nebuchadnezzar*: it was eight miles in circumference, and consequently four times as big as the old one. Both these palaces we have already described according to such accounts as we have remaining of them ^r, but must add, that as vast as this palace must have been, it was the work of no more than 15 days ^s.

*The hang-
ing gardens*

BUT nothing in this city of *Babylon* has obtained a greater degree of admiration, than what we call the pensile or hanging gardens, built by *Nebuchadnezzar*, to gratify his wife *Amyitis*, who was a *Mede* ^t, and desirous to have something of a prospect that might look like her own country, which was as woody and mountainous as *Babylonia* was otherwise. They are said to have contained a square of four plethra ^w, or 400 foot, on each side, and described to have consisted of terrasses one above another, and carried up to the height of the wall of the city, the ascent from terrass to terrass being by steps ten foot wide. The whole pile consisted of substantial arches upon arches, and was strengthened by a wall surrounding it on every side of 22 foot thick, and the floors on each of them were laid in this order: First, on the tops of the arches was laid a bed or pavement of stones, 16 foot long and four foot broad; over this was a layer of bitumen, and over this two courses of brick, closely cemented together with plaster; and over all these were thick sheets of lead, and on these the

^m Vid. *PRID.* ubi sup. p. 101. ⁿ Idem ibid. ^o Idem ibid. ^p *STRAB.* l. 16. p. 731. ^q *Diodor. SICUL.* ubi sup. *PHILOSTRAT.* ubi sup. ^r See before, p. 166. ^s *BEROS.* apud *JOSEPH.* ubi sup. ^t Idem ibid. ^u See before, p. 216. ^w *Diodor. SICUL.* ubi sup. p. 70.

earth or mould of the garden. This floorage was designed to retain the moisture of the mould, which was so deep as to give root to the greatest trees which were planted upon every terrass, together with great variety of other vegetables pleasing to the eye. Upon the uppermost of these terrasses was a reservoir, supplied by a certain engine with water from the river, from whence the gardens on the other terrasses were supplied.

THE other works attributed to *Nebuchadnezzar* by *Bero-The banks, sus*^a and *Megasthenes*, or *Abydenus*^y, were the banks of the artificial river, the artificial canals, and the great artificial lake, said *canals, and* to have been sunk by *Semiramis*^z. The chief of these canals *lake.* was the *Nabarmalcha*, or *Basilicos Potamos* of the *Greeks*^a; the lake was to abate the inundations of the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, just as the lake *Mæris* in *Egypt* was designed to correct the irregularities of the *Nile*^b; their uses are exactly alike, viz. to fecundate the country in times of drought, and to rescue it from the dangers of inundation^c. This lake, however, if we are to credit our historians, was vastly more in circumference than that in *Egypt*, it being on the one hand^d said to have been 210 miles in circuit, and on the other^e, which is much less, 160, either of which gave it a square, for that was the form of it, far exceeding that of the *Egyptian* lake, which has been thought a work too stupendous to have been effected by the labour of men; but indeed what this wanted in length and breadth, it seems to have more than made good in depth, which was in some places no less than 50 fathom^f, whereas the depth of this *Babylonian* lake is given but at 35 foot^g, or 75 at the utmost^h; a difference which is attempted to be reconciled by a supposition, that the one measures only the surface of the sides, while the other includes the banks thrown up upon themⁱ.

THIS lake is said to have been dug to receive the river, which was diverted while *Nebuchadnezzar* built the banks to each side of the city of *Babylon*^k, and to have been to the westward of that place. These banks were built for the security, convenience, and decoration of the city particularly,

^a Apud *JOSEPH.* ubi sup. ^y Apud *EUSEB.* Præp. Evang. ubi sup. ^z See before, p. 167. ^a See Vol. I. p. 114.

^b Ibid. p. 426, & seq. ^c See *PRID.* ubi sup. p. 103, & Vol. I. p. 426, & seq. ^d *HERODOT.* ubi supr. c. 185. ^e *MEGAST.*

apud *EUSEB.* ubi supr. ^f See Vol. I. p. 427. ^g *HERODOT.* ubi supr. ^h *MEGAST.* ubi supr. ⁱ Vid. *PRID.* ubi supr. p. 104.

^k Vid. *ABYDEN.* ubi supr. *HERODOT.* ubi supr. *DION.* ubi supr.

and were made all of brick and bitumen ¹. and extended on each side throughout the whole length of the city ^m, and even farther according to some ⁿ, who reckon they extended 160 furlongs, or 20 miles; whence it is concluded ^o, they must have begun two miles and a half above the city, and have been continued an equal distance below it, the length of the city being no more than 15 miles. These banks were built from the bottom, and were rather walls of the same thickness with those that surrounded the city; and opposite to each street on each side he had a brazen gate in the said wall ^p, with stairs leading down from it to the river; these gates were open by day, and shut by night. *Berosus*, *Megasthenes*, and *Abydenus*, attribute all these works to *Nebuchadnezzar*; but *Herodotus* tells us, the bridge, the banks, and the lake, were the work of a queen after him, called *Nitocris*, who may have finished what *Nebuchadnezzar* left imperfect, and thence have had the honour this historian gives her of the whole ^q. If these works fell even much short of what we have here seen them to have been, it must be granted, we have not said too much of the *Babylonians* where we have represented them to have been ingenious, industrious, and laborious^r, and if *Nebuchadnezzar* did but attempt them, it must be allowed, that he deserves the first place among those who have endeavoured to signalize themselves by such stupendous monuments of art and labour; but if he did really conduct them towards a state of perfection, nothing can be said too much of him considered in this view.

WE have now seen this first *Babylonian* monarch, properly so called, in all his majesty, both at home and abroad; what we have remaining to say of him will be of a different nature: for we shall see him under great trouble and anxiety of mind, and even, as the text is commonly understood, degraded beneath the meanest of the race of mankind, and seemingly exhibited as an example of terror to princes, who, swollen with vanity, and drunk with power, would arrogate to themselves what they ought not.

Year of the Flood, 2429. Year before Christ 570. He had scarce returned from his late war of 16 or 17 years continuance, and flushed with the conquest of *Egypt*, *Æthiopia*, and *Libya*, and the reduction of all *Syria*, but reposing himself in his palace, he had a dream, which may be best de-

570

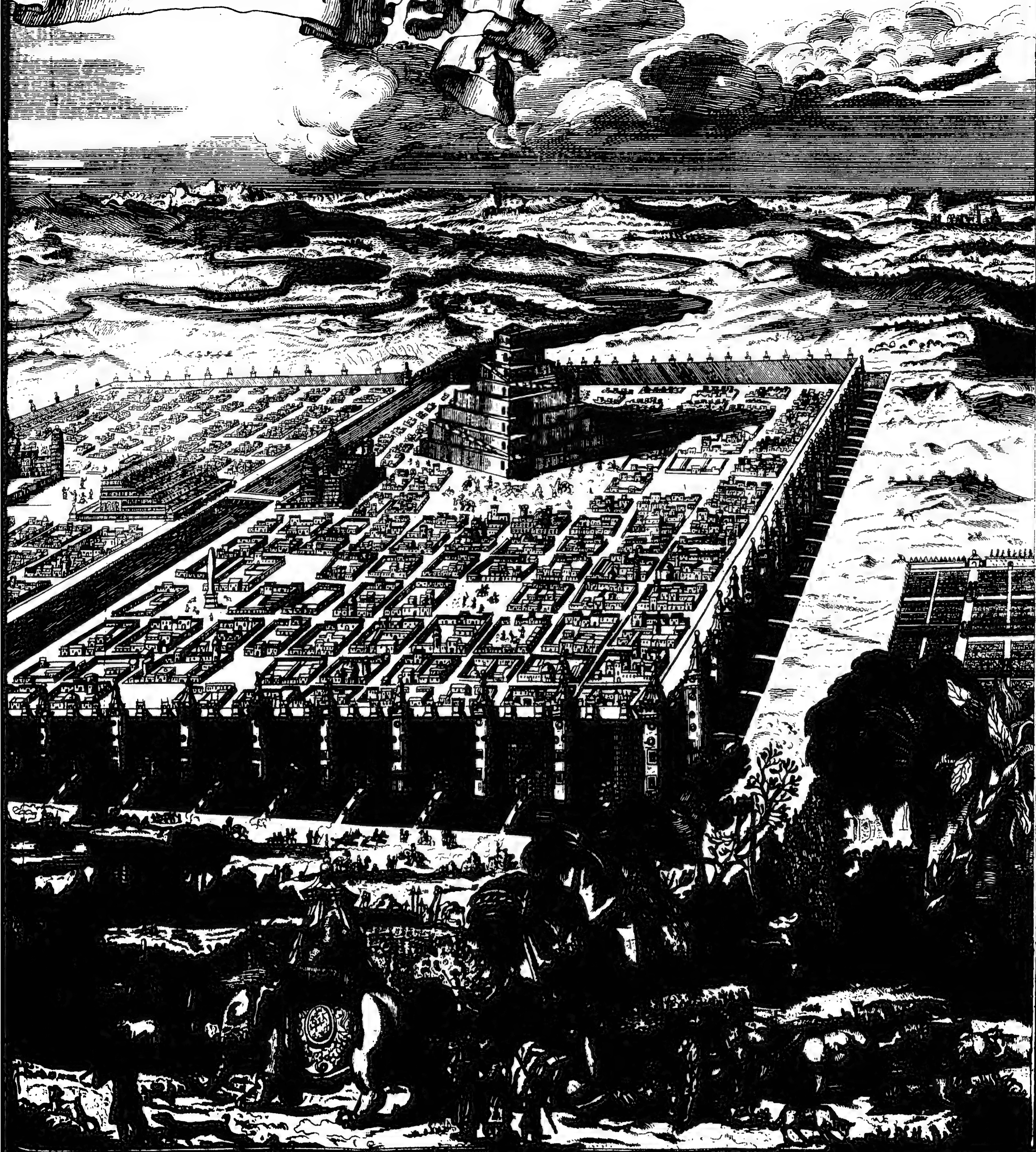
¹ *ABYDEN.* apud *EUSEB.* ubi supr.^m *HERODOT.* ubi supr.ⁿ *BEROS.* ubi supr.^o *Vid. PRID.* ubi supr.^p *Com-*pare *BEROS.* ubi supr. with *HERODOT.* ubi supr.^q *Vid.**PRID.* ubi supr. p. 105.^r See before, p. 276.

livered

THE CITY OF BABYLON



OF BABYLON



livered in his own words ^f; “ I saw, and behold, a tree in Nebu-
 “ the midst of the earth, and the height thereof *was* great. chadne-
 “ The tree grew and was strong, and the height thereof ^{zar’s}
 “ reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of *dream of*
 “ all the earth. The leaves thereof *were* fair, and the fruit *the tree.*
 “ thereof much, and in it *was* meat for all: The beasts of
 “ the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven
 “ dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed of it.
 “ I saw in the visions of my head upon my bed, and behold,
 “ a watcher and an holy one came down from heaven. He
 “ cried aloud, and said thus, Hew down the tree, and cut
 “ off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit;
 “ let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from
 “ his branches. Nevertheless leave the stump of his roots in
 “ the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the ten-
 “ der grass of the field, and let it be wet with the dew of
 “ heaven, and let his portion *be* with the beasts in the grass
 “ of the earth. Let his heart be changed from man’s, and
 “ let a beast’s heart be given unto him, and let seven times
 “ pass over him. This matter *is* by the decree of the watch-
 “ ers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones: to the
 “ intent, that the living may know, that the most High
 “ ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomso-
 “ ever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men.”

HAVING declared this to have been his dream to his wife- *The inter-*
 men, astrologers, *Chaldeans*, and the like, and all to no *pretation of*
 purpose, he at length revealed it to *Daniel*, or *Belteshazzar* ^u; *it.*
 which; how he should have neglected to do at first, after the
 proofs he had had of his superiority and the omnipotence of
 his God, may be hard to account for, if we do not suppose
 him to have laboured under some sort of distraction. To
 wave this, he is represented as revealing his dream to *Daniel*,
 in words to the effect above; and *Daniel* no sooner heard
 it, than he *was astonished for one hour, and his thoughts*
troubled him ^w. At length, after he had recovered himself,
 and deprecated the evil omen, and excused himself to the king,
 who was very solicitous with him to tell him the truth with-
 out fear or disguise, he told him, The tree he saw was meant
 of himself; that by the order of the watcher and the holy
 one concerning the tree, it was signified, that he should be
 driven out from the society of men, and become as a beast,
 and that, in fine, he should so continue to be, till he had
 been brought to a due sense of the supremacy and omnipotence

^f Dan. iv.
 ver. 19.

ⁱ *ibid.*

^u *Ibid.* ver. 9.

^w *Ibid.*

of God ; that the stump of the tree which was to be left signified, that the kingdom should nevertheless revert to him once more *. Such was *Daniel's* interpretation, which he closed with an exhortation to him to abstain from sin, and to shew mercy to the poor, that so he might procure to himself a prolongation of peace and tranquility †.

*His pride
and meta-
morphosis.*

THIS extraordinary sentence thus pronounced on him, and by the lips of a man whom he must entirely have relied on, seems to have made no lasting impression upon him ; for not being immediately executed upon him, he might have worn off the terrors of it, before the time was quite come. So that about twelve months afterwards, as he was walking in his palace, or, as some think ‡ the fact may have been, on the uppermost of the terraces of his hanging garden, and contemplating the glories of the city he had adorned, unable to contain the pride of his heart, he cried out, “ Is not this
“ great *Babylon*, that I have built for the house of the king-
“ dom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my
“ majesty † ? ” He had no sooner vented himself in this insolent manner, than there fell a voice from heaven, saying, “ O
“ king *Nebuchadnezzar*, to thee it is spoken, The kingdom is
“ departed from thee ‡ . ” And straight he was driven from the society of men, and dwelt with the beasts of the field, and he ate grass as an ox, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles *feathers*. and his nails like birds *claws* § . Thus runs the letter of the text, which is sometimes taken in all the strictness of it ; it being supposed, that, losing his senses, he wandered about in the fields, and there took up his abode with the cattle, till seven times, or seven years, had passed over his head † ; but concerning this metamorphosis, and the duration (U) of it, there is a great variety of opinions.

DURING

* Ibid. ver. 26. † Ibid. ver. 27. ‡ PR 1 D. ubi sup. p. 105.
‡ Dan. ubi sup. ver. 30. § Ibid. ver. 31. † Ibid. ver. 33.
‡ See PR 1 D. ubi sup.

(U) Concerning the nature and degree of this change, “ *Origen*
“ (46) believed the thing to be impossible, and turned it into alle-
“ gory. *Bodin* (47) thought, he was really changed into a bull,
“ and that he lost even the soul of a man ; while others (48) main-
“ tain, he was changed as to the body only, retaining his reason,
“ as *Apulcius* did while an ass, and like the *Italians*, mentioned by

(46) *Apud Hieron. in Dan. iv.* (47) *Dæmonol. l. 2. c. 6.* (48)
Maldon. in Dan. ubi sup. & *Tertull. de Patient. c. 12, 13.*

“ St.

DURING this his disorder, it is said, his son *Evil-merodach* His death. administred the government for him*. and that he did it so ill, as to draw his father's most heavy displeasure on him, when he came to understand what he had done ; for when his seven


* HIERON. in Esai. xiv. 19.

“ St. *Austin* (49), who having tasted of cheese, presented to them
 “ by certain magicians of the country, were immediately turned
 “ into beasts of burden, but at last recovered their first form and
 “ condition of life. Some *Rabbins* have pretended, that the soul
 “ of *Nebuchadnezzar* deserted his body, and, for a time, gave
 “ place to the soul of an ox, which degraded him into all the in-
 “ clinations and sensations of that animal ; while others (50, ad-
 “ mit no more to have been the case than a vitiated imagination
 “ in the prince, and a kind of fascination in the eyes of his sub-
 “ jects, which made them fancy, as well as himself, that he was,
 “ for certain, become an ox, though there was no such thing.
 “ The most received opinion is, that, by the power of God, *Ne-*
 “ *buchadnezzar* fell into a black melancholy, and, under this op-
 “ pression of mind, fancied himself an ox ; as in a lycanthropy a
 “ man persuades himself he is a wolf, a dog, a cat ; a change
 “ which exists no where but in the distempered brain, nor to be dis-
 “ covered but by his motions and behaviour, which tend to the
 “ imitation of a wolf in his rapacity, howling, and desire to range
 “ the country, and fly from men. That after some such manner
 “ it must have been, that this king became an ox, and was agitated
 “ by all the affections and desires of one. That his people, astonish-
 “ ed at such an alteration (51), bound him as a madman, but that,
 “ escaping from them, he fled into the fields, and lived after the
 “ manner of an ox. ”

Our author (52), whence we have extracted this, thinks no-thing more than this last supposition is required to account for what in scripture is said of this extraordinary event ; that there was nothing miraculous in it, except the prophets prediction of its approach and duration.

As there are doubts about the manner of this accident, so there are varieties as to the continuance of it. “ Some with *Theodoret*
 “ (53), maintain, that, as the *Persians* divided their year into two
 “ seasons, winter and summer, the seven years of *Nebuchadnezzar*
 “ must be reduced to three and a half *Dorotheus* (54) and the spuri-
 “ ous *Epiphanius* (55) affirm, that God had actually condemned him

(49) *De Civit. Dei*. l. 18 c. 18. (50) *Medin. de reſt. in Deum fide*, c. 7. *Vier. de præſtig. Dæmon.* l. 1. c. 24. (51) *Hieron. Theodoret. Maldon. Peireri. Cornel. Sanct. in Dan. Vales de Sacr. Philoſoph.* c. 80 *Bartholin. de Morb. Bibl. Græc.* (52) *Calmet. Dict of the Bible, Art. Nebuchadnezzar*. III. (53) *Ubi ſup.* (54) *In Synop.* (55). *De vit. & Mort Prophet.*

Year of the Flood 2437. Year before Christ 562.  seven years were expired, he threw him into the prison where *Jehoiakim*, the captive king of *Judah*, had lain 37 years. Having thus satisfied his injured subjects by this exemplary justice on his son, and given the honour and praise due to God, and acknowledged him to be above all, and all this by a public decree, he continued in the possession of his kingdom about a twelve-month afterwards, and then departed this life, after a reign of 43 years.

THE circumstances of his death are omitted in scripture, but may be fabulously supplied from those *f* who tells us, that, after all the great things they report him to have done, he ascended to the top of his palace, and that, being there suddenly seized by a spirit from heaven, he prophesied to this effect, and in these words; “ Behold, O *Babylonians*, I fore-
His prophecy. “ tel you a calamity at hand, which nor the fates, or our
 “ forefather *Belus*, nor our queen *Beltis*, may possibly avert.
 “ A *Persian* mule shall come, and by the assistance of your
 “ own gods shall load your necks with a most galling yoke;
 “ and this destruction shall befall you by the means of a *Mede*,
 “ in whom the *Assyrians* were wont greatly to glory them-
 “ selves. O would that he, ere thus he betrays my people,
 “ were swallowed up by some whirlpool, or overwhelmed in


f MEGASTH. ex ABYD. apud EUSEB. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 41. p. 456.

“ to a seven years punishment, but was prevailed on by *Daniel* to
 “ shorten it into seven months: the *pseudo-Epiphanius* adding, that
 “ as *Daniel* ceased not to foretel the restoration of the king, and
 “ the great men continually disbelieved him, and derided what he
 “ said, he obtained of God that his time might be shortened for the
 “ sake of convincing them. Others maintain, he was changed,
 “ but for 21 months, explaining these words of *Daniel*, *Donc sept-*
 “ *tem tempora mutantur super eum*, as intended for seven times the
 “ space of three months; *tempus*, according to them, being a
 “ quarter of a year. *Peter Comestor* allows but seven months,
 “ which he proportions out in this manner; For the first 40 days
 “ he allows him to have been in a phrenzy, or mad; the 40 days
 “ following, he bewailed his offences; and the next 40 days, he
 “ gradually recovered from his infirmity. But that nevertheless,
 “ in compliance with what he had been exhorted by *Daniel*, he
 “ remained seven years in the exercise of repentance, abstaining
 “ from ought but herbs and pulse, to atone for his pride and sol-
 “ ly.” But our author (56) concludes, with the bulk of commen-
 tators, that we need no interpreter but *Daniel* himself, who plainly
 means whole years.

(56) Calmet, *ubi sup.*

“ the depths of the sea ; or that hurried away into some
 “ lonely desert, he might there remain a wanderer, never
 “ to behold again the footsteps of mankind, and never to
 “ see ought but birds and beasts of prey. O grant unto me,
 “ before he is agitated by this rage of mind, to share a hap-
 “ pier end ;” thus saying, he was suddenly snatched from
 the sight of men ; the same exit *Semiramis* is said to have
 made ⁸.

HE was succeeded by his son *Evil-merodach* ^h, *Ilvoradam* ⁱ, *Ebidan-merodach* ^k, *Evil-maluruch* ^l, and, as it is most likely, *Belshazzar*. That he was this seemingly last king of *Babylon*, according to *Daniel*, we shall endeavour to make out before we close up his reign. In the mean time, we must look back to what he seems to have done while regent for his father, when under distraction of mind, which, among other false steps he may have committed, may particularly have drawn on him his father’s most heavy displeasure, and which, if strictly true, must have laid the foundation of that animosity in the *Medes* and *Persians*, which hurried on the dissolution of the *Babylonian* empire. While his father was deprived of his senses, this prince his son, who was upon the point of marrying the *Nitocris* ^m so celebrated by *Herodotus*, took it into his head to divert himself with a hunting-match, upon the borders of *Media*, where he understood there was great plenty of game, by reason of the pacific state the *Assyrians* and *Medes* had been in for some years. He went attended by a small force, light-armed, consisting both of horse and foot, and seemingly equipt for the chase only. Being arrived on the frontiers, he halted near some garison’d places, where he staid all night, intending to enter upon his diversion the next morning : But it happening, that certain troops appearing for the relief of those in garison in these parts, he took a fancy that these men, added to those he had brought with him, might form such a body as might be able to make some notable impression upon the *Medes*, which he judged would redound more to his honour, than the diversion he at first proposed. He obeyed this irregular impulse, and the next morning, by break of day, he moved towards the nearest places that belonged to the *Medes*, leaving his foot behind him to guard his own frontiers, while he proceeded with the horse. Being advanced as far as he thought convenient, he made a halt, and encamped with the best of his troops about him, that so he

Year of
the Flood,
2437.
Year be-
fore Christ
562.


⁸ See before, p. 174. ^h Jerem. lii. 31. ⁱ See before in the Canon, p. 279. ^k Ibid. in the ecclesiastical account. ^l *Mu-*
oastu. ubi supr. ^m Vid. *USER*. *Annal.* ad A. M. 3421.

might the better keep the garisons of the *Medes* in awe, and prevent their sallies ; the rest he sent out in detached parties to pillage the country. The king of the *Medes*, understanding the violences *Evil-merodach*, the son of the *Assyrian*, was committing in his country, marched towards him with such troops as he had usually attending him, and such as his son could raise upon so sudden an emergency ; but on his march he was joined by others who came in to his assistance, and among these was *Cyrus*, now about 16 years of age, and who now first signalized himself in battle. The parties *Evil-merodach* had sent out were first attacked by the *Medes*, who, at length falling upon his main body, routed and pursued him with a great slaughter, quite home to his own borders ⁿ. Such was the event of this rash, and seemingly unjust, enterprise (W) ; and this action may not only have exasperated his father in a particular manner against him, but may also have been the first cause of that enmity of the *Medes* and *Persians*, which ended in the ruin of *Babylon*, as we have already observed. And this spirit thus roused in the *Medes* may have been so dreaded, and the consequences of it so naturally foreseen by his father, the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, as to have caused him to imprison this his son, and to utter the predictive exclamation we have seen above.

Evil-merodach.

Year of the Flood, 2439.

Year before Christ 560



THIS prince, who, if this action be founded upon truth, was justly called, as his name is interpreted, *Foolish Mero-dach*, having administered very ill during his father's disorder, was thrown into prison upon his recovery : And in this confinement he contracted such a kindness for the captive king of *Judah*, that, succeeding to the throne upon the death of his father, he took *Jehoiachin* out of prison, and entertained him like a king ever afterwards *. Farther concerning him is uncertain, except that, indulging himself in sloth and wickedness, he became intolerable to his subjects, and that, after a very short reign, he was treacherously murdered by his sister's husband *Neriglissar* ; who, that he was a *Mede*, and particularly *Darius* the *Mede*, we shall endeavour to make out in his reign ; and if so, his murder of *Evil-merodach* his brother-in-law, may be accounted for by the

ⁿ XENOPH. *Korpi Haidiaz*. * 2 Kings xxv. 27. Jerem lii. 31. JOSEPHUS, &c.

(W) If it was really *Nitocris* this prince was now about to marry, and if she was really a *Mede*, as it is most generally understood, it is impossible to account for these his hostilities upon that nation, and especially at the time our author here seems to mean ; but this is what may be considered hereafter.

aversion

aversion he may have contracted in common with his countrymen against this unwise prince, who had so behaved to them as we have seen.

WHAT we have material to add concerning this king is, that, by all circumstances, he is more likely to have been the *Belshazzar* of *Daniel*, than any other king in *Ptolemy's* canon. This we gather from the concurrence of scripture with prophane history. *Berosus* ^o represents *Evil-merodach* as a lewd and wicked prince; *Belshazzar* is in scripture ^p represented as the same. *Berosus* ^q relates, that *Evil-merodach* was killed at a banquet by some of his lords; the scripture ^r says *Belshazzar* was murdered at a great feast he gave to 1000 of his lords, but mentions not by whom. They both say he was the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, by the name of *Evil-merodach* ^s, and scripture says the same of *Belshazzar*, which is not said of any other of the *Babylonish* kings. If to this it should be objected, that both *Evil-merodach* and *Belshazzar* are mentioned in scripture ^t, as sons of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and that therefore they cannot be the same person; we answer, that they are not mentioned any where in scripture, either together, or in a course of succession, but in different books, and not at all in reference to each other. That in scripture it is not unusual to call the same prince by different names in different places. Thus *Nebuchadnezzar* himself is in some places, and particularly in the prophets, called *Nebuchadrezzar*. Thus the king, who in one place is called *Ahasuerus* ^u, is in another called *Artaxerxes* ^w; and in one and the same chapter ^x is *Esar-haddon*, the great *Assyrian*, called *Asuapper*; and this authority is so much the more valid, as it occurs in a part of scripture indisputably genuine. If again it be objected, that in scripture mention is made of the third year of *Belshazzar's* reign ^y, whereas *Evil-merodach* is allowed on all hands to have reigned but two years ^z; we answer again, that parts of years are never reckoned as whole years by chronologers; so that though he was in the beginning of his third year, they reckoned but two to his reign; an instance of which we have in *Ptolemy's* canon, where *Laborsoarchod*, the successor of *Neriglissar*, is left out, because he did not reign a complete year, though he reigned nine months of a year. This shall suffice for this subject for the present; we may resume it hereafter still further to the reader's satisfaction.

Evil-merodach
most likely
to have
been *Belshazzar*.

^o Ubi supr. ^p Dan. v. ^q Ubi supr. ^r Ubi supr.
^s Jerem. lii. 31. ^t Ibid. & Dan. ubi supr. ^u Ezr. iv. 6.
^w Ibid. ver. 7. ^x Ibid. ver. 10. ^y Dan. viii. ^z See before in the canon, ubi supr.

Nerigliffar.

Year of
the Flood,
2439.
Year be-
fore
Christ,
560.

Nerigliffar, Niriglifforoor, Niricassolaffurus ^a, or, as we think, *Darius the Mede*, who is represented as the chief of the conspirators against *Evil-merodach* ^b, usurped the throne. Of him it is seemingly recorded, for he is not mentioned by name, that dreading the *Medes* who began to threaten *Babylon*, he endeavoured to strengthen himself by foreign alliances. The story, as it is told ^c, represents this king as a great conqueror, and one who had made himself master of all *Syria*, *Hyrkania*, and *Arabia*, and to have been busied in a war with the *Bactrians*, when *Astyages the Mede* departed this life, and thereby to have given a violent alarm to the *Medes* and the *Persians*, who began to fear it would be their turn next. This king then concluding, that if he could but reduce the *Medes*, the rest would bow to him of course, dispatched ambassadors to *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, to *Cappadocia*, *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Paphlagonia*, the *Indies*, and *Cilicia*, to instil jealousies into the several princes of these countries, and to stir them up against the *Medes* and *Persians*, as if they were about to make themselves masters of all, particularly insisting on the strict union between them by the mutual ties of marriage. The success of these several embassies was, that some yielded to his reasons, and others ^d to his present largesses and future promises. Now, by what our author here says of this king, and particularly of his conquests, one would be rather apt to imagine he meant *Nabocolassar*, or *Nebuchadnezzar*, than any king of *Babylon* that succeeded him, and particularly as he makes him cotemporary with *Astyages the Mede*. As for the pretence of union between the *Persians* and the *Medes*, the same was as strongly cemented between the *Babylonians* and the *Medes*; for *Nebuchadnezzar* was married to a *Mede* ^e, and it is very likely, that *Nerigliffar* was a *Mede*, by his being husband to a daughter of *Nebuchadnezzar's* ^f. In short, the *Medes* and the *Babylonians* seem to have been as closely united by marriages as any other nations of the time.

BUT we must allow our author ^g to be a little inaccurate, and especially as it is made a doubt, whether it was a history he meant to write, or a romance. However, that it is built upon some sort of truth, may be gathered from what he is here supposed to write concerning our *Nerigliffar*; for as an usurper it is but natural he should have made such strong and earnest applications to the nations round about, as he is said to have done; a method of procedure which can never be re-

^a See before, *ibid.*

^b *BEROS.* *ubi sup.*

^c *Κυρη Παιδ. β.*

^d *Ibid.*

^e See before, p. 330.

^f See before, p. 338.

^g *XENOPH.*

conciled with a conqueror in the full stream of his good fortune, as this prince is by our author ^b, at the same time, represented to have been. We must therefore tax him with a little inattentiveness to what he was writing. *Neriglissar*, though he may have been of the royal blood of the *Medes*, may have been dubious, whether or no they and the *Persians* would suffer him to sit in quiet possession of the *Babylonian* empire, and may have had sufficient reasons to dread they would not ; and that in such case he should so bestir himself in his own defence is no wonder.

LET this have been as it will, it is apparently certain, that when this king seized on the sovereignty, the empire was in its decline, and in great danger from both the *Medes* and *Persians*, and it is not unlikely, but he may have actually stood in need of foreign aid. Thus when *Nabuchadonosor* was threatened with an invasion by the *Medes*, he issued out his commands to all nations to come in to his assistance¹, a conduct *Ctesias* ^k has ascribed to his *Sardanapalus* ; and which may serve to illustrate what we advance concerning the distress *Neriglissar* must have been in upon his usurpation ; but he does not command as they did, he claims no obedience, but petitions rather, and begs and bribes for aid.

To have done with this obscurity, the army, which *The confederate* ranged itself under the *Babylonian* standard, is said to have consisted of a mixed multitude as follows. *Cræsus*, king of *Lydia*, came with 10,000 horse, and upwards of 40,000 lightarmed foot ; *Artamas* king of the greater *Phrygia* brought 40,000 foot, mostly pike-men, and 8000 horse ; *Aribæus*, king of *Cappadocia*, led with him 6000 horse, and 30,000 foot, mostly armed with missive weapons ; *Maragdas*, the *Arabian*, conducted 10,000 horse, 100 chariots, and a great number of slingers *. These were the confederates of *Neriglissar*, and such the quotas they respectively furnished ; but we are not quite to depend upon the exactness of them, they being given as upon hear-say only, and in a conversation between *Cyaxares* and *Cyrus*. *army under him.*

As for *Neriglissar* himself, this potent *Babylonian* and fortunate conqueror, as our author has represented him, the numbers he himself brought into the field seem to be very short, considering him in that view ; for as much as he may have been a principal in this war, he headed no more than 20,000 horse, 200 chariots, and foot proportionable¹. Whether or no this confederate army received any further addition is not certain ; but the *Carians*, *Cilicians*, *Paphlagonians*,

^b Idem. ibid.

¹ See before, p. 207.

^k Ibid. p. 182.

* Κρητ. Ελιδ. ubi supr.

¹ Ibid.

and some others, seem to have receded from their first engagements. So that the case is pretty much alike between *Chyniladan*^m, the *Assyrian*, and this *Babylonian*, in regard of the many nations they called in, and the many that disappointed them, and left them to their fate. The army of the *Medes* and the *Persians* did not amount to above a third of that under the *Babylonian* king, till they were joined by a considerable re-inforcement under *Tigranes* the *Armenian*. In the midst of these great and industrious preparations for war, ambassadors arrived from *India* to inquire into the grounds and causes of it, with an offer of mediation, if it might be accepted, and with a threat, in case it was rejected, of joining with those who should appear to have the most justice on their sideⁿ.

War between him
and the
Medes and
Persians.

How this embassy concluded is uncertain, but the war begins very much to the disadvantage of *Neriglissar*; for *Cyrus* subdued the *Chaldeans* in the mountainous country, from whence they were wont to make their inroads upon the country of *Armenia*^o. These *Chaldeans*, as they are called, can have been no other than the proper *Assyrians*, who, for ought we know, may have been formerly so called; but the proper *Chaldeans*, and their mountains, were far away from any part of *Armenia*^p. Whether or no our author is here guilty of an error in geography we cannot positively say; but to us it seems that he is. These *Chaldeans*, however, according to our author's description, were the most valiant race of men in all these parts, and carried no other arms than a wicker shield and two javelins, and entered willingly into foreign pay, as being naturally addicted to war, and very poor; but they were subdued by *Cyrus*, and obliged to make a peace with their next neighbours the *Armenians*, and, in a manner, to become the same people with them^q.

Chaldeans
next to
Armenia.

Battle between the
Babylonians and
the Medes

THE two armies now appeared in sight of each other, and the *Assyrians*, or *Babylonians*, under *Neriglissar*, incamped and fortified themselves with strong retrenchments, while the *Medes* and the *Persians* covered themselves only with the villages and hills in the neighbourhood. In this posture they continued for some days, till at length the *Assyrians*, leaving their retrenchments, and drawing themselves up in battle-array, and being exhorted by *Neriglissar* to behave as became them in the approaching conflict, and particularly as their all was at stake, were attacked by the enemy, who shamefully routed them in the field, and pursued them with a prodigious

^m See before, p. 207.

ⁿ Κυρῶ Παίδ. ubi supr.

^o Ibid.

See before, p. 224.

^q Κυρῶ Παίδ. ubi supr.

slaughter close to their retrenchments; where those within did not dare to shoot an arrow against the insulting *Medes* and *Persians*, under the conduct of *Cyrus*, and no sooner understood that he intended to force their camp than they betook them to the most precipitate flight, and left their wives and children to lament their loss, in the most woeful and sensible manner. This, when the confederate kings perceived, they hastened with the choicest of their men that were left them, to repulse the *Persians*, and they succeeded in their endeavours, and *Cyrus* retreated and encamped at some distance. But *Neriglissar* lived to see no more of the war now kindled. He was slain in battle, his subjects were in the utmost consternation, and *Cræsus* and his allies, quite at a loss, and amazed at the intrepidity of the enemy, resolved to save themselves as they could, and left their camp a prey to *Cyrus* and his *Persians*.*

SUCH was the unfortunate end of *Neriglissar*, who, that he was *Darius* the *Mede*, appears by these arguments. If, as king of *Babylon*, he is in the canon of *Ptolemy*, *Darius* the *Mede* can have been no other than *Neriglissar*. Secondly, *Darius* the *Mede* is said to have commenced king of *Babylon* at the age of 62 years; which, if we do not suppose him to have been slain by *Cyrus* as above, may be thought to suit better with *Neriglissar*'s short reign of four years, than *Nabonad*'s longer reign of 17 years, which would make him 79 years old at his death; and, by the way, as *Nabonad* did not end his days with his reign, *Darius* the *Mede* must, in this case, have been still much older, which is not very likely. Thirdly, *Neriglissar* is represented as a wise, a worthy, and a brave prince, which neither of his successors were, and just such an one does *Darius* the *Mede* seem to have been. Fourthly, Though *Neriglissar* is not said to have been a *Mede*, yet he very probably may have been so, and nothing is said to the contrary. He is allowed not to have been of the line of *Babylon*, though he married the daughter of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and sister of *Evil-merodach*; and these marriages, as we have suggested above, may have been frequent between the two kings of the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, till *Evil-merodach* behaved so impolitically as he is represented to have done, in breach of the faith and good intelligence between the two kingdoms. Fifthly, *Neriglissar* is on all hands allowed to have succeeded *Evil-merodach*, whom he slew, and so *Darius* the *Mede* is said to have slain *Belsazzar*, and to have assumed his kingdom. And though the scripture expression, in this

Year of the Flood, 2443. Year before Christ 556.
Neriglissar most likely to have been *Darius* the *Mede*.

* Κεφα Παρο. ubi supr.

ease, does not always imply an immediate succession, it may be fairly enough admitted in such a sense, in the circumstance before us, till something to destroy it be exhibited against it. Sixthly, That *Neriglissar* was a *Mede*, may be gathered from the inveteracy he seems to have born against *Evil-merodach*, whom we take to have been *Belshazzar*; and it may be very naturally accounted for, if what we have related from *Xenophon* has any truth in it. Seventhly, The scripture does not say, that *Darius* was king of the *Medes*, but only that he governed by their laws, which he may have introduced with the good liking of the *Babylonians*, who may thereby have had a limited monarch for an unlimited one. And lastly, He may have been a *Mede*, and yet *Cyrus* may have made war upon him, and slain him in battle; for *Cyrus*, it is said, made no scruple to dethrone even his own grandfather; whence *Darius* may not only have been a *Mede*, but may also have been very nearly related to *Cyrus*, and yet have perished in battle against him; for nothing is to stand in the way of those who are fired by the wasteful ambition of conquest and universal monarchy. This is what we have thought necessary to say in this place.

Laboroso-
archod.

THIS last king was succeeded by his son *Laborosoarchod* ^c, *Labassoarasc* [†], or *Chabaeffoarach* ^c: some suppose him to have been the same with *Nabonadius*, or *Belshazzar*, and to have been the last king of *Babylon*. But they contradict an historical fact very explicitly related; whereby we understand, that he came very young to the throne, and that, betraying a most vicious and abominable turn of mind, he was murdered, as not even worthy to live, much less to reign, which he did no longer than nine months ^u; so that not having compleated a year, it is thence he is omitted in the canon.

SOME of this king's evil doings are supposed * to have been recorded by *Xenophon* [†], according to whom it may have been, that he committed such cruelties on *Gadates* and *Gobryas*, two great *Babylonians*, as provoked them to the share they are said to have had in the subversion of this empire. The son of the former of these he is said to have slain for no better reason than hitting a beast, at a hunting he had invited him to, which he himself had missed; and the latter he is said to have castrated, only because one of his concubines

^c BEROSUS ubi supr.
and EUSEB. ubi supr.
113. [†] Ubi supr. d. c.

[†] ABYDENE. ubi supr. ^c Idem
^u Idem ibid. * PRATO ubi supr. p.

had commended him for an handsome personage *. By these most violent acts of tyranny it is supposed †, that he drove them, and the provinces they commanded, over to the enemy. Such is this king supposed to have been, though there are other seeming reasons why he should have been particularly odious in the eyes of some of the *Babylonians*, and particularly of his successor and his associates.

Nabonadius, who had the chief hand in the murder of *Laborsoarchod*, is said to have been a *Babylonian* ^w, so that what is said above of the unworthiness of his short-lived predecessor, may have very little of truth or justice in it. His greatest fault may have been, that he was the son of a stranger and an usurper; and being perhaps a child, or little able to defend himself, he may easily have been destroyed, and reasons may as easily have been given for the deed. Nor can we wonder greatly at this barbarity, in a man who was confessedly the son of *Evil-merodach*, and grandson to the great *Nebuchadnezzar*; one, who must have thought himself injured by an exclusion from the throne, and that it was even a duty on him not to slip so favourable an opportunity of retrieving the lustre of his family. Nor must we forget, that he must also have been the son of the famed *Nitocris*, who is said even to have outshone *Semiramis* herself; and who, if the thing were so, could not have rested in a private state, while the son of an usurper possessed the throne in prejudice of her son; and thus was it the sceptre came again into the hands of a prince of the old *Affyrian* or *Babylonian* race, of the male branch, which in him was to cease from empire.

THIS king is also called *Nabonduis* ^x, *Labynetus*, *Labyni*-*Nabonatus* ^y, *Nabannidochus* ^z, *Naboandel* ^a, *Belshazzar*, and *Darius* ^b *dus*. the *Mede* ^b, and by other names, and rather struggled for the empire than possessed it; for *Cyrus* was now in the career of his victories, and a professed enemy to the kingdom of *Ba-* ^{Year of the Flood,} *bylon*, and had some battles with this king, as should seem, ^{2444.} and his allies, in the beginning of his reign; but the parti- ^{Year be-} culars being no where to be met with, we must content our- ^{fore Christ} selves with the little we know of the matter, and which we ^{555.} shall relate hereafter. *Nabonadius* appears, however, to have been the most powerful prince of his time, and the kingdom of *Babylon* to have been such, that *Cyrus* thought it prudent

* Ibid. † Prid. ubi sup. ^w ABYD. ex MEGASTH. apud EUSEB. ubi sup. & Beros. apud JOSEPH. ubi sup. & Id. ubi sup.
^x See before in the canon, ubi sup. ^y HERODOT. ^z MEGASTH. ubi sup. ^a JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 10. c. 12. ^b See before in the ecclesiastic account, ubi sup.

to strengthen himself, the most he could, by the conquest of all the neighbouring kingdoms, before he undertook to destroy this.

Nitocris. WHAT sort of a man *Nabonadius* was, is hard to say ; but his mother, according to some^c, has all the glory of his reign ; all the honour of preparing for the defence of the falling kingdom is ascribed to her. Her name was *Nitocris*^d, and she is supposed to have been a *Mede* by birth^e, and to have been wife to *Evil-merodach*, and being a woman of great sagacity and resolution, she not only foresaw the storm that was gathering, but prepared for shelter against it, and particularly by fortifying the city itself of *Babylon*, so that it should be proof against any enemy that might assault it. Accordingly it was in this reign, and consequently by her, that *Babylon* is said to have been first surrounded with walls^f next to the river ; and it is pretty plain, as we have observed before, that she compleated what *Nebuchadnezzar* had begun. Thus *Herodotus* represents her to have not only fortified the sides of the river with walls, to prevent the enemy from landing on either side of the city, but to have sunk the lake, and done other works ascribed to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and particularly to have built the bridge, which till then had been wanting at *Babylon*^g. This heroine, having done all that could be done to secure the city from all danger of the enemy, while her son *Nabonadius* wallowed, as should seem, in sloth and luxury, neglectful and careless of what threatened him, was commemorated by an extraordinary inscription on a monument which had been prepared by herself, to the following effect, IF ANY KING OF BABYLON AFTER ME SHALL BE IN DISTRESS FOR MONEY, HE MAY OPEN THIS SEPULCHRE, AND TAKE OUT AS MUCH AS MAY SERVE HIM ; BUT IF HE BE IN NO REAL NECESSITY, LET HIM FORBEAR, OR HE SHALL HAVE CAUSE TO REPENT HIM. This monument and inscription, said to have been over one of the most remarkable gates of the city, is also said to have remained untouched till the reign of *Darius*, who, considering the gate was useless, no man caring to go under a dead body, and being invited by the hopes of an immense treasure, broke it open ; but instead of what he sought, is said to have found nothing but a dead body, and another inscription, to the following effect, HADST THOU NOT BEEN MOST INSATIABLY

^c HERODOT. and his followers.

^d HERODOT. l. i. c. 185.

^e Vid. USSER. Annal. ad Ann. Mund. ubi sup.

^f BEROSUS

apud EUSEB. & JOSEPH. ubi sup. HERODOT. ubi sup.

^g HE-

RODOT. ibid. c. 186.

AVARITIOUS, AND GREEDY OF THE MOST SORDID GAIN, THOU HADST NEVER VIOLATED THE ABODE OF THE DEAD (X). Thus much for *Nitocris**; we must now return to her son, and see how the *Babylonian* empire ended under him.

As the circumstances of the fall of *Nineveh* are involved in great obscurity, those of the fall of *Babylon* are in many respects no less so; for all we seem positively to know concerning it is, that it was destroyed by *Cyrus*; and all we can do is, first, to relate what profane authors write concerning this last king; and, secondly, to inquire whether or no he was the *Belhazzar* of *Daniel*.

If we adhere to *Herodotus*^h, who calls him *Labynitus*, we must conclude him to have been still a great king, who, as *Herodotus's* account yet, had not been attempted by the *Medes* and the *Persians*; but to have been, on the contrary, in such high esteem with the former, as to have been chosen their mediator with the *Babylonians*.

Lydians; which apparently destroys what *Xenophon* represents of the war, which subsisted without any intervention of settled peace, from the reign of *Neriglissar* to the last day of the *Babylonian* monarchy; and this circumstance being considered, it has been thought, that however *Herodotus* may seem to give this king, who thus reconciled the *Medes* and *Lydians*, for the last of the race, he could certainly mean no other than the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, who alone, of all the kings at *Babylon*, seems to have had weight and authority enough to be invested with this mediatory office.

Herodotus has a *Labynetos* whom, in two places, he calls the king of the *Babylonians*, and a *Labynitus* whom he calls empe-

* *Idem* *ibid.* c. 187.

^h *Ibid.* c. 188.

(X) *Plutarch* (57) mentions this monument and inscription as belonging to *Semiramis*. Thus the sepulchre of *Bel* himself is said to have been opened by *Xerxes*, who found nothing there but a glass vessel almost full of oil, with a dead body floating in it, and an inscription on a small pillar hard by, That the man who should open it should dearly repent him of what he had done, if he did not fill up the vessel with oil; which *Xerxes* in vain attempting, he went away heavy and sad, and experienced the efficacy of the threat in his *Grecian* expedition. So *Darius* by others being said to have opened the tomb of *Semiramis*, a pestilence is reported to have issued thence, and to have destroyed one third part of the race of men (58): Strange figments!

(57) *In* Ἀποφθιμίαια, p. 173.
c. 12. p. 65.

(58) *Vid.* *Purch. Pilg. part i.*

ror of *Assyria*, and reports to have derived his name from his father. Under this *Labynitus*, according to him it was that *Babylon* was taken by *Cyrus*; so that, after all, it may have been some former *Labynet*, king of *Babylon*, that reconciled the *Medes* and the *Lydians*; but having thus suggested all we know concerning this matter, we leave it to the reader's decision.

THIS *Labynitus*, understanding that *Cyrus* was on his march to besiege the city of *Babylon*, went out with a great army to meet him; but being vanquished, the *Babylonians* betook them to their city, which being furnished with great stores of provision to hold out a very long siege, they made a jest of it, and lived within the walls as if no enemy had been near them; but being one day in the midst of a riotous festival, the *Persians*, who had drained the river by diverting it into the great lake we have described, scaled the works which defended the banks of the city, and the *Babylonians* were surprised in the midst of all their mirth and jollity, and an end was put to their empire¹.

The fall of Babylon according to Berosus, and Megasthenes. By other authors² we understand, that this last king did not retire in person to *Babylon*, but chose rather to go to *Borsippa*, where, being besieged by *Cyrus*, he surrendered himself to that conqueror, who behaved very kindly to him, and sent him as his lieutenant, as should seem, into *Carmania*, where he spent the remainder of his days. And thus was *Babylon* taken, and such was the fate of her last king, after a reign of 17 years, according to profane historians; nor is the same inconsistent with scripture so very much as to oblige us quite to reject it.

The fall of Babylon according to Xenophon. BUT as much weight as these authors may have, *Xenophon* varies from them, and tells us³, that this king lost all the considerable places in his country by a continued warfare waged on him by *Cyrus*, notwithstanding all the leagues he could make, and all the foreign aid he could procure of *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and all the nations of the *Lesser Asia*, over whom he constituted *Cræsus* his general, and sent him even to invade *Media*. But *Cræsus* being utterly routed, and the country afterwards as good as all reduced, *Babylon* was left as it were to herself. The city and the little territory about it was all of the east that now held out against *Cyrus*, who at length drew near to besiege the *Babylonian* citizens. This last king then marched out to give him battle, but, being overthrown in the field, he was driven back to his city,

¹ Idem ibid. c. 191.

² BEROS. MEGASTH. ABYD. ubi sup.

³ ΚΥΡΗ ΠΑΙΔ. 5. 5.

and blocked up by a close siege. The place was thought impregnable, on account of its walls and the great number of people to defend them; not to mention a store of all necessaries to last them for 20 years. The siege continued two years; at the end of which the river was diverted into the lake as above, and a strong party was posted where the river ran into the city, and another where it ran out. These parties were commanded by the *Babylonians*, *Gobryas* and *Gadates*; who, about midnight, observing the river to be drained, marched into the bed of the river, and finding all the water gates open, which upon ordinary nights, for it was now a festival, were used to be shut they proceeded to the palace, and surprised, and slew the guard. The palace being opened to know the cause of this confusion, they rushed in and slew the king, as he was valiantly fighting with his sword in his hand *.


If he was really *Belshazzar*, he certainly came to this unfortunate end; for having made a feast for 1000 of his lords, and having profaned the vessels his fore-father had brought from the temple of *Jerusalem*, the fingers of a hand came out, and wrote upon the wall in a character unknown to any person then present; the king saw this, and was quite terrified; he trembled, and his knees smote one against the other ^m. He cried out for the astrologers, *Chaldeans*, and the rest, and promised, that the man among them who should decypher the writing, and inform him of what it meant, should be clothed in scarlet, and have a chain of gold, and be third ruler of his kingdom ⁿ. He addressed them in vain (Y), till the queen, who is supposed to have been *Nitocris* ^o, understanding the trouble the king was in, came in and informed him of *Daniel*, who had been so esteemed by his father; but that he should have been unknown to *Belshazzar*, is what it may be to no purpose to inquire into. *Daniel* came, and having reminded him of what his father had been, and what had befallen him, and rebuked him for his insolent pride, and for profaning the holy vessels which had stood in the house of the Lord, he read the words, which were, MENE MENE, TEKEL UPHARSIN ^p. “ This is the interpretation of the thing; “ MENE, God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished “ it; TEKEL, thou art weighed in the balance, and found

* Ibid. ^m Dan. v. 1—6. ⁿ Dan. v. 7. ^o PRID. ubi sup. p. 122. ^p Dan. v. 25.

(Y) It is supposed the writing was in what we call now the *Samaritan* character, which being unknown to the *Chaldeans*, they could not read it (59).

(59) See Prid. ubi sup. p. 122.

wanting

Year of the Flood, 2461. Year before Christ 538.  “wanting; PERES, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians¹.” Notwithstanding the severity of this doom, *Belshazzar* performed to *Daniel* all the promises he had made to the man who should thus satisfy him; and in that night was *Belshazzar* the king of the *Chaldeans* slain: And *Darius* the *Mede* took the kingdom, being about 62 years old².

IN the first year of the reign of *Belshazzar* it was, that *Daniel*³ had the vision of the four beasts, which we may resume hereafter, and in the third of the same *Belshazzar* it was, that he had the vision of the ram and the he-goat⁴. In the reign of *Darius* the *Mede* it was, that the same *Daniel* was thrown into the lion’s den⁵; but the particulars of these several occurrences we reserve for another time, seeing we are at a loss for the proper place of these two reigns.

Nabonadius unlikely to have been *Belshazzar* or *Darius* the *Mede*.

WE are now to consider, whether or no this *Nabonadius* was either *Belshazzar* or *Darius* the *Mede*; in which we shall rather propose our own doubts, than pretend to decide upon so palpable an obscurity as is the whole history of *Babylon*; from the time that *Nebuchadnezzar* died, to the day that *Cyrus* made himself master of this city. Sir *Isaac Newton* and Doctor *Prideaux* are quite clear, that he was *Belshazzar*, and support themselves by many considerable arguments, but not so very powerful as to admit of no contradiction. To enter into the several opinions and varieties concerning this succession of princes, would lead us into an inextricable labyrinth, and confound rather than inform us; we shall therefore chiefly refer to what we have before offered, in proof that *Evil-merodach* must have been the *Belshazzar* of *Daniel*, and *Neriglissar* the *Darius* the *Mede* of the same, if they be any kings exhibited in *Ptolemy*’s astronomical canon; and to suppose they are not would be a seeming reflection on the accuracy of that valuable piece ‡.

IT is to be observed, that if any credit is to be given to prophane historians, *Nabonadius* cannot have been *Belshazzar*; for the former must have died in a strange land, while the latter was slain in his own palace. Again, *Belshazzar*’s ignorance of *Daniel* can never be reconciled with so long a reign as that of *Nabonadius*. The utmost we can gather that

¹ Ibid. ver. 28.
viii.

² Ibid. ver. 31.
³ Ibid. vi.

⁴ Dan. vii.

⁵ Ibid.

‡ The authors however, upon a fuller discussion of this subject¹, believe *Nabonadius* to have been the *Belshazzar* of scripture, *Cyrus* the *Darius* the *Mede* of the same.

¹ See the last note of the 10th chapter.

Belshazzar reigned at *Babylon* was not above three years; *Nabonadius* reigned seventeen.

THIS *Nabonadius* was certainly the last king of *Babylon*, and by *Ptolemy's* canon, and by the concurrence of the bulk of prophane authors, there was no king there between him and *Cyrus*; nor does the scripture itself, which makes *Darius* the *Mede*, to have preceded *Cyrus*, say, that he reigned after the last king of the *Babylonian* race, or that there was no king of *Babylon* between *Darius* the *Mede* and *Cyrus*.

Now that this last *Babylonian* cannot have been *Darius* the *Mede*, as is sometimes said ^w, may be proved by prophane authors ^{*}, who agree, that he was a *Babylonian*, nay, and of the royal race ^{*}; and this shall suffice for the present, together with what has been said before, to evince, that he was not *Darius* the *Mede*.

Nabonadius was certainly of the royal race [†]; there is all the reason in the world to believe he was a descendant, and even a grandson, of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and especially if the celebrated *Nitocris* was married to *Evil-merodach*, the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, as the common opinion is. It is said, that all nations should serve him and his son's son [†]; *Nabonadius* may then have been this son's son. It is said, that God would cut off from *Babylon* the son and the grandson ², and therefore it is concluded, that this last king must have been killed as well as *Evil-merodach*; but there is no occasion to suppose this, if prophane evidence may be received; and that so it ought to be, when it agrees with the text of scripture can be no manner of doubt. Now we understand, that this prophecy was amply fulfilled; for we are told, that *Evil-merodach*, the undoubted son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, was murdered ², and that his grandson, by his daughter who was married to *Neriglissar*, and whose name was *Laborosoarchod*, was murdered likewise ^b. Supposing then *Nabonadius* to have been the grandson likewise of *Nebuchadnezzar* by *Evil-merodach*, there is no necessity to suppose he was murdered or slain. The predictions then, that all nations should serve *Nebuchadnezzar's* son and his son's son, and that God would cut off his son and his grandson, were apparently different, and apparently fulfilled. In a word, *Belshazzar*, who to all appearance, was no other than *Evil-merodach*, seems rather to have been butchered by the hands of assassins, than to have fallen by the sword of the enemy;

^w DU PIN Biblioth. Univers. des Histor. 295. ^{*} MEGASTHEN.

BEROS. ABDO. ubi sup. ^{*} JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 10. c. 12.

[†] Idem ibid. [†] See before, p. 312. ² Isai. xiv. 22. ^{*} See

before, p. 338. ^b Ibid. 344.

nor can it be consistent with the character we have of *Nitocris* to imagine, she could have been so negligent as to suffer the enemy to surprize the city in the manner they did ; she then must have been dead, and not alive, as *Prideaux* would have it. Though it is prophesied, that the enemy should possess the city at the time of a feast, while her great, and wise, and mighty men were in liquor, it does not follow immediately thence, that the king himself was slain at the same time. That it was taken at the time of a great festival, we have confirmed to us by an historian of the first credit, and nearest to the times ^c, and that is sufficient for the honour of the prophecy.

*Arguments
deduced
from Ne-
buchad-
nezzar's
prophecy.*

As we are not wholly to reject prophane authorities, but on the contrary, very much to rely on them, we would observe, that from the prophecy of *Nebuchadnezzar* ^d, which he is supposed ^e to have owed to no less a man than *Daniel* himself, it may be gathered, that what we have here and elsewhere above suggested, concerning *Belshazzar* and *Darius* the *Mede*, is not very much out of the way. For he speaks of the destruction to befall to *Babylon* as just at hand, and, though he must have been then very old, what he might possibly be a witness to ; and thus *Belshazzar*, who is in scripture expressly called his son, was murdered two or three years after his death. This destruction was to be brought on by the means of a *Mede*, in whom the *Assyrians*, or *Babylonians*, were wont greatly to pride themselves ; and what *Mede* can this have been so likely as *Neriglissar*, who seems by his name to have been even naturalized an *Assyrian*, and who had married *Nebuchadnezzar's* own daughter ^f ? The *Persian* mule is plainly *Cyrus*, who, by warring upon *Neriglissar* to dethrone him, first struck at the root of the *Babylonian* empire, and, by continuing the war, brought it at length to the ground.

UPON the whole, it may appear rather more evidently than not, that if *Darius* the *Mede* and *Belshazzar* are any of the kings of *Babylon* in the canon, and that they are not, cannot well be so much as supposed, they can have been no other than *Evil-merodach* and *Neriglissar*. The son and grandson of *Nebuchadnezzar*, against whom it was denounced that they should be cut off, cannot well be allowed to have been any but *Evil-merodach* and *Laborosarchod* ; and his son and his son's son, whom all nations, as it is hyperbolically expressed, should serve, can have been no other than *Evil-merodach* and this *Nabonadius*, in whose days the empire of *Babylon* came to an end, as had been foretold by the prophets . . . The

^c HERODOT. ubi sup.

^d See before, p. 336.

^e Vid.

PRIN ubi sup. p. 106.

^f See before, p. 343.

burden of Babylon, which Isaiah the son of Amoz did see . . . Howl ye, for the day of the Lord is at hand; it shall come as a destruction from the Almighty . . . Behold I will stir up the Medes against them . . . And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their folds there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. And the wild beasts of the islands, shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces^g . . . How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! How art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations! . . . I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from Babylon, the name, and remnant, and son, and nephew [or, as it should be, the grandson^h] . . . I will also make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water: and I will sweep it with the besom of destructionⁱ . . . Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods be hath broken unto the ground^k . . . Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth . . . They stoop, they bow down together, they could not deliver the burden, but themselves are gone into captivity^l . . . The word that the Lord spake against Babylon, and against the land of the Chaldeans, by Jeremiah the prophet . . . Say Babylon is taken, Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces, her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces^m . . . Hear ye the counsel of the Lord, that he hath taken against Babylon, and his purposes, that he hath purposed against the land of the Chaldeansⁿ . . . Behold I will raise up against Babylon, and against them that dwell in the midst of them that rise up against me, a destroying wind; and will send unto Babylon fanners, that shall fan her, and empty her land . . . Flee out of the midst of Babylon, and deliver every man his soul: be not cut off in her iniquity . . . Babylon is suddenly fallen and destroyed: howl for her, take balm for her pain, if so be she may be healed. We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed: forsake her, and let us go every one into his own country: for her judgment reacheth unto heaven, and is lifted up even unto the skies . . . Make bright the arrows: gather the shields: the Lord hath raised up the spirit of the king of the Medes: for his device is against Babylon to destroy it . . .

^g Isai. xiii. ^h See PRID. ubi Sup. ⁱ Isai. xiv. 12.—23.
^k Ibid. xxi. 9. ^l Ibid. xlvi. 1, 2. ^m Jerem. l. 1, 2. ⁿ Ibid.
ver. 45.

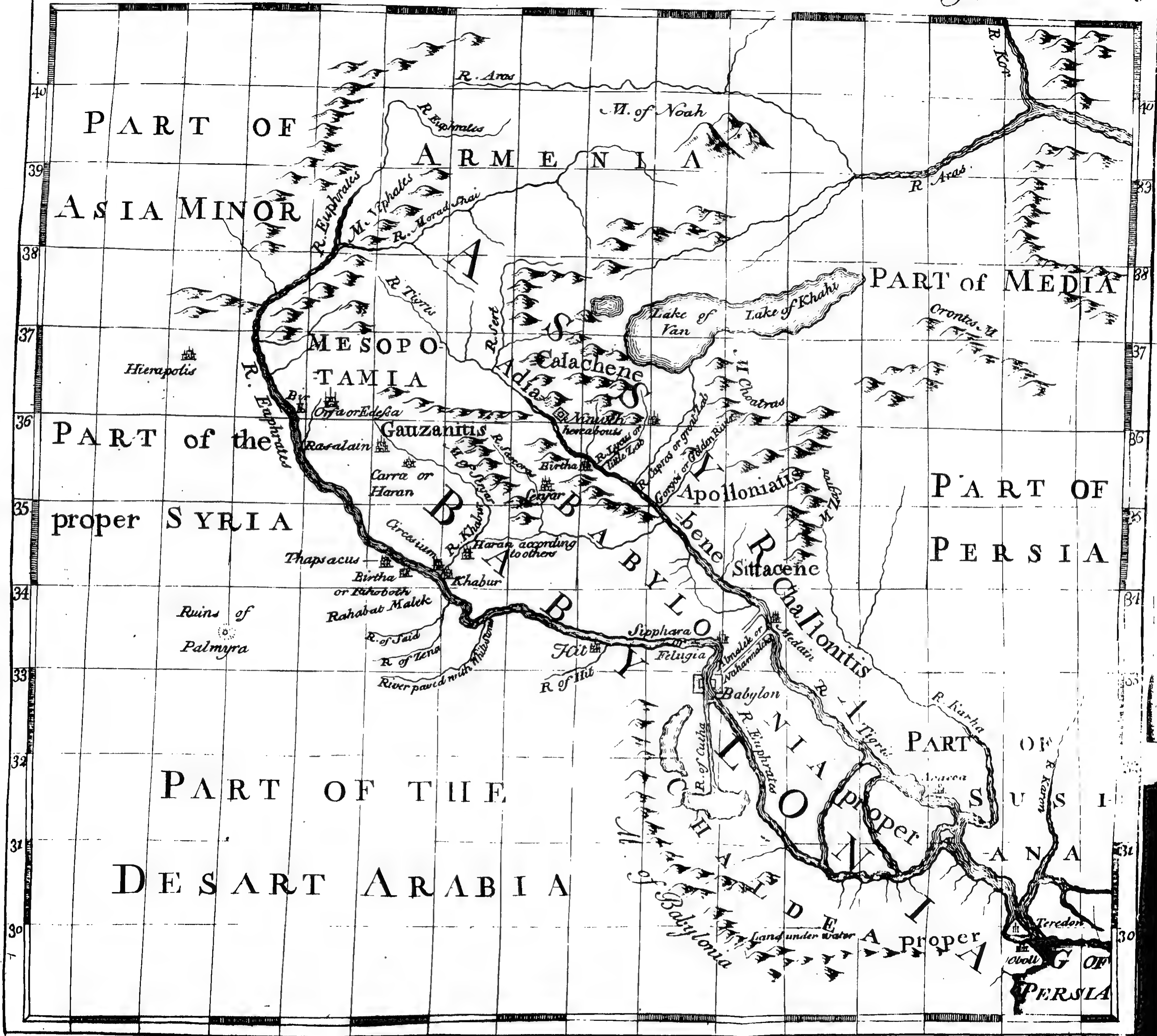
Set ye up a standard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations, prepare the nations against her, call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashchenaz, appoint a captain against her, cause the horses to come up as the rough caterpillars. Prepare against her the nations with the kings of the Medes . . . The land shall tremble and sorrow: for every purpose of the Lord shall be performed against Babylon, to make the land of Babylon a desolation without an inhabitant . . . One post shall run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to shew the king of Babylon that his city is taken at one end (Y) . . . Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, The daughter of Babylon is like a threshing-floor, it is time to thresh her: yet a little while and the time of her harvest shall come . . . And Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling-place for dragons, an astonishment, and an hissing without an inhabitant . . . The sea is come up upon Babylon: she is covered with the multitude of the waves thereof. Her cities are a desolation, a dry land and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby . . . The heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, shall sing for Babylon . . . And I will make drunk her princes, and her wise men, her captains, and her rulers, and her mighty men: and they shall sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake saith the king, whose name is the Lord of hosts . . . The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken, and her high gates shall be burnt with fire, and the people shall labour in vain, and the folk in the fire, and they shall be weary.

SUCH was Babylon, and such her end. Upon the whole it appears, that the *Assyrian* monarchy, whether the first at *Nineveh*, or the second at *Babylon*, was never thoroughly settled in a dominion over the nations for any length of time, and that it rather contended for empire than enjoyed it in any settled form; and that, if we except *Nebuchadnezzar*, no one of these monarchs, from *Pul* to *Nabonadius*, could ever boast any thing like the conquests attributed to *Semiramis*. *Esharhaddon* may claim the next place after him for conquests and dominion, but his life ended by the time he had exalted himself over the west. The rest of these princes were all unfortunate, one way or other: Some of them, with infinite la-

◦ Idem. li. 1—58.

(Y.) Whether from hence it may be gathered that this last king was within the city or without it, at the time it was taken, we leave to the reader; and consequently, whether or no the *Belshazzar* of *Daniel* was this last king or not.

A MAP of ASSYRIA & BABYLONIA *according to this History*



hour and hazard, attempted to subjugate the nations; but the flame still broke out somewhere or other against them; others of them, by a supine neglect, saw themselves in danger, from those their warlike predecessors had awed, and were some of them, in the end, subdued, and captivated, and destroyed by them. In fine, we see both the *Assyrian* and the *Babylonian* submitted to that fate, which must sooner or later dissolve all universal monarchies, which must have almost as many enemies as subjects.

C H A P. X.

The History of the M E D E S.

S E C T. I.

The Description of M E D I A.

THE country before us, once the seat of a potent empire, derives its name from *Madaï* the third son of *Japhet*, as is plain from scripture, where the *Medes* &c. are constantly called *Madaï*^a (A). It was bounded, according to *Ptolemy*, on the north by part of the *Caspian* sea; on the south by *Persis*, *Susiana*, and *Assyria*; on the east by *Parthia* and *Hyrkania*; and on the west by *Armenia Major*. It was in antient times divided into several provinces, namely

^a DAN. v. 28. *ibid.* vi. 8. 12. 15. *ibid.* viii. 20. ESTH. i. 3. 14. 18, 19. *ibid.* x. 2.

(A) Among prophane authors, some derive the name of *Media* from one *Medus*, the son of *Medea* and *Jason*; others from a city here called *Media*, whence say they, the whole country borrowed its name (1). *Sextus Rufus* tells us, that in his time it was known by the name of *Medena* (2), and from others we learn (3), that it was also called *Aria*; but to enquire into the origin of these various appellations, would prove both a laborious and fruitless task.

(1) *Strab.* l. 11. p. 526.
Media.

(3) *Ortel.* *ibid.*

(2) *Ortel.* *Thes. Geogr. ad vocem*

Tropatene, Charomithrene, Darites, Marciane, Amariace, and Syro-media : All these were by a later division reduced to two only, the one called *Media Magna*, the other *Media Atropatia*, or simply *Atropatene*.^b

Atropatene was that part which lay between mount *Taurus* and the *Caspian* sea, and is supposed to have been so called from one *Atropatus*, who being governor of this province in the time of *Darius*, the last *Persian* monarch, withstood *Alexander the Great*, and, upon the downfall of the *Persian* monarchy, seized on this part of *Media*, and transmitted it to his posterity, who held it as sovereigns to *Strabo's* time^c. This was a cold, barren, and inhospitable country, and on that very account allotted by *Shalmaneser* for the abode of many captive *Israelites* after the conquest of that kingdom.

CITIES of note in this part of *Media* were *Gaza* or *Gazæ*, the metropolis of the province, and situated, according to *Pliny*, in a spacious plain between *Ecbatan* and *Artaxata*, and equally distant from both. *Sanina*, seated between the *Arazes* and the *Cambyfes* ; *Fazina*, between the *Cambyfes* and the *Cyrus* ; and *Cyropolis*, between the *Cyrus* and the *Amardus*. This tract was inhabited by the *Cadusians* and *Caspians*, a barbarous and inhuman race, originally sprung from the *Scythians*.

Media Magna was bounded by *Persia*, *Parthia*, *Hyrkania*, the *Hyrcanian* sea, and *Atropatene*. The most remarkable cities in this part of *Media* were *Ecbatan*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, *Rageia*, *Arsacia*, &c. *Ecbatan*, the metropolis of all *Media* and the seat both of the *Median* and *Persian* monarchs, was built by *Dejoces*, the first that reigned in *Media*, after the inhabitants had shaken off the *Assyrian* yoke^d. The walls of this city are much celebrated by the antients, and minutely described by *Herodotus*^e : they were seven in number, all of a circular form, and gradually rising above each other by the height of the battlements of each wall. The situation of the ground, rising by an easy ascent, was very favourable to the design of building these walls, and perhaps first suggested it. The royal palace and treasury were within the innermost circle of the seven. The first of these walls was equal in circumference to the city of *Athens*, and had white battlements, the second black, the third of a purple colour, the fourth blue, and the fifth of a deep orange ; but the two innermost, as serving more immediately for a fence to the royal person of the king, were embellished above the others, the

^b STRAB. l. ii. p. 360. & p. 363.

^c STRAB. l. ii. p. 523.

^d HERODOT. l. i. c. 98.

^e HERODOT. ubi supra.

one being done over with silver, and the other with gold: This description of *Herodotus* favours, we must own, somewhat of romance; but, nevertheless, that *Ecbatan* was a great and powerful city, and perhaps no-ways inferior either to *Nineveh* or *Babylon*, is confirmed by far better authorities. In the book of *Judith* ² we read, that the walls of this stately metropolis were seventy cubits high and fifty cubits broad; that the towers on the gates were a hundred cubits in height, the breadth in the foundation sixty cubits, and the walls built of hewn and polished stone, each stone being six cubits in length and three in breadth. This city is by the antients constantly called *Ecbatan* of *Media*, to distinguish it from another in *Syria* bearing the same name ³, where the unfortunate *Cambyfes* died, as we read in *Herodotus* ¹ (B).

Laodicea,

¹ HERODOT. *ibid.* ² JUDITH. c. i. 2, 3, 4. ³ HERODOT. l. 3. c. 64. DIODOR. l. 14. c. 23. PLIN. l. 6 c. 27. Plutarch. in Alex. p. 704. TACIT. l. 15. c. 31. &c. ⁴ HERODOT. l. 3.

(B) *Pliny* (4) tells us, that *Ecbatan* was built by *Seleucus*; an unaccountable oversight, since he must have read an account of it not only in *Herodotus*, but likewise in *Demosthenes* (5), who calls it the ordinary residence of the *Persian* monarchs. On the other hand, *Diodorus* (6) carries the building of this town back to the fabulous times of *Semiramis*, and speaks of mountains levelled, vallies raised, waters conveyed through rocky mountains, and other astonishing works performed by his heroine, for the embellishment of the city and convenience of the inhabitants. This great city was situate on a rising ground, according to *Ptolemy* and *Diodorus*, about twelve stades distance from mount *Orantes*, and not at the foot of mount *Jafanius*. on the southern confines of *Media* and *Persia*, where *Amianus Marcellinus* is pleased to place it (7). Here *Daniel* is said by *Josephus* to have built a stately palace, which afterwards served as a mausoleum of the kings of *Media*; some of the beams, says this author, were of silver, and the rest of cedar, but plated with gold. There are now no monuments remaining, either of this magnificent building, or of the proud palace, where the monarchs of *Asia* were wont to pass their summer; nay, there is a great disagreement among our modern travellers about the place where that stately metropolis stood. The opinion of *Molet*, who translated and wrote a commentary upon *Ptolemy*, seems to Sir *John Chardin* the most probable, *viz.* that *Tauris* is the antient and famous *Ecbatan* (8); and this opinion is confirmed by *Ortelius*, *Gelnitz*,

(4) *Plin.* l. 6. c. 14. (5) *Demosth.* Philip. 4. p. 100 (6) *Diodor. Sicul.* l. 2. c. 12. (7) *Ammian. Marcell.* l. 23. c. 23. (8) *Chardin. voy. en Pers.* vol. 1. p. 181.

Tevdiz,

Laodicea, of which appellation there were many towns, so called either from the mother of *Nicator*, or the wife of *Antiochus*, is counted by *Strabo*^k among the cities of *Media*, and placed by *Pliny*^{*} near the confines of *Persia*. *Apamea* is by *Strabo* sometimes adjudged to *Media*, and sometimes to *Parthia*^l. - *Raga*, *Rageia*, or *Ragea* is called by *Isidorus*^m the greatest city of *Media*; it was repaired by *Nicator*, who called it *Europus*, and by that name it was known to *Ptolemy*; but in the book of *Tobit* it retains the former. In process of time it became the seat of the *Parthian* kings, who gave it the name of *Arsacia* or *Arsace*, as we shall see in the history of that people. Other cities of *Media* are mentioned by *Pliny*, *Stephanus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Isidorus*, viz. *Zombis*, *Patigran*, *Gazaca*, *Margasis*, &c. but these were all built in after-ages by the *Macedonians*, and are therefore called by *Strabo*ⁿ *Greek* cities. This part of *Media* was inhabited by the *Carduchians*, *Marandæans*, *Gelians*, *Syro-medians*, *Margasians*, &c.

Mountains and rivers. THE mountains of this country, such as may be proper to take notice of, are, according to *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*^o, *Choatra*, parting *Media* from *Assyria*, and branching out from the *Gordyeen* mountains on the confines of *Assyria* and *Armenia*; *Zagrüs*, dividing it from the same *Assyria* on the east, a mountain, if *Polybius*^p is to be credited, one hundred stades high. *Parachoatra*, placed by *Ptolemy* on the borders towards *Persia*, and by *Strabo*^q on the confines of *Media*, *Hyrcania*, and *Parthia*. These are the boundaries between *Media* and the adjacent regions, and therefore may be said as properly to belong to the latter as to the former; but the

^k STRAB. l. xi. p. 361. ^{*} l. 6. c. 26. ^l STRAB. l. xi. p. 354, & 361. ^m ISIDOR. p. 361. ⁿ STRAB. l. xi. p. 361. ^o STRAB. l. xi. p. 363. ^p POLYB. l. v. c. 44. ^q STRAB. ubi supra.

Taxeira, *Andrea della valle*, &c. *Josephus* assures us (9), that the palace built by *Daniel* was entire in his time; but at present not even the ruins of any magnificent building are to be seen either at *Tauris* or in that neighbourhood; for in all the ruins there, the materials, as our traveller judiciously observes (10), are only earth, brick, and pebbles, which in antient times were never used in *Media* for the building of palaces. Some writers confound *Ecbatan* with *Batana*, which is evidently *Ptolemy's* *Batina*, and placed by him to the north of mount *Orontes* near the river *Straton*.

(9) *Joseph. Antiquitat. l. 10.*

(10) *Chardin ubi supra.*

Orontes,

Orontes, the *Jasanius*, and the *Coronus* are in the strictest sense mountains of *Media*, as arising in the very heart of the country. The rivers of note are, according to *Ptolemy*, the *Straton*, the *Amardus*, the *Cyrus*, and the *Gambyses*. But these rivers, as they are represented to disembogue themselves into the most southern part of the *Caspian*, must by their position have belonged to the provinces of *Ghilan* and *Mazandaran*, as they are now called, and consequently could not belong to *Media proper*, as it is described to us by the antients.

WE cannot help taking notice here of a considerable mistake, which many of the antients have been guilty of, with respect to the situation of the *Caspian Streights*, called by the *Latins* *Portæ Caspiæ*, *Claustra Caspia*, and *Pylæ Caspiæ*. *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Arrian*, *Isidorus Characenus*, and *Dionysius Periegetes*^r place them on the confines of *Media* and *Parthia*, or on the eastern borders of *Media*. But *Pliny*, not liking this situation, carries them quite cross the country, and after having been some time at a loss how to dispose of so heavy a load, drops it at last on the confines of *Media* and *Armenia*, that is, on the most western borders of *Media*^s. *Suetonius*^t and *Tacitus*^u confound them with the *Iberian streights*, which are a narrow passage through the mountains dividing *Iberia* from *Sarmatia*. Some of our modern geographers place them in *Media Atropatia*, between the *Caspian* mountains and the *Caspian* sea, confounding them with what the present inhabitants call *Demir-can*, or *Iron-gate*, which is a narrow passage out of *Tartary* into *Persia*.

THE northern parts of *Media*, lying between the *Caspian Soil*, mountains and the sea, are very cold and barren; the present inhabitants make their bread of dried almonds, and their drink of the juice of certain herbs. Here the snow lies on the mountains for nine months in the year^w. But the southern parts are productive of all sorts of grain and necessities for life, and withal so pleasant, that the country adjoining to *Tauris*, probably the antient *Ecbatan*, is called the garden of *Persia*. There are here large plains, among which that of *Nysa* is famous for the numerous studs of horses that were kept in it for the use of the *Persian* monarchs, and are often mentioned and celebrated by the antients. Where this

^r STRAB. l. xi. p. 362. ARRIAN. l. 3. ISIDOR. Characenus. p. 6. DIONYS. Perieget. versu. 1039. ^s PLIN. l. 6. c. 15.

^t SUTTON. c. 19. ^u TACIT. Hist. l. i. c. 6. ^w CHARDIN. voy. en Pers. vol. I. p. 524.

plain of *Nysa* was situated, is no easy matter to determine (C).

Climate.

THE climate is very unequal ; that part which lies between the mountains and the sea is exceeding cold, and the earth swampy, and full of marshes, where innumerable swarms of venomous insects are bred (D), which, together with the vapours rising from the *Caspian* sea, render that part very unhospitable. The provinces that are more remote from the sea enjoy a very wholesome air, though liable to heavy rains and violent storms, especially in the spring and autumn *. Besides the cattle and game of all sorts, which the *Mediterranean* provinces abound with, some of them have been for

* CHARDIN. ubi supra.

(C) The antients place the *Nysæan* plain in the easternmost parts of what they call *Media*, and far beyond the limits of what is now supposed to have been properly this country. We have a traveller, who thinks he has seen this fertile pasture ; but if he did, we must place it quite differently from what the antients seem to insinuate it ought to be, and several degrees nearer us. His words are, “ We continued on our way (from *Tauris* towards *Persia*) upon the most beautiful and fertile plains covered with villages. These plains afford the most excellent pasture of all *Media*, and, I dare say, of the whole world, and the best horses of the country were there at grass.—I asked a young nobleman in company with us, *If there were any other plains in Media so fine and so extensive?* He told me, *He had seen some as fine about Derbent, but none more extensive* ; so that 'tis reasonable enough to believe, that these plains are the *Hippobaton* of the antients, and where they say the kings of *Media* had a stud of fifty thousand horses, and that here it is also, we must look for the *Nysæan* plain so famous for the horses of that name. *Stephanus* the geographer says, that *Nysa* was in the country of the *Medes*. I told this same nobleman some particulars which historians relate concerning these horses, namely *Phavorinus*, who says, all the *Nysæan* horses were light duns ; he answered, that *he had never read or heard any thing of the kind*. I afterwards enquired of several gentlemen of learning, but could never understand, that there was any place, either in *Persia* or *Media*, that produced horses of that colour (11) ”.

(D) *Ælian* tells us (12), that these parts of *Media* were greatly infested by scorpions, and that while the king of *Persia* was on his progress into *Media*, the inhabitants were employed for three days, before his arrival on the confines, in clearing the country of these venomous insects.

(11) *Chardin. ubi supra. p. 185. 15. c. 26.*

(12) *Ælian. de Animal. l.*

many ages remarkable on account of the various sorts of excellent wines they produce, especially the neighbourhood of *Tauris*, where no fewer than sixty different kinds of grapes, all of an exquisite flavour, are to be tasted at this day ¹. From its productions in the present state we may judge, what it must have been in better times.

WE cannot dismiss this subject without some observations *The Caspi-*
on the *Caspian* sea, which is the northern boundary of *Me-* *an sea.*
dia. This large body of waters was by the antients called indifferently the *Caspian* and the *Hyrceanian* sea, from the *Caspians* and *Hyrceanians* whose shores it washed ². However, *Pliny* ³ makes some difference between these two appellations, telling us, that on the *Caspian* coasts it bears the former denomination, and on those of *Hyrkania* the latter. The antient, and likewise the modern, geographers, had but a very imperfect knowledge of the true situation, extent, coasts, and bays of this sea, before the discoveries made lately by a very able navigator and geographer (E) ; and therefore what has been said by others is only to be relied on, so far as it agrees with the accounts he has given us. *Ptolemy*, and even *Herodotus*, knew, that the *Caspian* was surrounded on all sides by land, without any communication with other seas or visible efflux ; whence some thought, that it ought to be called a lake rather than a sea. However, *Strabo* ⁴, *Pliny* ⁵, *Pomponius Mela* ⁶, and *Arrian* ⁷ wrote, that it was joined either to the *Indian* or northern ocean ; but we are well assured by experience, that they were mistaken. They were perhaps led into this error by such as had made their observations when the *Volga* had overflown its banks, at which time it appears more like a sea than a river, covering with its waters, as a modern traveller informs us ⁸, the whole country to the extent of sixty miles : This they might easily have mistaken for a streight joining the *Caspian* to the ocean. *Ptolemy*, though here in the right, was greatly mistaken as to its extent from east to west, for which he allows twen-

¹ CHARDIN. vol. I. p. 185. ² STRAB. l. xi. p. 83. DIODOR. l. 7. c. 75. ³ PLIN. l. 6. c. 13, & 16. ⁴ STRAB. l. x. p. 83. ⁵ PLIN. l. 6. c. 13. ⁶ POMPON. MEL. l. 3. c. 5. ⁷ ARRIAN. l. 7. p. 477. ⁸ Le Bruyn voy. par. la. Moïcov. Tom. 3. p. 465.

(E) M. *Vanverden*, who, by orders of the late *Czar*, formed a very exact chart of the *Caspian* from observations made by him on the spot in 1720, 1721, 1722. These observations, together with M. *Vanverden*'s new chart, were by the *Czar*'s orders communicated to the royal academy of sciences at *Paris*.

ty three degrees and a half ; whereas it does not exceed, where widest, three degrees forty two minutes, and, where narrowest, one degree twenty two minutes. He likewise places it three degrees more to the north than it really is. These mistakes were observed, and in some degree redressed, by *Abu'lfeda*, an *Arabian* prince and able geographer, who in 1320, discovered the true situation of the *Caspian*, and abridged its extent by a third of what *Ptolemy* had allowed it. By this alteration its length was no more in longitude, as *Ptolemy* had placed it, but in latitude, as it truly is. *Abu'lfeda's* observations were greatly improved by *Bourrous*, *Olearius*, and *Jenkinson* ; but the true dimensions of this sea were not ascertained till the late observations, by which we are assured, that it lies between the thirty seventh and forty eighth degrees of north latitude, and does not exceed three degrees forty two minutes in its greatest longitude, which gives it a quite different figure from what it is represented to have in the maps of *Ptolemy*, and in the writings of other antient geographers.

THE *Persians* call this sea *Kulsum*, or the sea of *Astracan* ; the *Russians* the sea of *Gualenskoi* ; the *Georgians* *Sowa* ; the *Armenians* *Soof*. It receives the river *Volga*, which itself is like a sea, and near two hundred others into its bosom, and yet is never increased or diminished, nor observed to ebb or flow. This constant plenitude has given rise to many speculations, and some have imagined, that it must necessarily have some subterraneous communication either with the *Black* sea, though a hundred leagues distant, or with the *Persian* gulf, which is near two hundred leagues distant from it. Father *Avril*, a modern traveller, seems to favour the latter opinion, and alledges this proof to confirm it, *viz.* that over against the province of *Xilan* in *Persia* there are two immense whirlpools, which with an incredible rapidity and frightful noise suck in and swallow whatever comes near them, and consequently a cavity in the earth. He adds, that every year, about the latter end of the autumn, a great quantity of willow leaves are observed floating on the water by those who inhabit the coasts of the *Persian* gulf. As this tree is no where to be found near the *Persian* gulf, and on the other hand the coasts of the *Caspian* towards the province of *Xilan* are covered with them, there must be some subterraneous intercourse between these two seas. This observation, if true, is a strong proof of some secret communication between these two bodies of water, the leaves being conveyed through subterraneous fissures from the one to the other. But since the opinion, asserting a communication between the *Caspian*
and

and other seas, has been taken up chiefly on this consideration, that as so many and so large rivers disembogue themselves into it, and are constantly pouring in their waters, in process of time the channel would be filled, and run over, unless there were subterraneous fissures and meatuses, through which it might evacuate its superfluous waters into the *Ocean*; as the opinion, I say, of the *Caspian's* being joined, either immediately, or by means of some other sea, to the ocean, is chiefly founded on this, it will be worth while to consider how the *Caspian* or any other sea comes to lose so much water as it receives, either from rain or rivers flowing into it (F). The water of this sea is salt as the waters
of

(F) There are two hypotheses among philosophers; one is, that the waters of the sea are conveyed by subterraneous conduits to the springs of rivers, and that in draining through the fissures they lose their saltness: the other is, that it happens by the vapours that are drawn up from its surface. The former is now rejected by most, it being next to impossible to explain how the water of the ocean, being more depressed than the very mouths of the rivers, can come up to their springs, which are mostly on high mountains. But in the latter hypothesis we have no occasion to explain this, nor to prevent the increase of the seas, by supplying the springs with their waters.

THE quantity of vapours drawn up from the sea was tried by Dr. *Halley*, who made the following computation (13). By an experiment made with great care he found, that water, salted to the same degree as common sea-water, and heated to the same degree of the air in our hottest summers, exhales the thickness of a sixtieth part of an inch in two hours. Whence it appears, that a bulk of water a tenth part of an inch high will be exhaled into vapours in twelve hours. So that if the superficies of the whole ocean, or a part of it, be known, it may also be known, how much water arises from it in vapours every day, supposing the water to be equally hot with the air in summer. According to what has been laid down, a superficies of ten square inches emits daily a cubic inch of water; one square foot, half a pint; a square, whose sides are four feet, one gallon; a square mile 6914 tuns; and one degree square (consisting, as we may suppose, of 69 *English* miles) 33 millions of tuns. The same author supposes the *Mediterranean* to be about forty degrees long, and four broad, allowances being made for the places where it is broader by those where it is narrower, so that its whole superficies may be accounted 160 square degrees; and consequently the whole *Mediterranean* must lose in vapours, according to the fore-stated proportion, in a summer's day, at least 5280 millions of tuns. What quantity of

(13) *Philos. Transact* No. 189. p. 366.

L. n. 2

water

of other seas, notwithstanding the opinion of the ancients to the contrary ; its freshness in some parts near the shore is owing to the rivers that discharge themselves into it. It is neither of a different colour from other seas, nor without various sorts of fish, as *Olearius*, an eye-witness, assures us, and thereby disproves the opinion of the ancients, who believed it to be of a blackish colour, and to have but one

water is dried off the surface by the winds cannot possibly be reduced to any rule ; but we may venture to say, that it sometimes exceeds even what is evaporated by the heat of the sun.

Now to compare this quantity of water with that which is carried daily into the sea, the above-mentioned writer observes, that the *Mediterranean*, for instance, receives these nine considerable rivers, the *Iberus*, the *Rhone*, the *Tiber*, the *Po*, the *Danube*, the *Neister*, the *Borysthenes*, the *Tanais*, and the *Nile*, all the rest being of no great note. Each of these rivers he supposes to be ten times greater than the *Thames*, not that any of them is near so great, but to comprehend with them all the small rivulets that fall into the same sea.

He likewise supposes the river *Thames* at *Kingston-bridge*, where the tide seldom reaches, to be in breadth about a hundred yards, and in depth three ; and the water to run two miles an hour. If therefore the breadth of the water, a hundred yards, be multiplied by three, the depth, and the product three hundred square yards by forty eight miles, or 84480 yards, which the water runs every day, the product will be 25344000 cubic yards of water, or 20312818 tuns, that are carried every day into the sea.

Now, if each of the aforesaid rivers yields ten times as much water as the *Thames*, it will follow, that each of them carries every day into the sea above 203 millions of tuns, and the whole nine 1828 millions of tuns in a day.

However, this is but little more than one third of what is proved to be raised in vapours out of the *Mediterranean* in twelve hours time. Hence it appears, that the *Mediterranean*, the *Caspian*, or any other sea, is so far from increasing or overflowing by the rivers it receives, that in a short time it would rather be evaporated and drained, unless the vapours that it exhales returned upon it in dew or rain.

Scaliger and others were of opinion, that the *Caspian* is joined by some subterraneous intercourse with the *Euxine*, but he alledges no reason to prove his opinion ; however, this may be urged for it, that the *Euxine* sea, as Mr. *Dugdale* observes (14), is continually disgorging a large quantity of water through the *Bosphorus*, and some think, that it is more than the rivers pour into it ; wherefore it may, for ought we know, be supplied from the *Caspian*.

(14) *Dugdale's comp!cat system of Gen. Geography*, p. 290.

kind of fish, and that of a monstrous form. We shall conclude this section with observing, that the ignorance of the antients with relation to this sea, or lake, as some are pleased to call it, may be urged as an argument of the imperfect knowledge they had of these northern parts of the *Persian* empire, and at the same time warn us not to depend on their accounts, unless vouched by the testimonies of modern travellers, who have, with far greater care and better success surveyed those remote regions.

S E C T. II.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, arts, learning, and trade of the MEDES.

WE have already derived the *Medes*³ from *Madai*, the *Their ori-*
third son of *Japhet*, and thereby put them upon the *gin.*
level with the most antient nations (G). In pro-
cess of time several colonies from the adjacent countries set-
tled

³ Vid. *supr.* p. 355.

(G) Some will have *Madai* to have been the progenitor of the *Macedonians*, and not of the *Medes*, grounding their opinion upon the two following reasons: 1. That the *Madai*, or *Medes*, are not mentioned in scripture till the later ages. 2. That this situation removes *Madai* too far from the rest of his brethren, and takes him out of his general lot, which was the isles of the *Gentiles*, to put him into that of *Shem*. But to the first it may be answered, that the *Jews* always retained the name, and it is plain they made use of it as soon as they had occasion: to the second, that, according to our hypothesis, the plantations of the sons of *Japhet* were contiguous; for the western *Media* was bounded on the north by the river *Ros* or *Aras*, to which, as we have elsewhere observed (15), the dominion of *Magog* extended; and perhaps those words, *by these were the isles of the Gentiles divided* (16), relate only to *Javan* and his sons, and not to *Gomer* and his posterity, the passages in scripture where these last are mentioned requiring a sense which places them on the continent. A modern writer (17) produces several authorities to shew, that there were a people in *Macedonia* called *Medi*, or *Mædi*, and a tract called the *Medic* regions in the borders of *Pæonia*; but this can only prove the *Macedonians* to be a later colony of *Madai*. To say that the *Macedonians* are the offspring of *Madai*, because the word *Macedonia* is compounded of

(15) *Vol I p. 370.*
works.

(16) *Gen. x. 5.*

(17) *See Nide's*

tled among them, being invited thither by the fruitfulness of the soil, which gave rise to the various tribes into which that people was antiently divided. The *Greek* writers will have them to be originally *Persians*^h, and *Herodotus* tells us, that they were called *Arians* till the time of *Medus* the son of *Medea*, from whom they took the name of *Medians*. But our etymology is far more natural, and confirmed by the authority of all the antient interpreters, who by *Madai* in scripture constantly understand the *Medes*ⁱ.

Govern-
ment.

THEIR government was originally monarchical, like that of the other primitive nations, and they seem to have had kings of their own in the earliest times. Some are of opinion, that one of the four kings, who in the days of *Abraham* invaded the southern coasts of *Canaan*, reigned in *Media*. *Lactantius* mentions one *Hydaspes*, who, according to him, reigned long before the *Medes* were conquered by the *Assyrians*; and *Diodorus* tells us, that *Pharnus* king of the *Medes* was with his seven sons defeated and taken prisoner by *Ninus*, in the very beginning of the *Assyrian* empire^k. But his accounts of those early times are no ways to be relied on, it being plain, both from scripture and from the authority of the most judicious among the antient and modern chronologers, that the *Assyrian* empire did not begin till the days of *Pul*; whereas *Ctesias* and his copist *Diodorus* have made this empire as old as the flood, and given us the names of all the *Assyrian* kings from *Belus* and his feigned son *Ninus* to *Sardanapalus*. According to the succession of *Assyrian* kings, as stated by them, that empire continued about 1360 years, whereas *Herodotus* tells us, that it lasted only five hundred years, and even his numbers are all too long. They were first brought under the *Assyrian* yoke by *Pul*, according to us the founder of that monarchy, or by his immediate successor *Tiglath-pileser*. Till that time they were probably governed by their own kings, as were, according to holy writ, the neighbouring nations (H). In the reign of *Sennacherib* they shook

^h CEDREN. p. 18.
& in quæstion. Hebraic.

ⁱ Vide HIERONYM. in cap. 13. *Esaia*,
^k DIODOR. SIC. l. 5. c. 5.

Madai and *Cettim*, is relying too much, as every one must allow, on the authority of a forced etymology; and we may as well adopt the etymology of those who derive the *Tartars* from an antient tribe among the *Medes* called *Tapuri*, which they change into *Taturi*, and that into *Tartari* (18).

(H) In the time of the judges of *Israel*, *Mesopotamia* was under

(18) Vide Reinecc. hist. jul. par. secund. p. 2.

shook off the *Assyrian* yoke, and fell into an anarchy, which lasted till the reign of *Dejoces*, as we shall see in the following section. Their kings, after the revolt, were quite absolute, and controled by no law; nay, they claimed an equal respect with the gods themselves, the custom of adoring kings, which afterwards prevailed in *Persia*, having first taken rise among the *Medes* ¹.

THE *Medes* were once a very warlike race, as will appear from their history; but in process of time became one of the most effeminate nations of *Asia*, especially after they were reduced by *Cyrus*. In war they used the same armour as the *Persians*, whom they are said to have taught the art of war, especially to handle with dexterity the bow, and likewise to have been the first that introduced luxury into *Persia*, which at last occasioned the downfall of that empire, as it had before been the ruin of the *Medes* ². Polygamy was so far from being disreputable among them, that they were bound by law to maintain at least seven wives, and those women were looked upon with contempt, who had fewer than five husbands ³. In war they poisoned their arrows with a bituminous liquor called *Naphtha*, whereof there was great plenty in *Media*, *Persia*, and *Assyria*. The arrow being steeped in it, and shot from a slack bow (for a swift and violent motion took off from its virtue), burnt the flesh with such violence, that water rather encreased than extinguished the malignant flame; dust alone could put a stop to it, and in some degree allay the unspeakable pain it occasioned. They are likewise said to have bred a number of large dogs, to whom they used to throw the bodies of their friends, parents, and relations,

*Manners
and cus-
toms.*

¹ ÆLIAN. var. histor. l. x. p. 525. ² STRABO, l. xi. XE-
NOPH. Cyropæd. l. i. p. 7. ³ STRABO, l. xi. p. 526.

its own king (19); the king of *Zobab* reigned on both sides of the *Euphrates* till he was conquered by *David* (20). The kingdoms of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Philistia*, *Zidon*, *Damascus*, and *Hamath the Great*, were governed by their own princes, and so were those of *Haran*, or *Carrhæ*, and *Sepharvaim* in *Mesopotamia*, and *Calneh* near *Bagdad*. As these petty kingdoms were ruled by their own princes, so was *Media* till the time of *Pul*, who subdued most of the above-mentioned nations. *Media* may have been subdued by *Nimrod*, who was a great warrior; but his empire, if he founded any, was of short continuance, it being the custom in those early times for every father to divide his territories amongst his sons.

(19) *Judg.* iii. 8.

(20) 2 *Samuel* viii. and x.

when

when at the point of death, looking upon it as dishonourable to die in their beds, or be laid in the ground °.

SOME writers charge the *Medes* with being the first authors of making eunuchs ^p; but others impute this execrable practice to the *Persians*, and even name the place where it first took rise ^q (I). The custom of confirming alliances with the

° BARDESAN. apud Euseb. præpar. Evang. l. 6. c. 8.
THENÆUS l. 12.

^p A-
^q STEPHAN. de urbib.

(I) *Stephanus* tells us, that this custom was first introduced in a city of *Persia* called *Spada*, whence he derives the *Latin* word *Spado*, signifying an eunuch. But both he and those who charge the *Medes* with introducing such an unnatural practice are certainly mistaken, since we find eunuchs in vogue among the *Affyrians* and *Babylonians*, long before such a piece of wanton luxury can be supposed to have been known either to the *Medes* or *Persians*. *Josephus* (21) acquaints us, that *Nabuchodonosor* commanded the most comely youths among the captive *Jews* to be made eunuchs; and *Jerom* is of opinion, that the prophet *Daniel* and his three companions were eunuchs (22). *Ammianus Marcellinus* will have *Semiramis* to be the first contriver of eunuchism (23). What prompted them thus to maim and deform nature, *Petronius Arbiter* will tell us :

*Persarum ritu male pubescentibus annis
Subripuere viros; exsectaque viscera ferro
In venerem fregere: atque ut fuga mobilis ævi,
Circumscripta mora, properantes differat annos* (24).

And *Claudian*,

*Seu Persica ferro
Luxuries vetuit nasci lanuginis umbram* (25):

Eunuchs have always been in great repute among the eastern princes, and were antiently employed in the most momentous affairs; all the places of greatest trust being filled by men, if men we may call them, of their species. To them the *Persian* kings committed, not only the guard of their own persons (26), but likewise the education of their children, it being a custom among them to put the heir apparent of the crown, as soon as he was born, into the hands of eunuchs, under whose tuition he remained, till he attained the seventh year of his age (27).

(21) *Joseph. antiquit. l. x. c. 16.* (22) *Hieronym. in cap. prim. Daniel.* (23) *Ammian. Marcellin. l. 14.* (24) *Petron. Arb. satyr.* (25) *Claudian. in Eutrop. l. 1.* (26) *Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 7.* (27) *Plato in Alcibiad. 1.*

blood

blood of the contracting parties, which obtained among all the eastern nations, even in the *Roman* times, was originally peculiar to the *Medes*†. When they were to strike alliances they used to tie together with a hard bandage the thumbs of their right hands, till the blood, starting to the extremities, was by a slight cut discharged. This they mutually sucked, and a league thus confirmed was esteemed most awful, as mysteriously solemnized with the blood of the parties‡.

THE laws and religion of the *Medes* were much the same *Laws, re-* with those of the *Persians*: wherefore, we shall defer what *ligion, &c.* may be said of them, till we come to the history of the *Persians* from the oriental writers. We shall only observe here, that when a law was once enacted, it was not in the king's power to repeal it, or to reverse a decree he had once made; whence the laws of the *Medes* are in holy writ called unchangeable‡. A modern writer tells us, that those only were admitted to the crown who were remarkable above others for their strength or stature⁴. But that there was no such law is plain from the regular succession of father and son, without regard to any personal quality whatsoever. Some law of this nature may perhaps have obtained among them before they were conquered by the *Assyrians*; but we are quite in the dark as to the state of *Media* in those early times.

THEY paid their kings the greatest respect imaginable, putting them upon the level even with their gods. They thought it an high offence either to spit or laugh in their presence⁵. They honoured their sovereign with the haughty title of *great king*, or *king of kings*, which style was afterwards adopted by the *Persian* monarchs and their proud successors the *Parthians*, whose king, even in the time of the emperor *Constantius*, retained that title, writing himself in a letter to that prince, *Sapor king of kings, allied to the stars, brother to the sun and moon, &c.*⁶. When they appeared in public, which seldom happened, they were always attended by music, and numerous guards consisting of the prime nobility, their wives, children and concubines, being part of their retinue, even when they headed their armies in the field.

As to their arts, learning, and trade, we are quite in the dark; their country abounded with many excellent productions, as well for the use of the inhabitants themselves, as for foreign exportation; but whether they ever applied themselves

† HERODOT. l. 1. c. 74. ‡ TACIT. annal. 12. § DAN. vi. 8.
 ¶ ALEXAND. ab Alex. l. 4. c. 23. ** HERODOT. l. 1. c. 99. *** AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. 17.
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to trade, is what we find no where recorded : neither do we find any mention made by the antients of their arts or sciences. During the short time of their monarchy, they seem to have applied their thoughts only to warlike exercises, namely to the arts of managing a horse and handling the bow, in which they surpassed all other nations, the *Median* horse being no less celebrated by the antients, than were in after-ages the *Persian* foot¹. Thus much we have thought necessary to say apart of the *Medes* and their country : what else may be added thereto we defer to the sections of the following chapter, which will be no more than a continuation of this.

S E C T. III.

The Chronology of the MEDES to the translation of their empire to the PERSIANS.

CTESIAS and his followers have darkened the chronology of the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, and *Medes*, with such enormous anachronisms, that 'tis no easy matter to ascertain the rise or fall of those potent monarchies. To proceed with all the clearness and perspicuity so perplexed a subject will allow, we shall distinguish in the chronology of the *Medes* three remarkable occurrences, which will give birth to as many different æras ; namely, the recovery of their liberty after they had been subdued by the *Assyrians*, the rise of their kingdom after some years of anarchy, and the beginning of their empire, which, as it is agreed on all hands, rose on the ruins of the *Assyrian* monarchy. The first king of the *Assyrians*, who brought the *Medes* under subjection, was either *Pul*, according to us the founder of the *Assyrian* empire², or his immediate successor *Tiglath-pileser*. For this prince having, at the prayers of *Ahaz* king of *Judah*, made war upon *Rezin* king of *Damascus*, and reduced that city, transplanted the inhabitants to *Kir* in *Media*³. Whence it is plain, that the *Medes* were then subject to the *Assyrians* ; and consequently, that they must have been subdued either in the reign of *Pul*, or soon after the accession of *Tiglath-pileser* to the crown ; for the empire of the *Assyrians* was already grown great, and the *God of Israel* stirred up the spirit of *Pul* king of *Assyria*, and the spirit of *Tiglath-pilne-*

¹ ХЕНОФ. *Cyropæd.* l. i. c. 7.
note (W).

² See before, p. 186.
³ 2 Kings xv. 37. and xvi. 5. 9.

ser king of Assyria to make war. *Pul* makes his first appearance in scripture during the reign of *Menahem* king of *Israel*, in the year of the flood 2228, before *Christ* 771. *Tiglath-pileser*, who is supposed to have been his son, succeeded him in the year of the flood 2259, before *Christ* 740. That there was no *Assyrian* empire before the days of *Pul*, is plain, both from scripture (K) and from the particular histories of each kingdom, so that the *Medes* could not be subdued by

b 1 Chron. v. 26.

(K) None of the prophets, who preceded *Pul*, and foretold the calamities which the people of *Israel* afterwards suffered from the *Assyrians*, ever name that nation, but only speak of a people that is to be raised up against *Israel*. Thus *Jonah*, who prophesied about sixty years before the reign of *Pul*, mentions indeed the king of *Nineveh*, but no where that of *Assyria*. The city of *Nineveh* had some time before shaken off the *Egyptian* yoke, and was governed by a king of its own (28); but his territories were of no great extent, as is plain from the said prophecies; neither was he called king of *Assyria*, but only of *Nineveh*. *Amos* prophesied about ten or twenty years before *Pul* began his conquests, and foretold, that God would raise up a nation that should humble the house of *Israel*, at that time elated with their success against *Damascus* and *Hamath*; but what nation he names not. In the prophecies of *Isaiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Hosia*, *Micah*, *Nabum*, *Zephaniab*, and *Zechariab*, which were written after the *Assyrian* monarchy was grown powerful, it is openly named on all occasions. Therefore, as *Jonah* and *Amos*, who prophesied before the reign of *Pul*, never mention the *Assyrians*, and those who flourished after his reign, frequently do, it is pretty plain, that in the days of the former the *Assyrians* made no great figure in the world, but were to be raised up against *Israel*; and by consequence rose in the days of *Pul*, who is the first upon record that fulfilled the prophecy of *Amos*, threatening *Syria* and *Israel* with captivity. Besides, we know from scripture, that till *Pul* made his appearance on this side of the *Euphrates*, not only *Syria* and *Egypt*, but many other neighbouring nations were governed by their own kings. *Sesac* and *Mennon* were great conquerors, and subdued *Chaldea*, *Assyria*, *Media*, *Persia*, *Babylonia*, &c. but in their histories no mention is made of any opposition made to them by an *Assyrian* empire then standing. *Homer* mentions *Bacchus* and *Mennon* kings of *Egypt* and *Persia*, but knew nothing of an *Assyrian* empire (29). Whence it is manifest, that the *Assyrian* empire, which *Ctesias* makes as antient as the flood, did not begin till the reign of *Pul*, who reduced all the above-mentioned nations.

(28) *Jonah* iii. 6, 7. (29) See Sir Isaac Newton's *Chronol. of ancient kingdoms*, p. 265. & seq. (30) 2 *Kings* xvii. iii. 6, 7. (31) *Tobit*, c. 1.

them before the time we have mentioned. From the time of *Pul* or *Tiglatb-pileser* they continued in subjection to the *Affyrians* till the reign of *Sennacherib*, which began about the year of the flood 2286, before *Christ* 713, while *Hezekiah* was king of *Judah* (L). They took advantage, it is likely, of his long and distant absence, or of the sudden slaughter of his army near *Egypt*, and shaking off the yoke, defended their liberty by dint of arms against the power of the *Affyrians*, which was now in its decline. These are the troubles which prevented *Tobit* from going into *Media*, according to his custom^c; and they must have happened about the latter end of *Sennacherib*'s reign, that is, about the year of the flood 2289, before *Christ* 710. The *Medes*, having thus rescued their country from the *Affyrian* bondage, fell into a kind of anarchy, as *Herodotus* informs us^d, which gave *Esar-haddon*, or *Affar-haddon*, who succeeded *Sennacherib*, and was both a valourous and fortunate prince, an opportunity of bringing great part of *Media*, if not the whole country, anew under subjection. How long the anarchy may have lasted is hard to determine. Some include the years of the anarchy in the fifty three which *Dejoces*, their first king, is said to have reigned. It cannot have lasted above twenty or thirty years; for *Phraortes*, who succeeded *Dejoces*, and reigned, according to *Herodotus*^e, twenty two years, was slain by *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchodonosor*, in the twelfth year of his reign. *Nabuchodonosor* came to the crown in the year of the flood 2351, before *Christ* 648; so that *Phraortes* was killed eighty six years after the *Medes* had revolted from the *Affyrians*; from which number, if we subtract the fifty three of *Dejoces* and twenty two of *Phraortes*, eleven years will remain for the anarchy. But the reign of *Dejoces*, who, as we read in *Herodotus*^f, had some time exercised the office of judge before he was cho-

^c TOBIT i. 15. ^d HERODOT. l. i. c. 71. ^e HERODOT. ubi supra. ^f Ubi supra.

(L) That in the time of *Shalmaneser* they were subject to the *Affyrians*, is plain from scripture, where that prince is said to have transplanted the inhabitants of *Samaria* to *Halab* and *Haber*, and to the cities of the *Medes* (30). In this captivity *Tobit* was carried from his native country, the city of *Thiſbe*, in the tribe of *Nephthali*, with *Anna* his wife, and *Tobias* his son, into *Affyria*; but the rest of his brethren were carried into *Media*, and planted there, particularly *Gabael* in *Rages*, and *Raguel* in *Ecbatan* (31), which proves *Media* to have been in the time of *Shalmaneser* subject to the king of *Affyria*.

(30.) 2 *Kings* xvii. 6.

(31) *Tobit*, c. i. vi. 10.

sen king, is evidently too long, and we may safely abridge it of fifteen or twenty years, adding them to the anarchy. From the beginning of the reign of *Dejoces* to the destruction of *Nineveh*, which happened in the second year of the reign of *Jeboiakim* (M), that is in the year of the flood 2390, before *Christ* 609, *Media* may be properly stiled a kingdom. From the destruction of *Nineveh*, we may date the rise of the empire of the *Medes*; for the conquerors, that is, *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Cyaxares*, having shared the *Assyrian* empire, they both became very powerful, and reduced most of the neighbouring nations, as we shall see in the sequel of this history. Their empire lasted till the taking of *Babylon*; for *Xenophon*^g tells us, that, after the reduction of that city, *Cyrus* went to the king of the *Medes* at *Ecbatan*, and succeeded him in the kingdom, which is entirely agreeable to scripture. *Babylon* was taken seventy three years after the destruction of *Nineveh*, to which we may add the two years that *Darius the Mede* reigned over that city, so that the empire of the *Medes* lasted seventy five years, at the period of which the *Persian* empire took rise in *Cyrus*. That *Darius the Mede* reigned over *Babylon*, is unquestionable; for he is said in scripture^h, to have introduced there the immutable laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*. In his reign the *Medes* are ever placed before the *Persians*ⁱ, as the *Persians* in the reign of *Cyrus* and his successors are always set before the *Medes*^k.

BEFORE we proceed to the history of the *Medes*, we shall exhibit the series of their kings according to several authors.

^g XENOPH. cyrop. l. 8, ubi supra & v. 28. viii. 20. x. 1, 20, & xi. 2.

^h Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15.

ⁱ Dan.

^k ESTH. i. 3. 14, 18, 19. Dan.

(M) In the reign of *Josiah*, when *Zephaniab* prophesied, *Nineveh* and the kingdom of *Assyria* were standing, for that prophet foretells their fall (32). Not long after *Pharoah Necho* led his army to the *Euphrates* against the king of *Assyria*, and on his march slew *Josiah* (33); whence it is manifest, that the last king of *Assyria* was still alive. But in the third and fourth year of *Jeboiakim*, the successor of *Josiah*, we find *Assuerus* king of the *Medes* and *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, leading their armies against the king of *Egypt*, and taking from him what he had newly taken from the *Assyrians*. Whence we may conclude, that *Nineveh* was already reduced, and the conquest of *Assyria* compleated. We cannot therefore err above a year or two, if we place the destruction of *Nineveh* and fall of the *Assyrian* empire, in the second year of *Jeboiakim*.

(32) *Zeph.* i. 1, and ii. 13. (33) 2 *Kings* xxiii. 29. 2 *Chron.* xxxv. 20
A Tabl,

A Table of the Kings of the MEDES, according to Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Eusebius, and Syncellus.

Acc. to Herodot.	Acc. to Diod.	Acc. to Euseb.	Acc. to Syncel.
* * * * *	1 <i>Arbaces</i> 28	1 <i>Arbaces</i> 28	1 <i>Arbaces</i> 28
* * * * *	2 <i>Mandauces</i> 50	2 <i>Sofarmus</i> 30	2 <i>Mandauces</i> 20
* * * * *	3 <i>Sofarmus</i> 30	3 <i>Medidus</i> 40	3 <i>Sofarmus</i> 30
* * * * *	4 <i>Articas</i> 50	4 <i>Cardiccas</i> 13	4 <i>Artycas</i> 30
* * * * *	5 <i>Arbacines</i> 22	* * * * *	* * * * *
* * * * *	6 <i>Artæus</i> 40	* * * * *	* * * * *
* * * * *	7 <i>Artynes</i> 22	5 <i>Dejoces</i> 54	5 <i>Diæces</i> 54
1 <i>Dejoces</i> 53	8 <i>Antibarnes</i> 40	6 <i>Pbraortes</i> 24	6 <i>Aphraartes</i> 51
2 <i>Pbraortes</i> 22	9 <i>Astibares</i> **	7 <i>Cyaxares</i> 32	7 <i>Cyaxares</i> 32
3 <i>Cyaxares</i> 40	10 <i>Apandas</i> or	8 <i>Astjas</i> 38	8 <i>Astyages</i> } 38
4 <i>Astyages</i> 35	<i>Astyages</i> * =		or <i>Darius</i> }
Total 150	282	259	283

THIS table contains what may be called two original catalogues, those of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, as he has borrowed it from *Ctesias*. The other two are compounded of both, with an equal deference to each, as far as they go. By what we have laid down above, and confirmed with the authority of holy writ, it appears, that *Herodotus* is not greatly mistaken in his numbers. *Ctesias* enumerates ten kings of *Media*; whose names are different from those mentioned by *Herodotus*, except the last whom he calls *Astyages*, and *Diodorus* names *Apandas*. The reigns of the eight first amount to 282 years, and those of the two last are omitted; but if they be supplied from *Herodotus*, they will come very near *Justin's* account, who supposes the kings of *Media* to have reigned 350 years. *Eusebius* and *Syncellus* differ as widely from *Ctesias* as from each other, except in the name and reign of the first king *Arbaces*, and besides omit two of his ten. They pay a greater deference to *Herodotus*, whom they copy more exactly, at least with regard to his names, tho' they vary sometimes very materially from him in the lengths of the reigns. As for the variations between them, it would be a fruitless task to enquire into them, especially, as it must appear, from what we have said already, that they are both grossly mistaken (N).

SECT.

(N) *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* and *Appian* have followed *Herodotus*, with regard to the duration of the empires of the *Assyrians* and *Medes*.

S E C T. IV.

The History of the MEDES,

WE shall begin with what we may call the fabulous history of the *Medes*, being extracted from *Ctesias*, his transcriber *Diodorus*, and their followers. According to these, the *Medes* were governed by kings of their own before the early days of *Ninus*, the pretended founder of

Medes. The former acquaints us (34), that the empire of the *Medes* was ruined in the fourth generation; and the latter (35), that the three great empires of the *Assyrians*, *Medes* and *Persians*, to the time of *Alexander*, did not last 900 years. The *Persian* empire continued 230 years, from the first year of the fifty fifth Olympiad to the second of the hundred and twelfth. To this number if we add 670 years, which the empires of the *Assyrians* and *Medes* lasted according to *Herodotus*, the sum will be but 900 years. These are the sentiments of the most judicious among the prophane historians, concerning the duration of the empires of the *Assyrians* and *Medes*. But, on the other side, *Cephaleon*, *Alexander Polyhistor*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Castor*, *Trogus Pompeius*, and his abbreviator *Justin*, with *Velleius Paterculus*, have followed *Ctesias* in his catalogue of the *Assyrian* kings. Among christian chronologers, *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and *Syncellus* have inserted in their catalogues the kings of the *Assyrians* and *Medes* mentioned by *Ctesias*; though, in order to adjust their chronologies, they have sometimes abridged, and sometimes increased, their number.

If the empire of the *Medes* continued 352 years, as it must have done according to *Ctesias*, if we supply the reigns of the two last kings in his catalogue from *Eusebius* or *Syncellus*, it must be supposed, that after the empire of the *Assyrians* was destroyed by *Arbaces*, there were no *Assyrian* kings either at *Nineveh* or *Babylon*, and that the *Medes* were sole masters of *Asia*. But this supposition is evidently repugnant both to sacred and prophane history. If we consult the scripture, we shall find, that the *Assyrian* empire was never more potent than after this pretended destruction of *Nineveh*. The prophet *Jonah*, who flourished in the reigns of *Asariah* king of *Judah* and *Jeroboam* king of *Israel*, was sent to preach repentance to *Nineveh*, about eighty years after the supposed reign of *Arbaces*, and *Nineveh* was then a great city, three days journey long; it had a king of its own, and was so populous as to contain above 120,000 children, not yet come to the use of reason (36).

(34) *Dionys. Halicar. l. 1. Hist. Rom.*(35) *Appian. in præfat.*(36) *Jonah. iii. 3. & iv. 11.*

of the *Assyrian* monarchy. For, when *Ninus* invaded this country, it was ruled by one *Pharnus*, who, being worsted by that mighty warrior, was taken prisoner, and crucified with his wife and seven children¹. Thus *Media* was reduced to a province of the *Assyrian* empire, and remained subject to the successors of *Ninus* till the time of *Sardanapalus*. However, they made some attempts towards the recovery of their liberty, during the regency of *Semiramis* and minority of her son *Ninyas*; for she is said to have invaded *Media* with a mighty army, and encamping near a mountain called *Bagistan*, to have made a pleasant garden twelve furlongs in compass. The mountain was dedicated to *Jupiter*, and had on one side craggy rocks seventeen furlongs high, which she ascended on

1 DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. c. 1.

Could a city, which had been reduced to a heap of rubbish but eighty years before, grow to such a pitch of grandeur in so short a time? For, according to the prophet's account, it was then in the meridian of its splendor. Those who follow *Ctesias* have been forced to own, that *Nineveh* was twice taken and destroyed, viz. in the time of king *Jehosaphat* by *Arbaces*, and three hundred years after in the reign of *Josiah*. But the scripture, *Josephus*, and all prophane writers, allow only one desolation of that great city. The latter differ only in the time when it happened. *Herodotus* places it at the end of the reign of *Cyaxares*, and *Polybistor* does not much differ from him. *Ctesias* and his followers refer it to the reign of *Arbaces* three hundred years earlier. That the latter are mistaken is manifest from holy writ, as we have already shewn. We may add, that this powerful empire, which *Arbaces* founded, must soon have decayed, which is inconsistent with the system of *Ctesias* and the authors that follow him. The *Assyrian* empire must have raised itself again, *Nineveh* must have been rebuilt, and have past from an heap of rubbish to an extraordinary pitch of grandeur, and all this in the space of 70 or 80 years. For after this pretended destruction of *Nineveh* and the *Assyrian* empire, we find in scripture a series of *Assyrian* kings and a potent empire not subject to the *Medes*. Besides, if we compare the destruction of *Nineveh* described by *Ctesias* with that we read in scripture and *Polybistor*, they will plainly appear to be the same. *Ctesias* says, that *Sardanapalus* burnt himself, his concubines, and treasures; *Polybistor* writes the same of *Sarac*. *Ctesias* tells us, that the *Medes* in conjunction with the *Babylonians* destroyed *Nineveh*; and the same is confirmed by *Polybistor* and the sacred penmen. *Ctesias* writes, that the city was laid in ashes, and the citizens dispersed; and this is what we read in the prophets. Such a conformity of facts, joined to the former evidences, amounts to a full conviction, that there was but one destruction of the *Assyrian* empire, and one desolation of *Nineveh*.

the packs and loads carried by the beasts of burden that followed her army. In the lower part of this rock she caused her statue to be hewn out, and a hundred of her guards attending her. From hence she marched to *Chæon* a city of *Media*, where, on the top of a very lofty rock, she formed another pleasant garden with stately edifices, whence she might behold the beauties of the spot, and her whole army encamped in the plain. From *Chæon* she advanced towards *Ecbatan*, and on her march levelled mount *Zarcæum*, which was many furlongs in extent, filled up vallies, and in spite of nature opened a plain and easy way to *Ecbatan*, which to our author's time was called *Semiramis's road*^m. These extraordinary works, as they were lasting monuments of her conquests, not only over the rebellious *Medes*, but nature itself, kept that nation in a servile subjection and dependency to the reign of *Sardanapalus*, that is, for the space of near 1400 years (O), when *Arbaces* governor of *Media* and *Belesis* governor of *Babylon* put an end to the *Assyrian* empire in the manner we have related in the history of *Assyria*ⁿ.

Arbaces, the first king of the *Medes* after their revolt, is *Arbaces*. represented as a prince of great generosity and gratitude, as appears from his behaviour towards the mean-spirited *Babylonian Belesis*; who by a pious fraud bereaved him of the immense treasures, that were concealed in the ashes and ruins of the *Assyrian* palace, as we have elsewhere related at length^o. He is said to have subdued all *Asia*, and to have reigned twenty eight years.

He was succeeded by his son *Mandaucæ*, who reigned fifty *Mandaucæ* years, but did nothing worthy of notice, being himself as he is *ces*. represented, a prince of a peaceable disposition, and his subjects desirous of some respite, after the violent struggles for liberty and empire in the last reign.

Sofarmus appears next, by some called *Medidus*; he reigned *Sofarmus*. thirty years, and this is all we find of him upon record.

Artias, by some called *Artycas*, by others *Cardiccas*, reign- *Artias*. ed next. From his name some, who indulge conjectures,

^m DIODOR. Sicul. l. 2. c. 1, ⁿ See before, p. 182. & seq.
• See before, p. 284.

(O) These stories are of a piece with what the same author relates elsewhere, *viz.* that the army of *Ninus* consisted of two millions of men, at a time when the earth was not yet well peopled; that *Semiramis* employed two millions of workmen in the building of *Babylon*; that she disposed in the shape of elephants the hides of three hundred thousand black oxen, and other fables of the like nature, forged by *Ctesias*, and gravely related by *Diodorus*.

argue him to have been a great and glorious prince, the word *Arti* or *Arta* in the composition of his name denoting *greatness*, as it does, according to the interpretation of *Herodotus*, in that of the *Persian Artaxerxes*. All we can say is, that if he performed great things, his exploits have been long since buried in oblivion. There is a great disagreement among authors concerning the length of his reign, some allowing him fifty years, others thirty, and some only thirteen.

Arbianes. AFTER him came *Arbianes*, in whose reign a war broke out between the *Medes* and *Cadusians*, who, at the instigation of one *Parfodes*, rising up in arms, shook off the yoke which they had for some time groaned under. *Parfodes* was by birth a *Persian*, but the chief favourite and prime minister of *Arbianes* king of the *Medes*, whom he served with great fidelity, till being highly provoked at a sentence pronounced against him by that prince, he fled with three thousand foot and a thousand horse to the *Cadusians*, where he not only withdrew his obedience to *Arbianes*, but stirred up the whole nation to a revolt. The *Cadusians*, being thus encouraged to stand up for their liberties, committed the whole management of the war to *Parfodes*, as the most proper person on all accounts to appear at the head of their army. But before he took the field *Arbianes* died after a reign of twenty years. If this *Parfodes* be the *Parsondas* mentioned by *Nicolas of Damascus*, we have already related what induced him to revolt ^P.

Artæus. *Artæus* came to the crown, while the *Cadusians* were making vast preparations to invade his kingdom, and understanding that *Parfodes* was advancing towards the frontiers the head of 200,000 men, he thought it high time to curb the insolence of the rebels. And accordingly having raised an army of 800,000 men marched out with this mighty host, and engaged the rebels; but was most shamefully routed and forced to save himself by flight, leaving 50,000 of his men dead in the field of battle. Upon this victory the *Cadusians* proclaimed *Parfodes* their king, who accepting the crown inspired his new subjects with that irreconcilable hatred which he had conceived against the *Medes*, and laid the foundations of a perpetual enmity between the two nations. He is said to have solemnly conjured the *Cadusians*, even on his death bed, to wage an eternal war with the *Medes*, and never lay down their arms till that odious nation was utterly abolished, loading at the same time with curses and imprecations such of his successors, as ever should upon any terms whatsoever be reconciled with them. In pursuance of this,

^P See before, p. 285, & seq.

as we may call it, his last will, the *Cadusians* watched all opportunities of harrassing the *Medes* with inroads, and doing them what mischief they could, till the empire was transferred from them to the *Persians* ⁴.

AFTER *Artæus* reigned *Artynes* twenty two years, but did nothing worth mentioning. He was succeeded by *Artibarnas* or *Artabanus*, in whose reign the *Parthians* revolting put themselves under the protection of the *Sacæ*, a people inhabiting mount *Hæmodus*, which separates *India* from *Scythia*. This occasioned a war of many years between the *Medes* and the *Sacæ*, who were then governed by queen *Zanara*, a heroine of great prowess. That princess is no less celebrated by our author for her courage and conduct in war, than for her beauty. She had, according to him, rescued her country from the tyranny of the neighbouring princes, civilized her subjects, and inured them to military discipline and the toils of war. After she had for many years harrassed the *Medes*, a peace was at last concluded between her and *Artynes* on the following conditions; that the *Parthians* should submit to the *Medes*, and the *Sacæ* and *Medes* quietly enjoy what they possessed at the beginning of the war ⁵ (P).

HITHERTO we have dwelt on what we may safely call the fabulous history of the *Medes*, these kings, or most of them, being no where found but in the books, or rather in the imagination, of *Ctesias*, which was very fertile in the production of monsters. We now come to the genuine history of *Media*, as it has been transmitted to us by authors of a quite different character.

THE *Medes*, having thrown off the *Assyrian* yoke in the reign of *Sennacherib*, lived some time without a king, but were again brought under subjection by one of their own country, whose name was *Dejoces*. He is represented as a

⁴ DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. c. 3. ⁵ DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. c. 3.

(P) This queen was, according to our author, another *Semiramis*. She excelled all of her own sex in beauty, and was inferior to none of the other in courage and wisdom; she built many cities, made considerable conquests, and raised the obscure nation of the *Sacæ* to a great pitch of glory. Whence her subjects, in gratitude for the many advantages they enjoyed by her means, erected her a monument after her death of vast dimensions, being three furlongs in breadth, and on the top of which was built a pyramid of a furlong in height. Upon this pyramid she was represented by a golden colossus, and adored by her subjects as a goddess (37).

(37) Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. c. 3.

subtle crafty man, and aiming at absolute power, and is said to have compassed his design in the following manner. The *Medes* were at that time divided into several districts, in one of which lived *Dejoces*, who, seeing all kind of licentiousness prevail over the whole country, applied himself to the administration of justice with great zeal and diligence. The *Medes* of the same district, observing the equity of his conduct, chose him for their judge; and he, aspiring to the sovereign power, performed that office with all possible regard to justice. By this means he not only acquired a great reputation in his own district, but among those also of the other divisions, who looked upon him as the only impartial judge in the whole nation. Whence such as thought themselves injured by unjust sentences, resorted from all parts to him in order to obtain justice; till at last no one would commit the decision of a difference to any other person. At last the numbers of those, who applied to him for redress, increasing in proportion to the great fame of his equity, and the whole care of administering justice being devolved upon him, he unexpectedly absented himself from the place where he used to determine differences, declaring, he would no longer perform that office, and submitting it to the judgment of his countrymen, whether it was reasonable, that he should neglect his private affairs to attend those of the public. Hereupon rapine and all manner of wickedness prevailing to such a degree, that it was not safe to live in the country, the *Medes* called a general assembly of the whole nation, to deliberate on the means of reforming the abuses that were daily becoming more frequent. Upon this occasion those who were in the interest of *Dejoces* observed, that if a stop was not put to the growth of the disorders that had already overspread the whole land, they should soon be obliged to abandon their country to a foreign enemy. They advised therefore their countrymen to appoint a king of their own nation, as the only expedient that could rescue their country from impending ruin. Their discourse was received with general approbation, and a king was resolved on. Their next deliberation was concerning the person whom they should prefer to the crown, when *Dejoces* was named to the sovereignty, and with universal applause placed on the throne^c.

The Medes
resolve
to create a
king.

Dejoces
absent.

THUS was *Dejoces* created king; and being vested with supreme power he threw off the mask, and commenced ty-

^c HERODOT. l. i. c. 95.

rant; though the rigour he practised may perhaps have been absolutely necessary to bring the nation, after some years of anarchy, into any order or discipline.

THE first thing he did after his promotion was to command his new subjects to build him a palace suitable to his dignity, and to appoint him guards for the safety of his person. He was obeyed, and on the ground which he chose a strong and stately fabric was erected for his ordinary residence. At the same time he was allowed to choose for his guard out of the whole nation such as he thought most proper for that trust. Thus settled on the throne, he united the several districts, into which the *Medes* had been divided during the anarchy, and turned his thoughts towards building a strong city, which might be the metropolis of his new kingdom. To this also his subjects submitted, and the famous city of *Ecbatan* was built, pursuant to his orders and directions, a city, which in process of time became very famous in those parts (Q).

Dejoces, thus lodged in a magnificent and well-defended city, enacted the following laws, to be observed by all his subjects of what rank soever. That no one should be admitted to his presence, but transact all things by his servants and ministers; that none should be allowed even to see him, that were not immediately of his household; and that for any, who attended him, to laugh or spit in his presence should be accounted a great indecency, and contrary to the respect which is due to a sovereign. These laws he enjoined, that the malecontents might have no opportunity of putting in execution any evil design against his person, not doubting but those, who were debarred from seeing him, would be easily induced to think him of a superior nature to themselves. Though he kept himself thus concealed from the eyes of the

(Q), *Ecbatan* in scripture (38) is called *Achmetha*; by *Ctesias* and *Stephanus*, *Agbatan*. In the book of *Judith* it is said to have been built by *Arphaxad* king of the *Medes*; but whether *Arphaxad* and *Dejoces* be but two names of one and the same person is what we shall examine hereafter. Dr. *Prideaux* (39) tells us, upon what ground we know not, that *Ecbatan* was only enlarged and beautified by *Dejoces*. He will perhaps have *Arbaces*, whom by an unaccountable inadvertency he confounds with *Tiglath-pileser*, to be the founder of it. *Josephus* (40) acquaints us, that the decree of *Cyrus*, about rebuilding the temple of *Jerusalem*, was found at *Ecbatan*, which plainly proves it to be the same with the *Achmetha* of scripture, where according to *Ezra* (41) the said decree was lodged.

(38) *Ezra*, vi. 2. (39) *Connect. of the old and new testament*, p. 26.

(40) *Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 4.* (41) *Ezra*, ubi supra.

people, yet he was informed of every thing that happened in his dominions, maintaining to that end many emissaries in the provinces of his government, who brought him a minute account of every transaction. By this means no crime escaped either the knowledge of the prince, or the rigour of the law; and the punishment, thus treading upon the heels of the offence, kept the wicked in awe, and stemmed the course of violence and injustice.

Dejoces was so intirely taken up in civilizing his unpolished subjects, and making laws, that he never engaged in any enterprize against his neighbours, though his reign was very long, for he is said to have ruled over the whole nation of the *Medes* fifty three years ^t.

Phraortes. HE was succeeded by his son *Phraortes*, who being of a warlike temper, and not satisfied with the kingdom of *Media*, which his father had left him, invaded *Persia*, and is said to have brought that nation under subjection to the *Medes* ^u. But we are inclined to disagree with our author in this particular, and ascribe the conquest of *Persia*, not to *Phraortes*, but to his son and successor *Cyaxares* ([†]). However, he subdued

Phraortes.
Year of
the Flood,
2353.
Year be-
fore Christ
646.

^t HERODOT. l. i. c. 96. 201.

^u HERODOT. l. i. c. 102.

[†] It seems plain from scripture, that the *Persians* were not subdued by the *Medes*, till after the taking of *Nineveh*, by the joint forces of *Cyaxares* and *Nebuchadnezzar*. In the fourth year of *Jeboiakim*, which the *Jews* reckon to be the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*, God threatened by his prophet (42), that *he would take all the families of the north and Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, and bring them against Judæa, and against the nations round about, and utterly destroy those nations, and make them an astonishment and lasting desolation, and cause them all to drink the wine-cup of his fury*; and in particular, he names the kings of *Judah* and *Egypt*, and those of *Edom*, and *Moab*, and *Ammon*, and *Tyre*, and all the kings of *Elam*, and all the kings of the *Medes*, &c. Where it is to be observed, that, in numbring the nations which were to be subdued, he omits the *Assyrians* who must consequently have been already conquered, and names the kings of *Elam* or *Persia*, as distinct from those of the *Medes*, whence we may conclude, that the *Persians* were not yet subdued by the *Medes*. In the beginning of the reign of *Zedekiah*, that is in the ninth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the same prophet foretold the approaching conquest of *Persia* by the *Medes* and their confederates: *Behold*, says he, *I will break the bow of Elam — upon Elam will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven —*

(42) *Jerem. xxv.*

dued several of the neighbouring nations, attacking one after another, till he made himself master of almost all the upper *Asia*, lying between mount *Taurus* and the river *Halys*. Elated with the good success that attended his army, at length he invaded *Assyria*, which was now in its decline, and greatly weakened by the revolt of many nations, who, following the example of the *Medes*, had withdrawn their obedience from the *Assyrians*. *Nabuchodonosor*, or *Chyniladan*, at that time king of *Assyria*, raised a powerful army to oppose the conqueror, summoning the whole force of his wide-spreading dominions, and inviting other nations of the east to his assistance. His ambassadors were received every where with contempt, and no one people obeyed the summons. However, *Nabuchodonosor* took the field with what forces he had, and he, joining battle with *Phraortes* in the great plain of *Ragau*, defeated his cavalry, overturned his chariots, and pursuing the king to the adjacent mountains, whither he had made his retreat, took him prisoner and put him to death. After this victory he entered *Media*, took many strong holds without opposition, and pushing on his conquests stormed the famous city of *Ecbatan*, and levelled it with the ground. Flushed beyond measure by this, perhaps more than expected, success, he returned to *Nineveh*, where he feasted and revelled with those who had attended him in this expedition, for the space of 120 days ^w. *Phraortes* reigned twenty two years, and was slain near the beginning of the reign of *Josiah*; for this war was made after *Phœnice*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, and *Egypt* had been conquered by *Assarhadon*, and when the *Jews* were new-

^w JUDITH. i. 16. HERODOT. l. i. c. 102.

and there shall be no nation whither the outcasts of Elam shall not come—I will set my throne in Elam, and will destroy from thence the king and the princes, saith the Lord. But it shall come to pass in the latter days, that is in the reign of Cyrus) that I will bring again the captivity of Elam, saith the Lord (43).

From these words of the prophet it is manifest, that in the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, nay after the destruction of *Nineveh*, the *Persians* had kings of their own, and consequently could not be subdued by *Phraortes*, who was killed before *Nebuchadnezzar* came to the crown of *Babylon* (44).

(43) *Jer.* xlix. 35, &c. (44) See *Sir Isaac Newton Chron. of ant. kingd. amend.* p. 313. & seq.

ly returned from captivity, as is plain from the book of *Judith* * (Q). *

Cyaxares I. UPON the death of *Phraortes* his son *Cyaxares* was placed on the throne. He was a brave and enterprizing prince, and indeed such a man was, then more than ever, wanting to save the nation from impending slavery, most part of the kingdom being already possessed by the *Affyrians*. Having settled himself well in his kingdom, and brought his troops under good discipline (R), he soon recovered what the *Affyrians* had taken after their victory in the plains of *Ragau*. What he had next at heart was to avenge the death of his father by the destruction of *Nineveh*. And accordingly, having assembled all his forces, he marched out with a design to treat that city, as *Nabuchodonosor* had treated the metropolis of *Media*.

Year of the Flood, 2375.
Year before Christ 624.

* JUDITH. iv. 3.

(Q) As *Arphaxad* is said, in the first book of *Judith* (45), to have been killed by *Nabuchodonosor*, and likewise to have built *Ecbatan*, most writers will have *Dejoces*, the founder of *Ecbatan*, and not *Phraortes*, to have carried on this unsuccessful war, and lost his life in the mountains of *Ragau* (46). The passage in *Judith*, that *Arphaxad* built a very strong city and called it *Ecbatan*, has led them astray, and made them conclude, that *Arphaxad* must be *Dejoces* who was certainly the founder of that city. But the Greek text of *Judith*, which the vulgate translates *ædificavit*, built, says only, that *Arphaxad* added new buildings to *Ecbatan*, Ἐπεκράδυσεν ἐπὶ Ἐκβατάνοις. And what can be more natural, than that the son should finish so great a work, which the father had begun, but had not been able to perfect.

* The authors in the history of *Affyria* ^a, place the death of *Arphaxad*, who is the *Phraortes* here mentioned, in the year of the Flood, 2363, before Christ, 636. It is said above that he was slain near the beginning of the reign of *Josiah*, Sir *Isaac Newton* ^b says in his 5th or 6th year. Now *Josiah* began to reign in the year of the Flood 2358, before Christ, 641 ^c; whence it is evident the death of *Phraortes* must have happened about the year of the Flood 2363, before Christ, 636, as fixed by the authors before, tho' here placed in the year of the Flood, 2375, before Christ, 624.

(R) He was the first, according to *Herodotus* (47), that marshalled the people of *Asia* into distinct bodies of lances, cavalry, and archers; whereas, before his time, horse, and foot, and pikemen, and archers engaged promiscuously. But this we can hardly believe, when we consider, that the nations of this part of *Asia* were engaged in continual wars, and consequently must have been more experienced in the military art.

(45) *Judith*. i. 1. (46) See *Ussher's Annal.* at the year of the world 3347. ^a See before, p. 203. ^b In his chronology, p. 290, of the 4th Edition. ^c See before, p. 99. (47) *Herodot.* l. 1. c. 103.

The *Affyrians* meeting him on the frontiers, with the remains only of that great army which had been destroyed before *Bethulia*, an engagement ensued, wherein the former were defeated and driven into *Nineveh*. *Cyaxares*, pursuing his victory, laid close siege to the city; but was soon obliged to give over the enterprize, and employ his troops in the defence of his own kingdom[†].

A formidable army of *Scythians*, having driven the *Cimmerians* out of *Europe*, were in full march in pursuit of their flying enemies, and ready to enter *Media*. They were come from the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, and commanded by king *Madyes* the son of *Protothyas*. This *Madyes* can be no other than *Indathyrfus* the *Scythian*, who invaded *Asia*, as *Strabo* informs us[‡], and, having laid waste great part of that country, advanced to the confines of *Egypt*. *Cyaxares* no sooner heard of their march, but, breaking up the siege of *Nineveh*, he advanced with all his forces against them. The two armies engaged, and the *Medes*, though encouraged by the example of their king, who on that occasion gave proofs of an extraordinary valour, were utterly routed. The conquerors, having no other enemy to contend with, over-ran not only all *Media*; but the greater part of *Upper Asia* (S).
From

† HERODOT. ubi supra.

‡ STRAB. l. i. prope initium.

(S) *Eusebius* tells us, that *Cyaxares* took the city of *Nineveh* before the *Scythians* invaded *Media*. But as *Herodotus* and all the prophane historians, without exception, unanimously agree in this point, that the *Scythians* broke into *Media* while he was besieging *Nineveh*, and obliged him to withdraw his troops from thence to the defence of his own kingdom, we have chosen to follow them, rather than *Eusebius*, whose authors we are unacquainted with. Touching the expedition of the *Scythians*, *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Cimmerians*, being driven out by the *Scythians*, invaded and laid waste part of *Asia*, and that the *Scythians*, not satisfied with driving them from their habitations, followed them, we know not why, into far distant countries, and in this pursuit fell, as it were by chance, upon *Media*, while the *Cimmerians* were gone another way into *Lydia*. As the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians*, and *Sarmatians* were all of the same race and nation, which *Goropius Becanus* learnedly proves in his *Amazonica*, we are inclined to think, that this pretended expulsion of the *Cimmerians* was nothing else but the sending of a colony into *Asia*, with an army of *Scythians* to assist them in acquiring new settlements, and establishing plantations, in a foreign country. For though the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians*, and *Sarmatians* were but one people, yet they were distinguished in name according to their different tribes, professions, and perhaps dialects. Such another

From thence they extended their conquests into *Syria* as far as the confines of *Egypt*. But there *Psammitichus* king of that country,

expedition the same people undertook some ages after, when they were encountered by the *Romans*. For they came from the countries bordering on the lake *Mæotis*; they were then likewise assisted, as *Plutarch* informs us (48), by their neighbours the *Scythians*, and had in their army above 300,000 men, besides a great multitude of women and children. They wandered over many countries, bearing down all before them, and finally designing to settle in *Italy*, divided into several bodies to facilitate their passage thither; but were all cut off in three battles by the *Roman* consuls. Mere necessity obliged these poor nations to infest their neighbours and expose themselves to such dangers. For their country abounding more in men than in sustenance, and shut up in the north by intolerable cold, they were compelled to discharge their overgrown numbers on the southern countries, and drive others, right or wrong, from their possessions, as being entitled to what others had, because they had nothing themselves. As they were a warlike race and inured to hardships, they generally prevailed, their next neighbours giving them a free passage, that they might the sooner get rid of them, others supplying them with provisions and guides to lead them to more wealthy countries.

The first body of these, mentioned by *Herodotus*, took the way of the *Euxine* sea, which they had on their left, as mount *Caucasus* on their right. They passed through *Colchis* and *Pontus*, and arriving in *Paphlagonia* fortified the promontory, whereon *Sinope* was afterwards built by the *Greeks*. Here they left under a strong guard such as were unfit for service and great part of their baggage, and then continued their march into *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, having now no mountains or deep rivers to stop their march; for the *Iris* and the *Halys* they had already passed. We shall give an account of their wars with the *Lydians* in the history of *Lydia*.

As the *Cimmerians* held their course westerly along the shore of the *Euxine* sea, so the *Scythians* took the other way, and having the *Caspian* on their left passed between that sea and the *Caucasus*, through *Albania*, *Colthene*, and other obscure nations, till they came into *Media*, where they engaged and routed *Cyaxares*, as we have said. To this overthrow of *Cyaxares*, *Tremellius* and *Junius* refer that prophecy of *Nahum*; *He* (that is *Cyaxares* besieging *Nineveh*) *shall recount his worthies; they shall stumble in their walk* (that is in the walk or perambulation of the *Scythians*, whose coming at this time into *Asia* may well be so termed, since it was rather a passing through than any settlement; for in the short space of twenty eight years they over-ran, conquered, and lost *Media*, *Assyria*, and all the upper *Asia*): *they shall make haste to the wall thereof, and the defence*

(48) *Plutarch. in Mario.*

country, meeting them in person, prevailed upon the barbarians, what by intreaties, what by presents, to proceed no farther, and thereby saved his country from the heavy oppression which his neighbours groaned under ^a. In this expedition the *Scythians* possessed themselves of the city of *Bethsheam*, in the territories of the tribe of *Manasseh*, on this side *Jordan*, and held it as long as they continued in *Asia*; whence it was called *Scythopolis*, or the city of the *Scythians* ^b. On their return from *Egypt*, as they passed through the land of the *Philistines*, some of the stragglers plundered the temple of *Venus* at *Ascalon*, which was believed the most antient in the world dedicated to that goddess. To avenge this attempt the goddess is said to have inflicted on those that were concerned in the sacrilege, and their posterity, the hemorrhoids; which shews, that the *Philistines* still preserved the memory of what they had formerly suffered on account of the ark. For from that time they looked, it seems, on this distemper, as a punishment from heaven attending such sacrilegious attempts, and therefore, in charging the *Scythians* with this crime, took care not to omit in their histories the punishment which their ancestors had suffered for one of the same nature ^c.

THE *Scythians* were for the space of twenty eight years masters of the *Upper Asia*, namely the two *Armenias*, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and great part of *Lydia*. *Cyaxares* finding it impracticable to get rid of his troublesome guests by open force, resolved to try what might be effected by stratagem. And accordingly invited the greatest part of them to a general feast which was given in every family. Each landlord made his guests drunk, and in that condition were the *Scythians* massacred, and the kingdom delivered from a long and cruel bondage (T). The *Medes* then repossessed

^a HERODOT. l. 1. c. 104. l. 2. c. 1. & l. 7. c. 20.
CELL. p. 214.

^c HERODOT. l. 1. c. 105.

^b SYN-

shall be prepared, that is, they shall hasten to *Nineveh*, as if they intended to deliver it from the *Medes* besieging it (49).

(T) We do not find, that the *Scythians*, who escaped this bloody feast, raised any commotions in *Media*, or that they ever afterwards, either in revenge of this treachery, or on any other pretence, troubled the *Medes*. Which seems the more strange, as we know from *Herodotus* himself (50), that the army returning out of *Media* was very strong and numerous, and met with greater opposition at home than they had found abroad. We are therefore apt to be-

49) *Nabum. ii. 5.*

(50) *Herodot. l. 3. c. 1.*

possessed themselves of the provinces they had lost, and once more extended their empire to the banks of the *Halys*, which was their antient boundary westward *.

Cyaxares, having thus freed his country from the oppression of the *Scythians*, found himself soon after engaged in a war with the *Lydians*. The occasion of this war is thus related by *Herodotus* ^d. Upon a sedition which happened among the *Scythian nomades*, a party of them made their escape into *Media*, where they were not only entertained with great humanity by *Cyaxares*, but entrusted with the education of divers youths, whom they were to instruct in the use of the bow and the *Scythian* language. These strangers went frequently to hunt, and were ever accustomed to return with some game. But one day happening to come home with empty hands, *Cyaxares*, whom they used daily to present with some venison, treated them with most opprobrious language ; this they resented, and agreed among themselves to kill one of the youths committed to their care, dress his flesh like venison, and serve it up to *Cyaxares* and his guests. They executed what they proposed, and then flying to *Sardis* implored the protection of *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*. *Cyaxares* immediately dispatched ambassadors to demand the *Scythians*, but they not being able to prevail with the king of *Lydia* to deliver them up, a war of five years ensued between the two nations with various success (U). The battle fought in the
sixth

* HERODOT. l. i. c. 106.

^d HERODOT. l. i. c. 73, 74.

lieve. that the stratagem of *Cyaxares* was attended with less bloodshed than is commonly supposed. For by cutting off the chief men among them, he may have brought the others to reasonable terms. It is not improbable, that, in the space of twenty eight years, many had settled themselves so well, that they were willing to live in subjection to *Cyaxares*, provided they might peaceably enjoy what they possessed ; many, who had enriched themselves with the spoils of *Assyria*, were willing to return home to their wives and families with the booty, and such as were not pleased with either of these two courses might join their companions in *Lydia* and *Parthia*, or seek their fortunes in other countries. We read in scripture, that all the families of the north were with *Nebuchadnezzar* ; which may well be understood of these northern nations settling in his dominions, after they were driven out of *Media* and *Lydia*. 'Tis certain, that after this expulsion of the *Scythians*, the *Babylonians*, who never before had been a match for the *Egyptians*, in all engagements with them carried the day ; which may be ascribed to this new addition of forces.

(U) This *Herodotus* delivers as the occasion of a war between the *Medes* and *Lydians* ; the one king demanding the fugitives, and the
other

sixth year of this war was very remarkable on account of a total eclipse of the sun, which happened during the engagement, and had been foretold by *Thales* the *Milesian* (W). The *Medes* and *Lydians*, who were then in the heat of the battle, equally terrified with this unforeseen event, which they looked upon as a sign of the anger of the gods, immediately retreated, and soon after concluded a peace by the mediation of *Labynetus*, that is, *Nebuchadnezzar*, king of *Babylon* and *Syennesis* king of *Cilicia*. This peace was strengthened by a marriage between *Aryenis*, the daughter of *Alyattes*, and *Astyages*, the eldest son of *Cyaxares*. Of which marriage

other refusing to deliver up such as had put themselves under his protection. But to us, we must own, it does not at all seem probable, that the *Scythians* should have sheltered themselves from their own countrymen in the dominions of either prince, considering how odious the *Scythian* name must at this time have been in both kingdoms. As to *Cyaxares*, they had particular reasons to distrust him for the treachery he had shewn towards their countrymen, as we have related above. Some writers are of opinion, that the *Scythians*, who retired into *Lydia*, were such as had escaped the massacre in *Media*, and not a new colony; which seems most likely, for that universal slaughter being fresh in their memories, it is very unlikely, that other *Scythians* would have come to settle in the very country where it had been lately perpetrated.

(W) That this eclipse fell out while *Cyaxares* the father of *Astyages* and *Alyattes* the father of *Cræsus* were engaged in a battle, is confirmed by *Endemus* in his astronomical history. *Pliny* likewise (51), in speaking of eclipses, acquaints us, that *Thales* the *Milesian* was the first that foretold an eclipse of the sun; and adds, that the eclipse foretold by him happened in the fourth year of the forty eighth olympiad in the reign of *Alyattes* (and not of *Astyages* as we find in some modern copies) 170 years after the foundation of *Rome*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* (52) places this battle and the eclipse of the sun in the 50th olympiad, wherein he differs widely from *Endemus* whom he quotes and pretends to follow. The time assigned both by him and *Pliny* does not suit with the reign of *Cyaxares*, but with that of his successor *Astyages*. The sun and moon tables of *Ptolemy*, which are the same with those of *Hipparchus*, place this eclipse on the fourth year of the 44th olympiad, and on the fourth day of the *Egyptian* month *Pacan* (or the 20th day of *September*, according to the *Julian* calendar), on a sunday three hours, thirty five minutes before noon. But according to *Sir Isaac Newton* it fell upon the 28th of *May*, in the year of *Nabonassar* 163, forty seven years before the taking of *Babylon* (53), and 585 before *Christ*.

(51) *Plin. l. 1. c. 12.* (52) *Clem. Alexand. Stromat. l. 1.*

(53) *Sir Isaac Newt. Chron. of antient kingd. amend. p. 316.*

was born the ensuing year *Cyaxares*, who in the book of *Daniel* is called *Darius the Mede* ^c.

Cyaxares's first care, as soon as he was disengaged from the *Lydian* war, was to resume the siege of *Nineveh*, which the irruption of the *Scythians* had obliged him to raise. Having with this view entered into a strait alliance with *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, and confirmed it by a marriage between that prince and his daughter *Amyite* (X), he returned in conjunction with the *Babylonians* before *Nineveh*, took the place, slew *Sarac* the king, and levelled that mighty city with the ground *. Thus was the proud metropolis of the *Assyrian* empire laid in ashes, pursuant to the prophecies uttered above a hundred years before †. *Wo to the bloody city,*

^c Daniel v. 31. * HERODOT. ubi supra.

(X) Some will have *Amyite* to be the daughter of *Astyages* and grand-daughter of *Cyaxares*. But *Astyages* could not at that time have a daughter marriageable, and *Nebuchadnezzar* had he married her, must have been at the time of his death at least eighty five years old, and *Astyages* much older. In the book of *Tobit* the destruction of *Nineveh* is ascribed to *Abasuerus* king of *Media* and *Nabuchodonosor* king of *Babylon*. This *Abasuerus* can be no other than *Cyaxares*, who, as Sir *Isaac Newton* shews, was called *Ach-suerus*, *Assuerus*, *Oxyares*, *Axeres*, prince *Axeres* or *Cy-Axeres*, the word *Cy* signifying a prince in the *Median* language (54). By *Nabuchodonosor* is meant *Nebuchadnezzar* the great, both these names being given by the *Babylonians* to their kings, as that of *Pharaoh* was by the *Egyptians* to theirs. That *Nabopolassar* the father of *Nebuchadnezzar* was called by both these names, is plain from the books of the *Rabbies*, and from *Josephus*. *R. Juchasin* calls *Nebuchadnezzar* the son of *Nebuchadnezzar* (55); and *David Ganz* calls the father *Nebuchadnezzar* the first, and the son *Nebuchadnezzar* the second (56). *Josephus* in speaking of *Nabopolassar* sometimes calls him *Nabuchodonosor* (57) and sometimes *Nabulassar* (58), which is a contraction of *Nabopallassar*. It is certain, that the books of *Tobit* and *Judith* cannot be reconciled with any other antient writings, sacred or prophane, relating to those times, unless we allow the name of *Nabuchodonosor* to have been common to the kings of *Babylon*.

† Sir *Isaac Newton* tells us, (2) “ we cannot err above a year or two, if we refer the destruction of *Nineveh*, and fall of the *Assyrian* empire to the second year of *Jeboiakim*,” that is to the year of the Flood 2390, before Christ 609, as placed by the au-

(54) Sir *Isaac Newton*. ubi supra, p. 309. (55) *Juchas.* fol. 136.
 (56) *David Ganz.* at the year of the world 3285. (57) *Joseph.*
Antiq. l. 10. c. 11 (58) *Joseph.* contra *Apion.* l. 1. (2) *De*
his chronology, p. 292.

it is all full of lies and robbery ; he that dasheth in pieces is come up before thy face. The Lord cometh to avenge the cruelties done to Jacob and to Israel. I hear already the noise of the whip, and the noise of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses and of the jumping chariots. The horseman lifteth up both the bright sword and the glittering spear. The shield of his mighty men is made red : the valiant men are in scarlet. They shall seem like torches, they shall run like the lightning. God is jealous ; the Lord revengeth, and is furious. The mountains quake at him, and the hills melt, and the earth is burnt at his presence : who can stand before his indignation ? and who can abide in the fierceness of his anger ? Behold I am against thee, saith the Lord of hosts : I will strip thee of all thy ornaments. Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold ; for there is no end of the store and glory out of all the pleasant furniture. She is empty, and void, and waste. Nineveh is destroyed ; she is overthrown ; she is desolate. The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved. And Huzzab shall be led away captive ; she shall be brought up, and her maids shall lead her, as with the voice of doves tabring upon their breasts. I see a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcases ; and there is no end of their corpses : they stumble upon their corpses. Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feeding place of the young lions ? where the lion, even the old lion, walked, and the lions whelp, and none made them afraid : where the lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled

thors, in this volume ^(b) ; we must therefore, in this case, suppose *Nineveh* to have been destroyed in the 28th year of the reign of *Cyaxares* (who, as has been before observed, began his reign in the year before Christ 636) which, however contrary to the history, as above related from *Herodotus*, agrees nearly with the hypothesis of Sir *Isaac Newton*, who ^(c) places the destruction of *Nineveh* before the beginning of the *Lydian* war, and from whom the Chronology of the authors seems chiefly to be taken. What has been observed of the Eclipse ^(d), which happened at the time of the engagement, between *Cyaxares* and the *Lydians*, *Viz.* that it fell upon the 28th of *May*, in the year of *Nabonassar*, 163, before Christ 585, will be found no objection when it is considered that Sir *Isaac* places the beginning of the war with *Alyattes* in the year before Christ 590, twenty years after the expulsion of the *Scythians*, and 19 years after the destruction of *Nineveh* ^(e).

^(b) See before, p. 373.
fore, p. 389, note (W).

^(c) *Ubi sup.* p. 315.
^(e) *Ubi sup.* p. 38, 39.

^(d) See be-

his holes with prey, and his dens with ravine? The Lord shall destroy *Assur*. He shall depopulate the city, which was so beautiful, and turn it into a land where no man cometh, and into a desert. It shall be a dwelling place for wild-beasts, and the birds of night shall lurk therein. Behold, shall it be said, see that proud city, which was so stately and so exalted, which said in her heart, I am the only city, and besides me there is no other. All they that pass by her shall scoff at her, and shall insult her with hissings and contemptuous gestures^b (Y).

THIS victory with the destruction of *Nineveh* the Jews ascribe to the *Chaldeans*; the *Greeks* to the *Medes*; *Tobit*, *Polyhistor*, *Josephus*, and *Ctesias* to both. It gave a beginning to the great successes of *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Cyaxares*, and laid the foundation of the two collateral empires, as we may call them, of the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, which rose on the ruins of the *Assyrian* monarchy.

AFTER the reduction of *Nineveh*, the two conquerors prosecuting their victory led the confederate army against *Pharaoh Necho* king of *Egypt*, who had some time before routed the king of *Assyria* and taken *Carchemish*. *Pharaoh* met them near the *Euphrates*, was defeated, and forced to abandon whatever he had formerly taken from the *Assyrians*^a; for what had once belonged to them, *Cyaxares* and *Nebuchadnezzar* looked upon now as theirs by right of conquest (Z). After

^f NAHUM iii. 1. ii. 1, 2. & seq. ^g ZEPHAN. ii. 13. 15.
^a 2 Kings xxiv. 7. Jerem. xlvi. 2. EUPOL. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 35.

(Y) On the ruins of the old *Nineveh* another city was raised, which for a long time bore the same name, but never attained to the grandeur and glory of the former. It is now called *Mosul* (60), and situated on the west side of the *Tigris*, where was antiently only a part of the suburbs of old *Nineveh*; for the city itself stood on the east side of the river. The circuit of *Nineveh* was, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (61), 480 furlongs, that is, sixty of our miles. Hence it is said by *Jonah* (62) to be a city of three days journey, that is, in compass. For twenty miles is as much as a man can well walk in one day. *Strabo* (63) tells us, that it was much bigger than *Babylon*, and in the same place says, that the circuit of *Babylon* was 385 furlongs, that is 48 of our miles. The other twelve miles make it, as *Strabo* says, much bigger than *Babylon*. We have already fixed the æra of its destruction.

(Z) From this time the *Jewish* computation of the years of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign begins, that is, from the end of the

(60) *Theruent. Part. 2. l. 1. c. 11. p. 50.* (61) *Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. p. 65.* (62) *Jonah. iii. 3.* (63) *Strabo l. 16. p. 737.*
third

After this victory they seized on the important place of *Car-chemish*, reduced all *Cæle-syria* and *Phœnice*, and then with an army of *Babylonians*, *Medes*, *Syrians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, to the number of 10,000 chariots, 180,000 foot, and 120,000 horse, invaded and laid waste *Samaria*, *Galilee*, *Scythopolis*, &c. and at last besieged *Jerusalem*, and took king *Jehoiakim* prisoner^l. Enriched with the spoils of the conquered nations, they divided their forces, *Nebuchadnezzar* pursuing his conquests in the west, and *Cyaxares* falling upon the *Assyrian* provinces of *Armenia*, *Pontus*, and *Cappadocia*, which he subdued with great slaughter of the inhabitants. After this they united their forces once more, and, by the reduction of *Persis* (A) and *Sassiana*, accomplished the conquest of the *Assyrian* empire.

THE prophet *Ezekiel* * enumerates the chief nations that were subdued and slaughtered by the two conquerors, *Cyax-*

^l 2 Kings xxiv. 12. Daniel i. 1. & 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6. * Ezek. xxxii.

third year of *Jehoiakim*, and therefore the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, when *Nebuchadnezzar* was by his father taken into partnership of the empire, is according to the *Jews* (64) the first year of his reign. But according to the *Babylonian* computation his reign is not reckoned to begin till his father's death, which happened two years after. As both these computations are found in scripture, we thought it necessary to say thus much in order to reconcile them. We must further observe, that as the *Chaldean* astronomers counted the reigns of their kings by the years of *Nabonassar*, beginning with the month *Thoth*; so the *Jews* counted the reigns of their kings by the years of *Moses*, beginning with the month *Nisan*; insomuch, that if any king began his reign but a few days before the first of the month *Nisan*, those few days were reckoned a whole year, and the beginning of this month was accounted the beginning of his second year (65).

(A) While the *Assyrians* reigned at *Nineveh*, *Persia* was divided into several kingdoms. Amongst others there was a kingdom of *Elam*, which flourished in the days of *Hezekiah*, *Manasseh*, *Josiah*, and *Jehoiakim*, kings of *Judah*, and fell in the reign of *Zedekiah* (66). This kingdom seems to have been very powerful, and to have waged war with the king of *Touran* or *Scythia*, beyond the river *Oxus*, with various success, and at length to have been subdued by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*; which confirms what we have said before, *viz* that the *Persians* were not subdued by *Phraortes*, as *Herodotus* would have it, but by *Cyaxares*, in conjunction with the *Babylonians*.

(64) *Jerem.* xxv. 1. (65) *Sir Isaac Newton ubi supra.* p. 296

(66) *Jerem.* xxv. 25 and xlix. 34. *Ezek.* xxxii. 24.

ares and Nebuchadnezzar, Ashur is there and all her company, viz. in Hades, or the lower parts of the earth, where the dead bodies lay buried, his graves are about him : all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which caused their terror in the land of the living. There is Elam and all her multitude round about her grave, all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which are gone down uncircumcised into the nether parts of the earth, which caused their terror in the land of the living : yet have they born their shame with them that go down into the pit.--- There is Meshech, Tubal, and all her multitude (viz. the Scythians) ; her graves are round about him : all of them uncircumcised, slain by the sword, though they caused their terror in the land of the living.---There is Edom, her kings, and all her princes, which with their might are laid by them that were slain by the sword.---There be the princes of the north all of them, and all the Zidonians, which with their terror are gone down with the slain. By the princes of the north are meant such as were on the north of Judæa, namely the princes of Armenia and Cappadocia, who fell in the wars which Cyaxares waged in reducing those provinces after the destruction of Nineveh.

Cyaxares, having thus erected the kingdom of Media into a powerful empire, and shared the new acquisitions with his Babylonian ally, died in the fortieth year of his reign ¹, and was succeeded by his son

Astyages.
Year of
the Flood,
2415.
Year be-
fore Christ
584.

Astyages, who in scripture is called Ahasuerus ^m. This prince had by Aryenis, the daughter of Alyattes king of Lydia, Cyaxares II. called in scripture Darius the Mede, and who was sixty two years old at the taking of Babylon ⁿ. The same year that Cyaxares was born, Astyages gave his daughter Mandane, whom he had by a former wife, to Cambyfes a Persian; from which marriage sprang Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy, and the restorer of the Jews to their country, to their temple, and former condition. He was born but one year after the birth of his uncle Cyaxares, and consequently was in the sixty first year of his age when Babylon was taken. Whether his father Cambyfes was king of Persia, as Xenophon ^o would have it, or only a nobleman of that country, as we read in Herodotus ^p, is what we shall examine hereafter. Though the reign of Astyages was very long, having lasted thirty five years ^{}, yet we find no particulars of it recorded in history, except his*

¹ HERODOT. ubi supra.
• XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. i.
l. i. c. 130

^m Dan. ix. 1.

ⁿ Dan. v. 30, 31.

^p HERODOT. l. i.

^{*} HERODOT.

repulsing the *Babylonians*, who, under the conduct of *Evil-merodach* the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, had made an inroad into his country, as we have related at length elsewhere ¹. The victory which he gained on this occasion, was in great part owing to the valour and conduct of *Cyrus*, who attended his grandfather in this expedition, and, though at that time but sixteen years of age, signalized himself in a very particular manner ², pursuing the *Babylonian* with great slaughter quite home to his own borders. This rash, and seemingly unjust, undertaking of *Evil-merodach* laid the foundation of that animosity between the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, which ended at last in the ruin of *Babylon*. From hence we may infer, that *Evil-merodach* was not the son of *Nebuchadnezzar* by *Amyite* the daughter of *Cyaxares*, or, as others will have it, of *Astyages*, but by some other wife, it not being likely, that they would have thus engaged in war against each other had they been so nearly related. It is still more improbable, that *Evil-merodach* should undertake such hostilities while he was on the point of marrying *Nitocris*, as is commonly reported, who was by birth a *Mede*.

Astyages, after a reign of thirty five years was succeeded by *Cyaxares* his son *Cyaxares* uncle to *Cyrus*. This prince was scarce II. Year warm on his throne, when he found himself engaged in a bloody war with *Neriglissar*, who had murdered *Evil-merodach* and usurped the crown of *Babylon*. This war was carried on with great slaughter on both sides by *Cyaxares* and *Cyrus*, during the reigns of the usurper *Neriglissar*, of his son *Laborosoarchod*, and of *Nabonadius*, the son of *Evil-merodach* and grandson of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in whose time *Babylon* was taken, and the *Babylonian* empire utterly ruined. But as this war, which lasted twenty years, was entirely managed by *Cyrus*, we shall defer the relating of these important events, till the reign of that great and glorious prince, which, as he was the founder of the *Persian* monarchy, we shall reserve to the history of that empire.

As for *Cyaxares*, he is said in scripture to have taken the kingdom, after the reduction of *Babylon* and death of *Belshazzar*³. For *Cyrus*, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire only in partnership with him, though he had entirely acquired it by his own valour. Nay, so far did he carry his complaisance, that he let him enjoy the first rank. But, the command of the army and the whole management of affairs being vested in *Cyrus*, he alone was looked upon as the su-

¹ See before, p. 337, & seq. ² XENOPH. *Cyropæd.* l. 1. ³ Dan. v. 31.

preme governor of the empire. And hence it is, that in *Ptolemy's* canon no notice is taken of *Cyaxares*, but immediately after the death of *Nabonadius*, *Cyrus* is placed there as the next successor. But that a *Mede* reigned at *Babylon* after the death of *Nabonadius*, or, as *Herodotus* calls him *Labynetus*, the last *Babylonian* king in the canon, is plain both from *Xenophon*^c and scripture: the former tells us, that after the taking of *Babylon*, *Cyrus* went to the king of the *Medes* at *Ecbatan*, and succeeded him in the kingdom: and we read in scripture, that *Babylon* was destroyed by the *Medes*^u; by the kings of the *Medes*, the captains thereof, and all the rulers thereof, and all the lands of his dominion^x; that the kingdom of *Babylon* was numbered, and finished, and broken, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*^y; first to the *Medes* under *Darius*, and then to the *Persians* under *Cyrus*: for *Darius* reigned over *Babylon* like a conqueror, not observing the laws of the *Babylonians*, but introducing the immutable laws of the conquering nations the *Medes* and *Persians*^z. In his reign the *Medes*, as we have observed elsewhere, are constantly placed before the *Persians*^a; as the *Persians*, in the reign of *Cyrus* and his successors, are placed before the *Medes*^b; which shews, that, according to scripture, a *Mede* reigned at *Babylon* between the last *Babylonish* king in *Ptolemy's* canon and *Cyrus*. This king can be no other than *Cyaxares*, as *Xenophon* calls him^c, or *Darius* the *Mede*, as he is stiled by *Daniel*. The scripture ascribes the destruction of *Babylon* chiefly to *Cyaxares*, whereof *Hierom* alleges three reasons^d; 1. because *Darius* or *Cyaxares* was the elder of the two; 2. in regard the *Medes* were at that time more famous than the *Persians*; and lastly, because the uncle ought to be preferred to the nephew. On the other hand, few of the *Greek* writers take any notice of *Cyaxares*, which we may easily account for. The *Persians*, desirous to magnify and extol *Cyrus* their countryman, gave him all the glory of that great conquest, and from them the *Greeks* borrowed their relations. Besides, *Cyrus* alone was employed in the siege of *Babylon*, *Darius* being then absent, and the confederate army under his conduct stormed the town, and put an end to the empire of *Babylon*. We may add, that as *Darius* did not reign at *Babylon* full two years, before the same

^c *XENOPH.* *Cyropæd.* l. 8. ^u *Isa.* xiii. 17. 19. ^x *Jer.* li. 11, 28. ^y *Dan.* v. 26, 28. ^z *Dan.* vi. 8, 12, 15. ^a *Dan.* vi. 8, 12, 15, 28. viii. 20. ^b *Est.* i. 3, 14, 18, 19. *Dan.* x. 1, 20. ^c *XENOPH.* *Cyropæd.* l. 1. c. 19. ^d *Comment.* in *Dan.* v.

of this great conquest was spread abroad in distant countries, *Cyrus* was in the entire possession of the *Babylonian* empire, whence they looked upon him as the great hero, who had alone performed such extraordinary feats. But *Josephus* ^c, who was better informed, tells us, *that Darius with his ally Cyrus destroyed the kingdom of Babylon*. The same author adds, that this *Darius* was the son of *Astyages*, and that he was known to the *Greeks* by another name. Now if we ask the *Greeks* the name of *Astyages*'s son, *Xenophon* ^f will tell us, that he was called *Cyaxares*. As for the name of *Darius*, it was preserved in the *Darics* or *Stateres Darici*, those famous pieces of gold, which for several ages were preferred by the eastern nations to any other coin: for we are told ^g, that these were coined not by the father of *Xerxes*, but by an earlier *Darius*, the first king of the *Medes* and *Persians* that coined gold. But no *Darius*, more antient than the father of *Xerxes*, is any where said to have reigned, except this *Darius*, whom the scripture calls *Darius the Mede*.

AFTER the reduction of *Babylon*, *Cyaxares* in concert with *Cyrus* settled the affairs of their new empire, dividing it into 120 provinces ^h, which were governed by those who had distinguished themselves during the war. Over these governors were appointed three presidents, who were constantly to reside at court, and, receiving accounts of what happened in the several provinces, dispatch the king's orders to the immediate officers; so that these three principal ministers had the superintendency over, and the chief administration of, the most weighty affairs of the whole kingdom. Of these *Daniel* was appointed the chief, an honour, which he highly deserved, not only on account of his great wisdom, but likewise of his age and consummate experience; for he had now served the kings of *Babylon* full sixty five years in the quality of prime minister. As this employment advanced him to be the next person to the king, it raised no small jealousy in the other courtiers, who conspiring against him would have compassed his ruin, had he not been miraculously preserved by that providence, which is ever watching over the safety of the just. As the only thing they could lay hold of to disgrace him at court, and make him incur the king's displeasure, was the law of his God, to which they knew him inviolably attached, they prevailed with *Darius* to issue out a proclamation, forbidding all persons to put up any petition whatsoever to God

^c JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 12. c. 13.

^f XENOPH. ubi supra.

^g SUIDAS in Δαρεῖος, HARPOCR. in Δαρεῖός, Scholiast. in Aristoph. Eccles. p. 741, 742.

^h DAN. vi. 1.

or man, except to the king, for the space of thirty days, upon pain of being cast into the lions den. Now, as *Daniel* was saying his usual prayers, with his face turned towards *Jerusalem*, he was surprized, accused, and, as the laws of the *Medes* were unalterable, condemned to be devoured by the lions. But, being miraculously delivered from their jaws, this malicious contrivance ended in the destruction of its authors, and greatly raised, as we may well imagine, *Daniel's* reputation, both with *Darius* and *Cyrus*¹. This probably happened, while *Cyrus* was in *Syria*; for after having settled his affairs at *Babylon*, and furnished the garisons with such troops as were necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into *Syria*, which he brought under subjection with the other adjacent countries, extending his conquests as far as the *Red* sea and the confines of *Æthiopia*. In the mean time *Darius* remained at *Babylon*, managed the civil affairs of the empire; and in this interval was *Daniel* cast into the lions den. The *Darics* were, perhaps, coined much about the same time out of the gold of the conquered *Lydians* (B). But in the reign of *Cyrus* we shall give a more distinct account of several particulars relating to his two predecessors *Cyaxares* and *Astyages*. We have hitherto supposed the former to be *Daniel's Darius the Mede*, and *Nabonadius* his *Belshazzar*; but as both these points are controverted by writers of no mean characters, before we dismiss the history of *Media* we must beg leave to offer something in our notes in defence of this our supposition, after having acquainted the reader with the sentiments of others, and the arguments they produce to support them (C).

C H A P.

¹ Dan. vi. 4, 5, 6, & seq.

(B) This piece, according to Dr. *Bernard* (67), weighed two grains more than one of our guineas; but as it had very little alloy, it may be reckoned, as the proportion of gold and silver now stands with us, to have been worth twenty five shillings.

(C) As the whole history of *Babylon*, from the death of *Nebuchadnezzar* to the reduction of that city by *Cyrus*, is overcast, we may say, with an impenetrable mist, writers are strangely puzzled to find out *Daniel's Belshazzar* among the last kings that reigned there, and equally at a loss concerning his *Darius the Mede*, who was in that kingdom succeeded by *Cyrus*. To proceed with all the perplexity we can in so perplexed a subject, we shall first produce what we read in the prophecies of *Daniel* relating to the last kings of *Babylon*; 2. What is allowed on all hands to be certain, and is

(67) *De ponder. & mensur. antiq.* p. 171.

confirmed

confirmed by the concurrence of all the prophane historians; and lastly the various opinions of modern writers, with the arguments they alledge to support them.

The prophet *Daniel*, after mentioning what had happened in the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, relates the visions he had in the first and 3d year of *Belshazzar*, and the fatal end of that prince in the following manner (68) *Belshazzar* having made a great feast, commanded the vessels of gold and silver to be brought to him, which his father *Nebuchadnezzar* had taken out of the temple of *Jerusalem*. He drank in them, and his wives, and his concubines, and the lords of his court. In the same hour an hand appeared, and wrote over-against the candlestick on the plaister of the wall of the king's palace. The king who saw the motion of the hand, was greatly frightened, and commanded his wise-men and sooth-sayers to be sent for. But none of them being able to explain the writing, *Daniel* was immediately sent for at the suggestion of the queen, who on the alarm which that prodigy had occasioned, entered the banquetting room, and acquainted the king with the great abilities of *Daniel* in such matters. The prophet, after reproaching the king for prophaneing the holy vessels, reads the writing, and informs him, that the words, are *Mene Mene, Tekel Upbarfin*, which he thus interprets; *Mene*, God has numbered thy kingdom and finished it: *Tekel*, thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting: *Peres*, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*. The prophet adds, that in that night *Belshazzar*, king of the *Chaldeans*, was slain, and that *Darius* the *Median* took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old.

The same prophet informs us next (69), what order *Darius* established in the realm, and relates the visions which he had in the first year of *Darius*, and in the third of *Cyrus*. It is manifest, that *Daniel* speaks here of three kings succeeding each other to the crown of *Babylon*; namely, *Belshazzar*, *Darius* the *Mede*, and *Cyrus*. The last is well known; but the question is, who the two others were: a question which we must endeavour to solve, in order to reconcile *Daniel* and the prophane historians.

Most historians agree, that *Nebuchadnezzar*, after a reign of forty three years, (or forty five if we compute the two years which he reigned jointly with his father) was succeeded by his son *Evil-merodach*, who reigned two complete years, and was murdered in the beginning of his third by *Neriglissar*. *Neriglissar* ruled four years, and was succeeded by his son *Laborosoarchad*, who was murdered after a short reign of nine months. *Nabonadius* came to the crown next, and reigned seventeen years. In his time the city of *Babylon* was taken by *Cyrus*, and the empire overturned.

'Tis manifest, that *Belshazzar* was one of the four last kings of *Babylon*, and that he was of the race of *Nebuchadnezzar*, since in scripture he is often called his son; but authors are strangely puz-

(68) *Dan. c. iv.*(69) *Dan. c. vi.*

zled to determine which of the four bears this name in *Daniel's* prophecies.

Sir *John Marsham* takes *Belshazzar* to be *Evil-Merodach* the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*; he founds his opinion on the authority of scripture, where *Nebuchadnezzar* is often called the father of *Belshazzar*, and *Belshazzar* the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*. Several other circumstances concur to prove, that *Evil merodach* and *Belshazzar* must be one and the same person. *Berosus* (70) represents *Evil-merodach* as a lewd and wicked prince; *Belshazzar* in scripture bears the same character. *Berosus* tells us, that *Evil merodach* was killed at a banquet by some of his lords (71); the scripture says, that *Belshazzar* was murdered at a great entertainment which he gave to 1000 of his lords. However convincing these proofs may seem and consonant to scripture, yet upon examination we shall find them to be of no force, and quite inconsistent with what we read in holy writ. The prophet *Daniel*, after relating what happened to *Belshazzar* at his grand entertainment, adds, *and in that night Belshazzar, king of the Chaldeans, was slain, and Darius the Median took the kingdom.* From these words it is plain, that immediately after the death of *Belshazzar* the kingdom was given to the Medes and Persians (72). But this did not happen upon the death of *Evil-merodach*, who was succeeded according to *Berosus* and *Megasthenes*, (73) and Sir *John Marsham* himself, by *Neriglissar* his sister's husband, who was at the head of the conspiracy against him. This objection seemed of such weight to Sir *John Marsham*, that, in order to elude it, and maintain his assertion without contradicting the scripture, he was forced to suppose *Neriglissar* to be *Darius the Mede*, and the *Medo-Persian* empire to have begun in him; a supposition which we shall confute when we come to speak of *Darius the Mede*. To what we have alleged out of *Daniel* against our learned author's system, we shall add a proof no less convincing from the prophet *Jeremiah*, who foretold (74) that *all nations should serve him, (Nebuchadnezzar) and his son, and his son's son.* If the kingdom was transferred from his son to the Medes and Persians, as Sir *John Marsham* would have it, it is manifest, that this prophecy was never fulfilled. What that author urges in defence of his opinion, *viz.* that *Belshazzar* was, according to scripture, the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is very true, not in a literal, but more extensive, sense, wherein any descendant is called son, and any ancestor father; and that this is the style of the scripture, no body, who is conversant in the holy books, can be ignorant of.

To *Evil-merodach* succeeded, as we have hinted above, *Neriglissar*, who had married *Nebuchadnezzar's* daughter. We have not yet met with any author that ever asserted him to be *Daniel's Belshazzar*. He reigned four years, and left a son, named *Laboro-sarchod* according to *Berosus*, or *Labassoarasc*, as *Megasthenes* is

(70) *Beros* apud *Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11.* (71) *Berosus*
ibid. (72) *Dan v. 28, 30, 31.* (73) *Berosus & Megasthen. ubi*
supra, & apud Euseb. Prap. Evang. l. 9. (74) *Jer. xxvii. 7.*

pleased to call him (75). This prince came very young to the crown, and betraying a most vicious turn of mind, was murdered by his own subjects after he had reigned only nine months (76). And this is the reason, why he is omitted in *Ptolemy's* canon, where the whole year is reckoned to the king that begins it, how soon soever he dies after. If a king died but a few days after the beginning of the month *Thoth*, he was said to have reigned that whole year; and if any other reigned in the interim, but did not live to the beginning of the said month, his name was omitted in the canon. And this was the case of *Laborsoarchod*.

But to return to our subject; *Joseph Scaliger* (77) will have *Laborsoarchod* to be *Daniel's* *Belshazzar*, and founds his opinion on the following arguments, *viz.* that he was the last of *Nebuchadnezzar's* race; that he was killed by conspirators, and that his kingdom devolved to *Nabonadius* or *Labynitus*, who was, according to *Megasthenes* (78), a stranger to the family of *Nebuchadnezzar*. He adds a circumstance out of *Daniel*, which he takes to be of great weight; the queen advised *Belshazzar* to consult *Daniel*; this queen, says he, could not be the king's wife, for his wives and concubines were at the feast; 'twas therefore the queen mother, which suits well with the character of *Nebuchadnezzar's* daughter, who was regent. If we object against this hypothesis, that *Laborsoarchod* reigned only nine months, whereas it is plain from *Daniel*, that *Belshazzar* reigned some years; his answer is, that the scripture ascribes to *Laborsoarchod* or *Belshazzar* the whole four years which the canon accounts to *Neriglissar* or *Niricassolassar*, as he is there called, because *Neriglissar* reigned only as his guardian. And hence it is, that we hear of the first and third year of *Belshazzar* in *Daniel* (79), though *Laborsoarchod* reigned alone no more than nine months.

This opinion too is clogged with two insurmountable difficulties, which, in few words, are; 1. That it supposes *Nabonadius* to be *Darius* the *Mede*, a supposition which we shall plainly prove from holy writ to be false; 2. That it falsifies the prophecy of *Jeremiah* promising the empire to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to his son, and his son's son; whereas *Laborsoarchod* was his daughter's son. This difficulty *Scaliger* seems not to have been aware of, since he takes no notice of it in solving the objections that may be brought against his opinion.

If neither *Evil-merodach*, nor *Neriglissar*, nor *Laborsoarchod* were *Daniel's* *Belshazzar*, it follows, that *Nabonadius* was the king who in scripture bears that name. This will appear more plain if we consider, 1. That he is on all hands agreed to have been the last of the *Babylonian* kings, and therefore must be the same, who in scripture is called *Belshazzar*; for immediately after the death of *Bel-*

(75) *Berosus apud Joseph. contra Appion* l. 1. *Megasthen ubi supra.*

(76) *Berosus ubi supra.* (77) *Scaliger in notis ad frag. veter. Græcor. select. de emendat. tempor.* l. 6. c. de *Regib. Babylon.* (78) *Megasth. ubi supra.* (79) *Dan.* vii. 1. viii. 1.

Bazzar the kingdom was given to the *Medes* and *Persians* (80). 2. That he was of the race of *Nebuchadnezzar*, for he is by *Daniel* often called his son, and in the *Chronicles* (81) it is said, that *Nebuchadnezzar* and his children or offspring reigned at *Babylon* till the kingdom of *Persia*; 3, That the nations of the east were to serve *Nebuchadnezzar*, and his son, and his son's son, according to the prophecy of *Jeremiah* (82); he must therefore have been succeeded by a son and a son's son in the crown of *Babylon*. *Evil-merodach* was his son, and of all the kings that reigned after him none but *Belshazzar* could be his son's son. For *Neriglissar* was only his daughter's husband, and *Laborosoarchod* his daughter's son. 4. *Herodotus* tells us, that the last king of *Babylon* was son to the celebrated queen *Nitocris*; and it is plain, that by *Evil-merodach* alone she could have a son, who was son's son to *Nebuchadnezzar*. This opinion seems to us the least perplexed with difficulties, and of all others the most agreeable to what we read both in scripture and in the prophane historians; and therefore we have, upon second thoughts, preferred it to that of Sir *John Marsham*, which we were inclined to embrace in our history of *Babylon*.

Authors are no less divided in their opinions touching *Daniel's Darius the Median*, than they are about his *Belshazzar*. Sir *John Marsham* (83), as we have hinted above, stands up for *Neriglissar*, and will have the *Medo-Persian* empire to have begun in him. He supposes *Neriglissar* to have been a *Mede*, for no other reason, but because he married the sister of *Evil-merodach*, whose mother was a *Mede*. We are unwilling to quarrel with him on account of this supposition, or rather conjecture; but should be glad to know how, even in this supposition, the kingdom of *Babylon* was upon the death of *Belshazzar*, that is according to him of *Evil-merodach*, divided and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*. It is not more certain that *Belshazzar* was killed, than that his kingdom was given to the *Medes* and *Persians*; and this happened immediately upon the death of that king, as the words of the prophet plainly insinuate; *thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians. — In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain. And Darius the Median took the kingdom* (84). Besides, it is very plain from the whole sixth chapter of *Daniel*, that *Darius the Mede* was king of *Media*. He introduced the laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, which would have been very impolitic in him, had he usurped the crown without any friends or troops to rely on, except the *Babylonians*, whose laws he trod under foot and annulled. And this, if we suppose him to be *Neriglissar*, was his case; for he introduced the laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, was at war with both nations, and had no friends to depend upon except his own subjects, who naturally must have hated him, without any farther provocation, as a stranger, as an usurper, and as the murderer of their lawful prince. To this

(80) *Dan.* v. 28, 30, 31. (81) 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 20. (82) *Jer.* c. xlvii. 7. (83) *Can. Cron. Secul.* 18. (84) *Dan.* v. 28, 30, 31.

we may add, that if the *Medo-Persian* empire began in *Neriglissar*, *Cyrus* did not destroy the *Babylonian* but the *Medo-Persian* empire, which no author ever asserted. But the strongest proof, in our opinion, that can be produced against this system, and that also of *Scaliger*, who takes *Nabonadius* to be *Darius* the *Mede*, is, that *Darius* is said to have divided his empire into 120 provinces (85), which must be understood, not of the *Babylonian*, which was never so extensive but of the *Persian* empire. The latter on the conquest of *Egypt* by *Cambyfes*, and of *Thrace* and *India* by *Darius Hystaspes* had seven other provinces added to its former number. Whence in the time of *Esther* it consisted of 127 provinces. If this was the division of the *Persian* empire in her time, the former must necessarily have been of the same empire. For if the *Persian* empire from *India* to *Æthiopia* contained but 127 provinces, the empire of *Babylon* alone, which was hardly the seventh part of the other, could not contain 120. It is not therefore to be doubted, but *Darius* the *Mede* was lord not of the *Babylonian* only, but of the *Persian* empire, which cannot be said either of *Neriglissar* or *Nabonadius*.

Scaliger (86) maintains *Nabonadius* to be *Daniel's Darius*, adding, that he was by nation a *Mede*, and no ways related to *Nebuchadnezzar*, but freely elected king by the same *Babylonian* lords who put *Laborosoarchod* to death. That he was freely elected he endeavours to prove from the words of the prophet *Daniel*, saying, that he took the kingdom, which imply a free election, and not a forcible invasion. That he was a *Mede* he pretends to evince from a prophecy, which *Megasthenes* (87) relates *Nebuchadnezzar* to have uttered before his death, foretelling to the *Babylonians*, that a great calamity was to fall on them, which neither *Belus*, nor queen *Beltis* could avert; that a *Persian* mule should bring the *Babylonians* under subjection, being assisted by a *Mede*. The *Persian* mule is *Cyrus*, he being the issue of a *Persian* and a *Mede*; the *Mede*, who assisted him, was *Nabonadius*. If we ask *Scaliger* how *Nabonadius* can be said to have assisted *Cyrus* in destroying the city and kingdom of *Babylon*, since he waged war with him in defence of both, and was vanquished and killed; his answer is, that *Nabonadius* forwarded the destruction of *Babylon* by being conquered and slain, and that in this sense (if in this there be any sense) he concurred with *Cyrus* in the overturning of the *Babylonian* empire. This argument needs no answer, it is sufficiently refuted by being related. And therefore *Isaac Vossius* well observes (88), that the arguments produced by *Scaliger* to support this wild opinion are unworthy of *Scaliger*. As to his other proof, viz. that *Darius* took the kingdom; they imply, we own, no violence, on the part of *Darius*, who cannot properly be said to have stormed the town or won it by dint of arms; seeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the absence of *Darius*, though with the joint forces of the *Medes* and *Persians*. The city being thus

(85) *Dan.* vi. 1. (86) *Scal. de emendat. tem.* l. 6. (87) *Apud*
Enseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. (88) *Isaac. Voss. Chronol. Sac.* p. 144.
 H. C. C. 2 reduced

reduced by the troops of *Darius* and by *Cyrus* his general, *Darius*, without any farther opposition, took possession of the empire as conquered by his forces. It is not by any means probable, that the *Babylonian* lords after murdering their king should place a *Mede* on the throne, while they were at open war with that nation ; nor can the division of the kingdom of *Babylon* between the *Medes* and *Persians* foretold by *Daniel* be meant of a king, who, though by nation a *Mede*, should be elected by the *Babylonians*, and peaceably enjoy the kingdom till driven out by the *Persians*. This division must have been made after the empire was destroyed and the city taken. To conclude ; this system contradicts not only the prophecy of *Daniel*, touching the division of the empire between the *Babylonians* and *Medes*, but that likewise of *Jeremiab*, where it is said, that *all nations should serve him* (*Nebuchadnezzar*) *and his son, and his son's son*. If *Nabonadius* was *Darius*, who of all the kings of *Babylon* was *Nebuchadnezzar's* son's son ? Since *Scaliger* could not answer this question, it was well done of him to take no notice of it, in displaying and solving, in the best manner he could, several difficulties that others might have started against his assertion. He commonly adopts the sentiments of *Berosus* ; but here he even forsakes him ; for *Berosus* tells us (89), that *Nabonadius* was a *Babylonian*. 'Tis true, he seems afterwards concerned for having thus slighted the authority of such an unerring guide, and is inclined to make him a *Babylonian*. But how can this be reconciled with scripture, where he is ever stiled *Darius the Median* ? He has a salve for this sore too : the word *Median* or *Mede* is not, says he, the national name, as the whole tribe of *chronologers* and *interpreters*, simple well-meaning men, have imagined, but the surname of *Darius*. But it is very unlucky for *Josephus* that *Daniel* should begin his 9th chapter thus : *In the first year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes, which was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans*. He was therefore by nation a *Mede*, and the son of a king of *Media*. But our writer seems to have been more conversant in the mangled fragments of *Berosus*, than in the books of the prophets, from which there is no appeal : and may, on that very account, richly deserve the compliments which in an ironical manner he bestows on such as are unwilling to adopt his wild notions. But we must forgive him ; scorn and contradiction were the essential ingredients of his character ; and had he not in most things been singular, in all peremptory, he had neither been a *Scaliger*, nor the son of *Julius*.

The difficulties we have objected against the two foregoing opinions have made other writers look for *Darius* the *Mede* elsewhere. They suppose, that there was one *Darius* a *Mede* king of *Persia* before *Cambyfes* the father of *Cyrus*, who was also, according to *Xenophon*, king of *Persia*. This conjecture is supported by a passage out of *Æschylus* (91), where that poet seemingly supposes the first king of *Persia* there mentioned to have been a *Mede*, who with a

(89) *Beros.* apud *Joseph.* *Antiq.* l. 10. c. 11.
Persia, v. 701.

(90) *Æsch.*

powerful army took *Susa*. Next to him he places his son, whom he does not name, and in the third place *Cyrus*, whom he calls a happy prince. This *Darius* who took *Susa* and waged war with the *Babylonians*, they will have to be *Darius* the *Mede*, son of *Abasuerus*. This opinion is liable to one strong objection, namely, that *Darius* the grandfather of *Cyrus* could not be alive when *Babylon* was taken, *Cyrus* himself being then, as it is agreed on all hands, and we shall shew in the history of *Persia* sixty one years old.

Other writers, following *Xenophon's* account, maintain *Cyaxares*, the son of *Astyages* and uncle of *Cyrus*, to be *Darius* the *Mede*. He succeeded *Astyages* in the kingdom of *Media*, as *Cyrus* did *Cambyses* in that of *Persia*. These two kings with joint forces invaded the kingdom of *Babylon* and took the city. *Cyaxares* reigned two years at *Babylon*, and at his death *Cyrus* became master of the whole empire. This hypothesis is entirely agreeable to scripture, and free from those insurmountable difficulties, which attend the others, as is allowed even by those who reject it. Their only exception to this system is, that neither *Herodotus*, *Berosus*, nor *Megasthenes* knew of any such king as *Darius* or *Cyaxares*. II. nay, *Herodotus* tells us in express words, that *Astyages* was succeeded by his grandson *Cyrus*. This immediate succession of *Cyrus* to his grandfather is vouched by *Diodorus*, *Justin*, *Strabo*, *Polyænus*, *Africanus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Justin Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *Hierom*, *Austin*, &c. but these, as they have only copied after *Herodotus*, add no new weight to the scale. The abovementioned writers, we own, give *Astyages* no other successor than *Cyrus*; but *Xenophon* (91) does, and likewise *Josephus* (93), forsaking herein *Berosus*, whom he often quotes, and ever follows, where his authority does not clash with scripture. *Xenophon* calls the successor of *Astyages* *Cyaxares*, and *Josephus* gives him the name of *Darius*, adding, that he overturned the kingdom of *Babylon*, being in that enterprize assisted by his nephew *Cyrus* (93), which is consonant both to scripture and chronology; whereas the contrary opinion, though perhaps not repugnant to holy writ, cannot by any means be reconciled with chronology. For if we suppose, that *Astyages* had no other successor but *Cyrus*, we must allow him to have lived a hundred years and upwards. For he gave his daughter in marriage to *Nebuchadnezzar*, as the sticklers for *Herodotus* tell us, before the siege of *Nineveh*, that is seventy three years before the reduction of *Babylon*. He must have been at that time at least thirty years old, and two years more he reigned at *Babylon*. Could we but prevail upon ourselves to believe, that *Astyages* lived to so great an age, we should willingly follow *Herodotus*, having a great respect for that venerable, and by some much injured, historian. His system is no ways repugnant to scripture, where nothing is said of *Darius* the *Mede*, which may not be as well applied to *Astyages* himself as to his son.

(91) *Xenoph. Cyropæd.* l. 1. c. 19.
l. 10. c. 13.

(93) *Joseph. ubi supra.*

(92) *Joseph. Antiq.*

A modern writer (94), so prepossessed in favour of *Herodotus*, as not to call in question any thing that author asserts, endeavours to support his system with a passage from the 13th chap. v. 65th of *Daniel*, where it is said, *And king Astyages was gathered to his fathers, and Cyrus of Persia received the kingdom*. His quotation is right according to the vulgate, which is the standard in the church of *Rome*; but in our bibles these words are to be found in the apocryphal *history of Bel and the Dragon* v. 1. However, we need not lay any stress upon this, seeing the same writer, who started the difficulty, has been so kind as to suggest us an answer to it. For a few lines after he launches out into great commendations of father *Tournemine*, calling him a critic of great penetration, the most learned and honest man that ever was bred in his society; and these encomiums he bestows on that very honest Jesuit for discovering, that the names of *Cyaxares*, *Astyages*, and *Abasuerus* were common to all the kings of *Media* (95): 'Tis very surprising that he should appropriate the name of *Astyages* to the grandfather of *Cyrus*, and a few lines after admire the penetration and adopt the opinion of one who will have that name to be common to all the kings that reigned in *Media*. If *F. Tournemine's* discovery be true, as perhaps it may, we should be glad to know, why the son of *Astyages* might not have bore that name as well as his father; and if he might, how will our author prove, that the abovementioned passage refers to the father and not to the son? This writer makes a conscience of forsaking *Herodotus* in the number of his kings, and at the same time does not scruple to contradict him with regard to the years of their respective reigns; for he makes *Cyaxares* reign sixty four years, whereas *Herodotus* allows him only a reign of forty: wherein he is no less at variance with himself, after laying such stress on the authority of *Herodotus*, than he is with that ancient historian. Thus much we have thought necessary to say on a subject, which has occasioned endless disputes among the learned, and hope, that the reader will not think we have trespassed on his patience, when he reflects, that we have brought within the compass of one note what has supplied matter for whole volumes.

(94) See *Lenglet. Methode pour etudier l'hist. Tom. 1. p. 322.*

(95) See *F. Tournemine dissertat. 10. ad calcem Menechii.*

SCYTHIAE PARS

PERSIA
SIVE
SHAHISTAN



C H A P. XI.

The History of P E R S I A

S E C T. I.

The Description of P E R S I A.

THIS country, like many others, has in different ages *Its several* been called by different names, and tho' to some the *names.* settling of these may seem a dry and useless task, yet, inasmuch as the subsequent history will be much enlightened thereby, we shall give the reader as distinct and accurate an account of them as we can. The most antient name of *Persia* is that by which it is called by *Moses*^a, viz. *Elam*, or, as some write it, *Ælam*, from *Elam* the son of *Shem*, the father of its first inhabitants. ^b *Herodotus* calls its inhabitants *Cephenes*, and in very antient times the people ^c of this country are said to have called themselves *Artæi*, and the region wherein they dwelt *Artea*. In the books of ^d *Daniel*, ^e *Esdra*s, &c. we find it called *Paras*, agreeable to the *Persian* denomination of *Pars*, or *Phârs*, whereby the proper *Persia* is called at this time. It has been also called ^f *Achæmenia* and *Arsacia* from its antient kings. In ^g *Oriental* writers it is called *Agjem*, *Irân*, and *Shahistân*, that is *the dominions of the Shâh*. It is true, that, strictly speaking, *Achæmenia* and *Iran* are not general names of *Persia*, but rather of parts thereof, yet, as they are frequently used in authors to signify that country which we call *Persia*, they may well enough be comprehended in this list of names (A).

THE

^a GENES. x. 22. xiv. 1. JEREM. xxv. 25. JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 1. c. vii. ^b Pol. cap. 17. ^c HYDE Relig. vet. Persar. p. 413. ^d vi. 28. ^e 1 ESDR. vii. 4. ^f HORAT. lib. iii. Od. 1. OVID de Arte, lib. 1. v. 226. ^g HYDE ubi supr. Voyages du CHARDIN, tom. III. p. 2, 3.

(A) The best commentators agree, that the *Elamites*, who were the ancestors of the *Persians*, were descended from *Elam* the son of

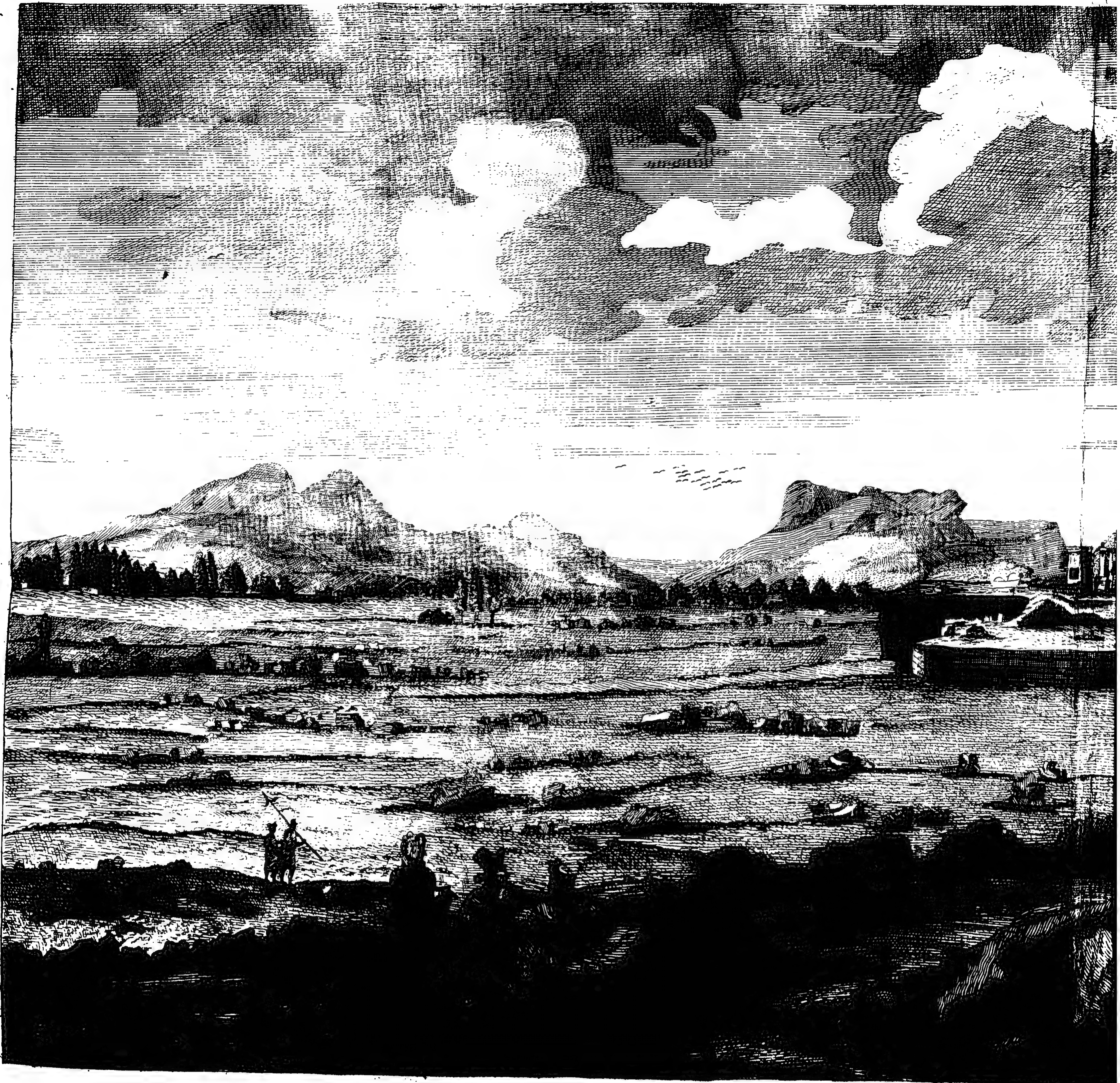
Extent.

THE extent of *Persia* has been in different ages as various as its names, *Ptolemy*^h bounds it thus : on the north it hath *Media*,

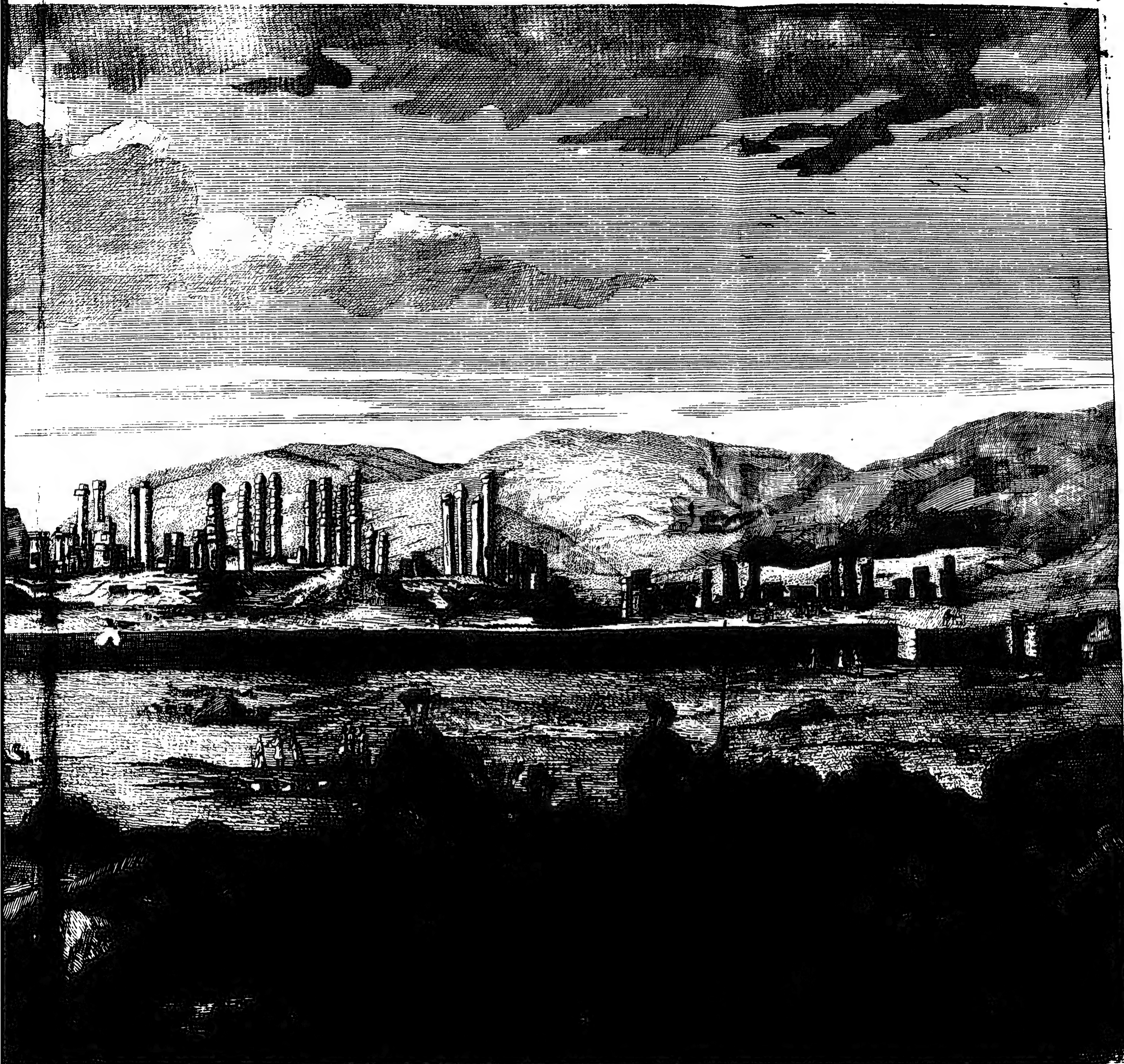
^h Geogr. lib. vi. c. 4

of *Shem*, and thus much has been asserted and proved, as far as the nature of the thing would admit, in our first volume (1). It is likewise allowed, that the most antient among the inspired writers constantly intend *Persia* when they speak of *Elam* and the kingdom of *Elam*. Thus, not to detain the reader with unnecessary quotations, when the prophet *Jeremiah*, after denouncing many judgments against this country, adds these words : *But it shall come to pass in the latter days that I will bring again the captivity of Elam*, saith *Jehovah* (2). He is always understood to mean the restoration of the kingdom of the *Persians* by *Cyrus*, who subdued the *Babylonians*, as these had before subdued the *Persians*, and made them subject to their empire (3). As to the word פָּרַס *Paras*, authors are not very well agreed as to its etymology or signification, some are for deriving it from the *Arabic* word *Phâris* which signifies a horse. Some *Persian* historians say that *Phars* is a proper name, and that the person so called was the son of *Arsham*, i. e. *Arphaxad* the son of *Shem*; others make this *Phars* the son of *Japhet*, &c. Some again, who seem to be nearest the truth, say that he was the son of *Elam* the son of *Shem* (4). It is evident, however, that the *Greek* word *Persis* and the *Latin* word *Persia* are derived from this oriental denomination, and not from this country's being conquered by *Perses*. The name *Artæi* is thought to be derived from the *Persian* word *Ard* or *Art*, which signifies strong, brave, magnanimous, intimating that the people of this country were such in their dispositions (5). *Achæmenia*, as (6) *Stephanus Byzantius* informs us, was only a part of *Persia* (7), *Strabo* says nearly the same thing, yet sometimes it is used to signify *Persia* in general, as particularly by (8) *Herodotus*, who makes *Cambyfes* in an oration call his people *Achæmenidæ*. In the *Armenian* language *Persia*, as I have said, is called, *Shahistân*, i. e. the country of the *Shâh* (9). The *Arabians* gave the name of *Agemestuan* to *Persia*, because in their language *Agem* signifies stranger or rather *Barbarian*, which, with great modesty, they impose on every other nation but themselves. Hence the distinction of *Arak-arab* and *Arak-agem*, which signifies as much as the *Towns of the Arabs*, and the *Towns of the Barbarians*. The *Persians* themselves call their country generally *Irann*, and *Iran*, for this reason; they say, that under the reign of king *Ejfrasiab* their empire contained all the countries between the *Caspian* sea and *China*. This monarch divided his mighty empire into

(1) p. 360. (2) *Jeremiah* xlix. 39. (3) *Poli. Synop. Critic. Lowth* on *Jerem.* xlix. 39. (4) *Hyde Rel. vet. Pers.* c. xxxv. p. 418, 419. (5) *Ibid.* p. 413. (6) *Apud Hyde ubi sup.* (7) *lib.* xv. p. 500. (8) *Clio*, p. 195. (9) *Hyde*, p. 413.



PERSÉPOLIS



Media, on the east *Carmania*, on the west *Susiana*, on the south the *Persian gulph*, but this relates to *Persia* as a province. We consider it in another light, and therefore, to speak as clearly and distinctly as we may, let us first assign the boundaries of the *Persian* empire as they stood antiently, when it extended farthest, let us next settle the boundaries of the modern *Persian* empire, and thirdly, let us review the several provinces mentioned by antient writers, and, as we go on, take some account of the condition they are now in. *Boundaries*

As to the antient empire of the *Persians* it reached in length, from the *Hellepont* to the mouth of the river *Indus*, about 2800 *English* miles, in breadth, from *Pontus* to the mouth of the *Arabian* gulph, about 2000 miles.

THE modern *Persia*, that is the dominions of the *Persian* crown, extends in length, from the mouth of the river *Araxes* to the mouth of the river *Indus*, about 1840 of our miles, and in breadth, from the river *Oxus* to the *Persian* gulph, about 1080 of our miles, bounded thus; on the north by the *Caspian* sea, the river *Oxus*, and mount *Caucasus*; on the east by the river *Indus* and the dominions of the great *Mogul*, as he is commonly called; on the south by the *Persian* gulph and the *Indian* ocean, and on the west by the dominions of the grand *Signior* (B).

IN

¹ CLUVER. Geogr. lib. v. c. 13.

² CLUVER. ubi sup.

two parts, calling that on the other side of the river *Oxus* *Touran*, and this *Iran*, i. e. on the other side of the river, and on this side of the river, whence in the antient *Persian* histories *Key Iran* and *Key Touran* signified the king of *Persia* and the king of *Tartary*; at this day the *Persian* monarch is stiled *Padcha Iran*, and the grand vizier of *Persia*, *Iran Medary*, i. e. the pole of *Persia* (10).

(B) The ingenious Sir *John Chardin* tells us, that “ *Persia* is the
“ greatest empire in the world, if we consider it according to the
“ geographical descriptions of the *Persians*; for they represent its
“ antient boundaries to have been the four following great seas
“ viz. the *Black-sea*, the *Red-sea*, the *Caspian-sea*, and the *Persian*
“ gulph, and also these six rivers, almost as well known as seas,
“ *Euphrates*, *Araxes*, *Tigris*, *Phasus*, *Oxus*, and *Indus*. It is indeed
“ impossible to mark precisely the limits of this vast kingdom; for
“ it is not with it as with the dominions of some petty sovereigns,
“ where a rivulet or a pillar marks the frontier. *Persia* has on every
“ side a space of three or four days journey utterly uninhabited,
“ though the soil is in some places the best in the world; the *Per-*
“ *sians* look on it as a mark of true grandeur; the leaving such de-
“ serts between great empires, hinders, say they, all disputes a-

¹⁰ *Chardin* voy. Vol. III. p. 3.

Gedrosia. IN our account of the provinces, into which the country we are speaking of was antiently divided, we shall begin with *Gedrosia*, mentioned by *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and other writers¹. It is bounded on the west by *Carmania*, on the north by *Drangiana* and *Arachosia*, on the east by *Guzarat* a province of *India*, on the south by the *Indian* ocean; it is called at present *Makran*, of old it was inhabited by the *Arbitæ*, *Parsiræ*, *Musarnæi*, and the *Rhamnæ*; its principal cities were *Pafis*, *Arbis*, and *Cuni*, *Ptolemy* places here a celebrated *Emporium* called the haven of women. The principal modern cities are ^m *Firhk*, *Chalak*, and the Port of *Guadal* (C).

Carmania

¹ See note (C). ^m *Voyages de Tavernier*, liv. iv. ch. 1.

“ bout limits, and they serve like walls to separate one kingdom,
 “ from another. The seas and rivers before mentioned are far
 “ from being the boundaries of *Persia* at this day, yet the latest
 “ *Persian* writers describe always their empire within these limits;
 “ for they insist, that of right all the countries between them be-
 “ long to them, and that they want only such another brave king
 “ as *Abbas the great* to restore them to the possession of their antient
 “ territory. *Persia*, in the state I saw it, taking it from *Georgia*,
 “ i. e. from the 45th deg. of latitude to the 25th, and from the
 “ river *Indus* to the mountains of *Ararat*, that is from the 77th to
 “ the 112th degree of longitude, contains in length about 550
 “ *Persian* leagues which make 750 *French* leagues, and in breadth
 “ about 400 (11)”. We have chosen to make use of the testimony
 of this traveller preferable to others, because he seems to have
 taken great pains in the description which he has given us of this
 country; and since it must be allowed, that his long stay therein, his
 great parts, and general knowledge qualified him perfectly for such
 a work, if we cannot credit him, it is hard to know on whom we
 may rely.

(C) As it would have swelled this chapter to an excessive bulk, if we had in the text been very particular as to the respective provinces of *Persia*, so to avoid obscurity on the other hand, we have thought it necessary to add such a description of each province in these notes, as may suffice to give the reader a competent idea of its situation, extent, and productions. This being premised, let us proceed in the order observed in the text.

Tho’ *Gedrosia* be constantly so called by *Strabo* and *Ptolemy*, yet (12) *Diodorus Siculus*, (13) *Suidas*, and some manuscripts of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (14) read *Cedrosia*. The extent of this province

(11) *Chardin. Voy. Tom. iii. p. 2.* (12) *lib. xviii. c. 6.* (13) *In verb. Κεδρωσία.* (14) *In Edit. Valesii, p. 369.*

Carmania, divided into *Carmania the desert*, and *Carmania proper*. ^a *Carmania the desert* is bounded on the north by *Parthia*, on the west by *Persis*, on the east by *Drangiana*, on the south by *Carmania proper*. ^o *Carmania proper* hath on the south the *Indian* ocean, on the west *Persis* and the gulph of *Persia*, on the east *Gedrosia*, and on the north *Carmania the desert*; it contains the modern provinces of *Khirman* and *Ormuz*, it was inhabited by the *Isatichæ*, *Zuthi*, *Gadanopydres*, *Camelotosei*, *Agdonites*, *Rhudianæ*, *Ares*, *Charadææ*, *Pasargadæ*, *Armozæi*; its antient cities were *Carmanæ*, now *Khirman*, still a considerable place, and famous for the scymetars made there, *Alexandria* built by *Alexander* the great, *Armuzæ* or *Armuzum*, on the shore of the gulph, giving name to a promontory, and to the island of *Ormuz*. The modern places of note besides are *Khirman*, ^p *Bermazir*, *Kubestek*, and *Iasquez*, which gives name to a cape or promontory shooting into the *Persian* gulph (D).

Drangiana

^a *PROL.* lib. vi. c. 6. ^o lib. vi. c. 8. ^p *TAVERN.* Voy. l. iv. c. 1.

cannot easily be assigned, because though in general terms its boundaries be pretty well settled, yet how to fix these at this distance of time is a question not readily resolved. Mount *Becius*, or rather a ridge of mountains, runs through the middle of this province, and from them springs the celebrated river *Arbis* or *Arabis*, which after a short course runs into the *Indian* ocean. At the mouth of this river stood the *Γυναικῶν λιμήν* of *Ptolemy* (15), mentioned also by *Arrian* in his *Indian* history; who tells us, that this place was so called, because originally it was governed by women (16). The soil of this province was sandy and barren, very deficient in water, and the air intemperately hot, so that *Alexander's* army suffered excessively here, notwithstanding they built their huts with aromatic wood, and met with spices in profusion (17). *Ptolemy* mentions two islands dependent on this province, *Astea*, and *Codane* (18); *Arrian*, speaking of the voyage of *Nearebus*, tells us he observed several others (19).

(D) Though other authors speak of *Carmania* in general, yet *Ptolemy* makes not only the difference before noted in the text, but interposes the description of *Arabia Felix* between *Carmania the desert* and *Carmania proper*. As to the first, it is very truly what (20) *Ptolemy* calls it, having in it scarce a town or a village, its soil an inhospitable sand; its air hot and unhealthy, and the whole province in a manner destitute of water (21). *Carmania proper* is a better country, having in it several rivers, particularly the *Andamis*

(15) *lib.* vi. c. 21. (16) c. xxii. (17) *Strabo.* (18) *Ubi supra.* (19) *Hist. Indic.* p. 366. (20) *lib.* vi. c. 6. (21) *lib.* vi. c. 8.

Drangiana 1 *Drangiana*, bounded on the south by *Gedrosia*, on the east by *Arachosia*, on the north by *Aria*, on the west by *Carmania the desert*, derived its name, as some say, from the river *Drangius*, and is called by the modern *Persians Sigistan*; it was antiently peopled by the *Darandæ* and the *Batrii*.

1 PTOL. lib. vi. c. xix.

mentioned by (22) *Pliny* and (23) *Ptolemy*, it is, however, mountainous, though with this advantage, that these mountains have mines of copper and iron; the people antiently, however, lived in no very desirable condition, if the description given us by *Pomponius Mela* be true, The *Carmanians*, said he, have neither fruits, “nor raiment, nor house, nor cattle, but cover themselves with “skins of fish, and feeding on them for the most part, the bodies “as well as heads of these people are covered with hair (24)”. It may be, *Pomponius Mela* confounds the *Carmanians* with a nation inhabiting the sea coast, and called from their manner of living *Ichthyophagi*, mentioned both by (25) *Strabo* and (26) *Arrian*, and who are said not only to have fed on fish but to have erected huts with their bones. (27) *Ammianus Marcellinus* gives *Carmania* a better character. At this day this province is particularly remarkable for producing sheep which bear the finest wool in the world; they have this peculiar property, that having fed upon new grass from *January* to *May* their fleece falls off of itself, and leaves the sheep quite naked; the wool being gathered and beaten, the coarse breaks, and the fine only remains. The *Gaur*s have the whole manufacture of this wool in their hands, which consists chiefly in girdles much esteemed through the east, and in a sort of serges, which are as soft and almost as fine as silk (28). Dependent on this province is the little, but famous, island of *Ormuz*, in compass about 20 miles, stony and full of rocks, barren and destitute of all necessities except salt, of which there is such plenty and so hard, that it is said houses are built thereof. The soil is composed of a white sand, formerly imported into *Europe*. Water (except such as after rains was preserved in cisterns) it had none, so that even in its most flourishing times, when it was the emporium of this part of the world, its inhabitants had not only their victuals, but the very water they used, from the continent; the air in summer excessively sultry, so that people were forced to live in grotts, and to lie in water (29). At present there is nothing on it but a fort; but of its antient kingdom, and of the several revolutions which happened therein, we shall not fail to treat in its proper place.

(22) *Hb.* vi. c. 23. (23) *Ubi supra.* (24) *De situ orbis.*
lib. iii. c. 8. (25) *lib.* xv. (26) *Hist. Ind.* c. 29. (27) *lib.*
 xxiii. (28) *Tavernier in Harris's Collection, Vol. II. p. 307.*
 (29) *Mandeville's Travels in Harris's collection, Vol. II. p. 118.*
Tavernier in the same Vol. p. 347.

Ptolemy

Ptolemy reckons ten considerable cities in this province, the most famous of them were *Ariaspe* and *Prophthasia*, the towns now of note are ^r *Sistan*, supposed by some to be the antient city last mentioned, *Chalak*, and *Kets*. [†] Some writers speak of a certain valley in this province called *Mulebet*, improved by a prince called *Aladin* into a paradise, though for very bad purposes (E).

Arachosia, bounded on the west by *Drangiana*, on the north by *Paropamisus*, on the east by the river *Indus*, on the south by *Gedrosia*; its modern name is not well settled, inhabited of old by the *Arimaspi*, who were afterwards called *Margyetae*, and then *Euergetae*, the *Sydri*, *Roplutae*, and *Eortae*. *Ptolemy* reckons up thirteen cities in this province, Arachosia.

^r TAVERN. voy. ubi supr.

[†] See note (E).

(E) *Strabo* (30), *Ptolemy* (31), and *Pliny* (32), agree in calling this province *Drangiana*; *Diodorus* calls it *Drangina*, and its inhabitants *Drangi* (33). A ridge of mountains, the principal of which is called *Bagous*, runs through this country, and from thence some have fancied that there ran a river called *Drangius*, from whence this country took its name, but of this there is no certainty; the province is not large, and every where hilly, far from abounding with any rich commodities, and therefore never very famous either in antient or modern times, but chiefly at present from its being reported to have been the birth-place of *Rustan*, the celebrated hero of *oriental* romances. As to the valley of *Mulebet*, or paradise of *Sultan Aladin*, mentioned above; its history runs thus: A petty prince of this name caused this valley to be adorned in the most elegant manner he could contrive, furnishing it especially with airy pavilions, fine women, rich sherbets, and delicate provisions; he then shut up its entrance with a strong fort, and whenever he had any dangerous exploit to perform, for it seems he was but a kind of free-booter, he chose out some strong, able, young man, and having first got him to drink to such a degree as to lose his senses, he caused him while in that condition to be removed into this paradise of his, where having suffered him to remain for two or three days, he then directed him to be lulled asleep in the same manner, and so sent home to his own house, then, under promise of sending him for ever to dwell in that *Paradise*, the joys of which he had tasted, *Aladin* quickly drew the deluded wretch to perpetrate the most barbarous and bloody facts that could be thought of (34).

(30) *Lib. xv. p. 497.* (31) *Lib. vi. c. 19.* (32) *Lib. vi. c. 23.* (33) *Lib. xvii.* (34) *Paul. venet. ap. Purchas's pilgrim. B. iv. cb. 6. p. 317.*

we shall content ourselves with mentioning only three; *Arachotus* built on a lake of the same name by the famous *Semiramis*, who is said to have given it the name of *Gophes*; *Alexandria* built by *Alexander the Great*, and by some thought to be the same with the city now called *Cabul*; *Arbata* supposed to have derived its name from some of the kings of *Parthia* called *Arbaces*. As to modern towns of note we know of none (F).

Paropamisus,

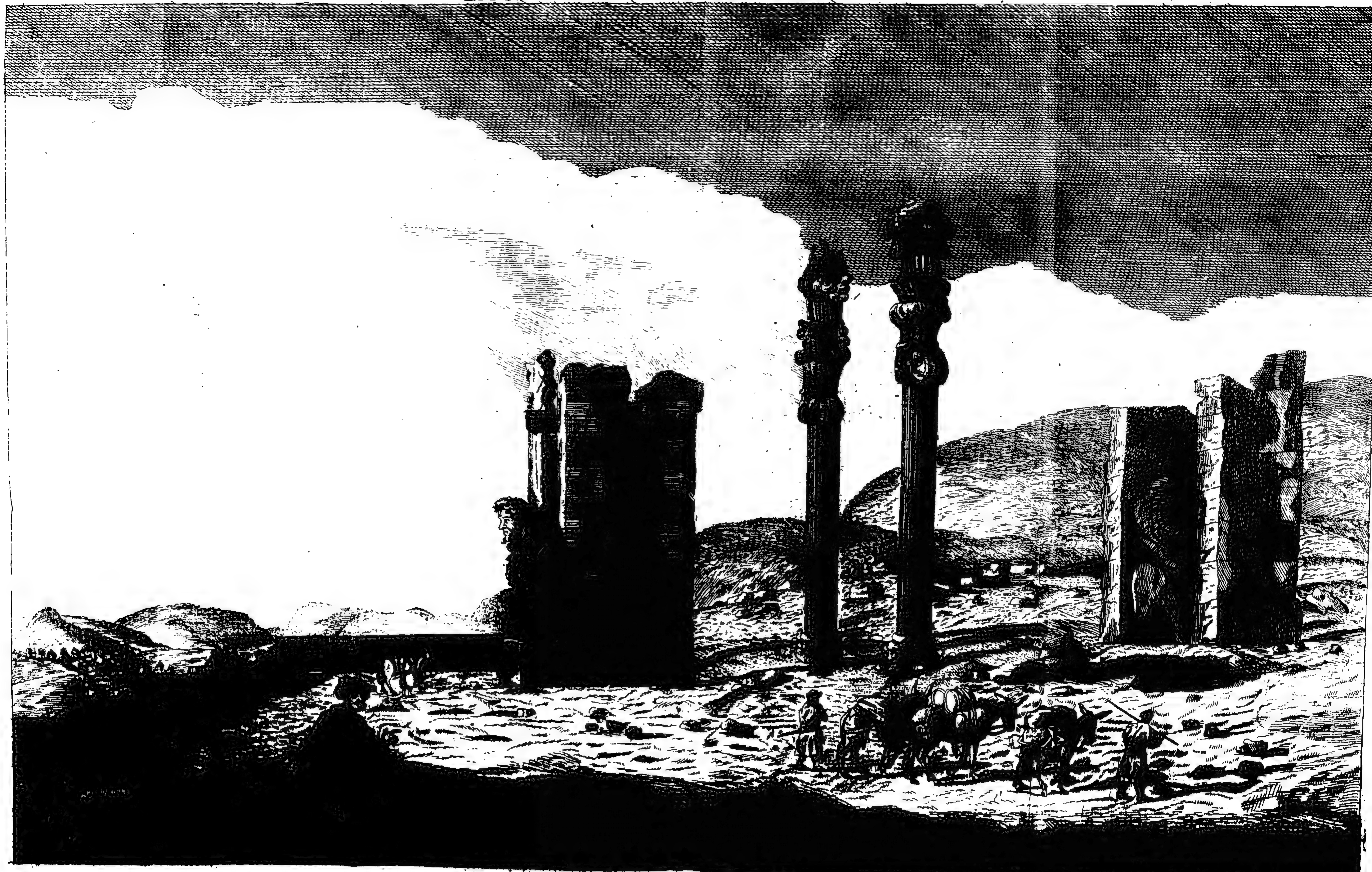
* See note (F).

(F) It is on the authority of *Mons. Tavernier* that we have told our readers there are now no towns of note in this province (35), by which we mean, none that are exactly known to stand within the limits of the antient *Arachosia*; however, since some writers are positive, that the antient city of *Arachotus* or rather *Arachotos*, for it is a *Greek* appellation, was seated where now stands the city of *Cabul* (36), we will take this opportunity of inserting a description of that city and the parts adjacent, which may perhaps prove as useful, and must of necessity be more entertaining to our readers, than a dry recital of the conjectures of geographers relating to this province. “ *Caboul* is a large city, the metropolis of “ the province of *Caboulistan*, or *Caboul*, and hath two castles well “ fortified, and because several kings have held their courts there, “ and many princes successively have had it for their portion, “ there are a great many palaces in it; it lies in 33 deg. of north “ latitude. The mountains about it produce plenty of *Miroba-* “ *lans*, which from thence the eastern people call *Cabuly*, several “ sorts of drugs, and some spices, which with the iron mines in “ them yield a great profit to the inhabitants. In this town they “ maintain a great trade with *Tartary*, the country of the *Usbecks*, “ and the *Indies*. The *Usbecks* alone sell yearly in this town above “ sixty thousand horses, and the *Persians* bring hither great num- “ bers of sheep and other cattle, by which means they are much “ enriched. Wine is to be had, and provisions are cheap, tho’ “ the country about it is but cold and barren, unless in some places “ which are sheltered by the mountains, being rendered little the “ more fruitful by the two rivers that water it, and have their source “ in the mountains. From this province especially come the large “ canes of which they make halberts and lances; and they have many “ grounds planted with them. The inhabitants of the city and “ province are most of them heathens, and therefore in all towns “ and villages are many pagods. They reckon the months by the “ moons, and with great devotion celebrate the feast called *Houly*, “ which lasts two days, at the full moon in *February*. At this

(35) *L. iv. c. 1, p. 412.*

(36) *Heylin's cosmography, B. III. p.*

RUINS OF TWO OF THE PORTICO'S



Paropamisus, bounded on the west by *Aria*, on the north *Paropamisus* by *Bactria*, on the east by the dominions of the *Mogul*, on the south by *Arachosia*. It is called by the moderns ^u *Sab-
lestan*, including likewise the kingdom of *Candabar*; its an-
tient inhabitants were the *Balitæ*, *Aristophili*, *Ambantæ*, *Pa-
rietæ* and *Parfi*; its chief cities *Ortospanum* and *Naulibis*; modern cities there are many of great note, such as *Becksabat*,
Asbe, w. *Bast*, strengthened with one of the finest castles in
Persia, and adorned with various beautiful *Karawanferas* (G).

^u TAVERN. Voy. ubi supr. w TAVERN. Voy. Tom. I. l.
iii. p. 394.

“ feast they are all cloathed in a dark red, and after they have
“ prayed in the temple, and made their oblations, they spend the
“ rest of the time in dancing by companies in the streets, to the
“ sound of trumpets, visiting their friends, and eating together
“ every tribe by itself. The Great Mogul’s revenue from this
“ country is 4 or 5 millions yearly (37)”. Yet after all it is far
from being certain, whether *Cabul* has any thing to do with the
antient province of *Arachosia*, since *Caboulistan* lies beyond *Canda-
bar*, and is generally reckoned part of the *Mogul*’s dominions.

(G) The name of this province is differently written, generally
Paropamisus, sometimes *Parapamisus*, and again *Paropamisus* (38),
deriving this denomination from the mountain *Paropamisus*, which
is a part of *Taurus*, but was falsely stiled *Caucasus*, to flatter *Alex-
ander the Great*, that it might be said of him that he had passed that
famous ridge of mountains; a strange vanity! and scarce to be
credited, if it were not supported by the authority of writers of
the highest credit (39). The soil of this country in general is not
over-fruitful, the province being full of hills, overshadowing the
valleys so as to render them cool and pleasant. We have observed
above, that the kingdom of *Candabar* is included within the antient
province of *Paropamisus*; this little realm hath for its capital a city
of the same name, which is looked upon to be the best fortified
place in all this part of *Asia*; as the caravans passed constantly
through it in going to, or coming from, *India*, it is consequently a
place rich and full of trade. *Tavernier* has given us an ample de-
scription of it, at the end of the 5th book of his travels; as to the
history of its princes and of the various fortunes it has sustained, we
shall give the reader a distinct view of them, when we have dedu-
ced the *Persian* history as low as to the erecting of this little king-
dom.

(37) *Tavern.* in *Harris’s collect.* Vol. II. p. 355. (38) *Cellar.*
Geogr. Antiq. Vol. II. c. 23. p. 719. (39) *Strab. lib.* xi. p. 348.
Arrian. Exped. Alex. lib. v. c. 3.

* *Bactriana*,

Bactria. * *Bactriana*, or *Bactria*, now called *Chorassan*, antiently inhabited by the *Salataræ*, *Zariaspæ*, *Chomatri*, *Comi*, *Acinacæ*, *Tambyzi*, *Thocaræ*, a powerful people, and several other nations of less note; it was in the first ages of the world a kingdom, and a very famous one too, in later times it boasted a thousand cities, the chief of these were *Bactra* and *Ebusmi*, both royal cities as *Ptolemy* tells us, *Maracanda* and *Charracharta*; its modern cities of note are also numerous, but we shall not mention them here, because we shall have occasion hereafter to consider this country more particularly.

Margiana. *Margiana*, bounded on the west by *Hyrkania*, on the north by *Tartary*, on the south by *Aria*, and on the west by *Bactria*; now called *Estarabad*; it is divided from *Tartary* by the river *Oxus*, called by the modern *Persians* † *Ruth-khané-kurkan*, inhabited antiently by the *Derbicæ*, the *Masfagetæ*, who came hither from *Scythia*, the *Parni*, the *Dahæ*, and the *Tapurni*. * Among its cities of note we may reckon *Alexandria*, one of the six cities of that name in *Persia*, afterwards called *Antiochia*, and after that *Seleucia*, *Nigæa*, or rather *Nysæa*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*; as to modern places of note, *Estarabad*, *Amul*, and *Damkau*, deserve chiefly to be mentioned (H).

Hyrkania. * *Hyrkania*, bounded on the north by the *Caspian* sea, called sometimes *Mare Hyrcanum* from its washing the shore of this province, on the west by *Media*, on the south by *Parthia*, and on the east by *Margiana*; called now *Mazandran*, and including likewise the province of *Kylan*. The old inhabitants of this country were the *Maxeræ*, *Astabenî*, and

* PTOL. l. vi. c. xi. † TAVERN. Voy. l. iv. c. i. * CLUV. ubi supr. * PTOL. l. vi. c. 9.

(H) Many antient authors agree in commending the situation of this province, begirt, as it is, with high mountains, watered with pleasant rivers, amongst the rest with the noble river *Oxus*, so famous in *Greek* and *Latin* authors. It is likewise celebrated for its fertility in vines of such an extraordinary size, that two men can scarce fathom the trunk of one of them, bearing clusters, some of which are two cubits long. *Antiochus Soter* was so much pleased with the beauty of this country, that he not only built a magnificent city therein, but even inclosed the whole plain, watered by the rivers *Arias* and *Margue*, with a wall 1500 stadia in circuit (40). *Estarabad* its present capital is chiefly remarkable for the fine druggers and other excellent woollen goods manufactured there (41).

(40) *Strab. lib. xi p. 516.*

(41) *Tavern. Vol. I. p. 397.*

Chrindi;

Chirind; its antient capital was called *Hyrkania* as well as the province, nor has it at this distance of time much changed its name, since it is still called *Hyrkan*. *Tambrace*, a very strong place at the time *Arsaces* began to lay the foundation of his empire. Modern places of note are *b Ferh-abad*, a port seated on a navigable arm of the *Caspian* sea, a fine city much frequented by *Russian* merchants, as being not above a fortnight's sail from *Astracan*; *Giru*, *Telarapeset*, *Ciarman*, and *Escres*, are also places of note in this country (I).

c Aria,

b Sir THOMAS HERBERT'S Travels in HARRIS'S collect. Vol. I P. 434.

(I) Antient writers agree in representing *Hyrkania* as a country fruitful in wine, wheat, figs, and all other kinds of fruits, here and there, however, interspersed with meadows and pasture lands, and in some places with the less pleasant prospect of thick woods, abounding with wild beasts of almost every kind, even to a proverb (42). As to its present condition, nothing can be more amazing than the wide difference there is between the accounts given us by persons of credit and capacity, and who have had equal opportunities of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the things of which they discourse. The reader will the better judge of this, if he takes the trouble of comparing the following passage, extracted from the travels of the duke of *Holstein*'s ambassadors, with what we shall hereafter give him from Sir *John Chardin*, in speaking of the air of *Persia*. “ It must be confessed by all those who have travelled in “ these parts, that the province of *Kilan* is a terrestrial paradise, “ abounding in silk, oil, wine, rice, tobacco, lemons, oranges, “ pomegranets, and all sorts of other fruits; the vines (which “ spread themselves with their branches up the trees) being very “ excellent here, being as big in compass as a man in the waist. “ The *Caspian* sea, as well as the rivers belonging to this province, “ afford to the inhabitants prodigious quantities of fish, as their “ pasture grounds furnish them with great store of cattle, and their “ forests with venison and wild fowl, which makes me admire, “ how *John de Laet*, who follows the footsteps of *Johannes de Persia*, could assert with so much confidence, that *Messanderan* (part “ of the province of *Kilan*) lies under so cold a climate, that the “ fruits there seldom come to full maturity, when it is confessed by “ all that have any right knowledge of those parts, that, among “ all the provinces of that vast empire, there is none that challenge “ prerogative for a temperate and benign air, before that of *dies- “ sanderan*, which beyond all dispute produces the best fruits of all “ *Persia*. *Schach Abas* was so well convinced of this point, that

(42) *Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxiii.*

Aria.

• *Aria*, bounded on the north by *Margiana* and *Bactria*, on the west by *Parthia* and *Carmania the desert*, on the south by *Drangiana*, on the east by *Parapamisus*, now comprehended under the province of *Chorasan*; it was antiently inhabited by the *Nisæi*, *Astaveni*, *Musdorani*, *Cassirotae*, *Obares*, *Elymandri*, and the *Borgi*; its principal cities of old were *Aria*, seated on the river *Arias*, mentioned by *Pliny*, thought to be the same city, which is still famous under the name of *Heri*, or *Herat*, rebuilt and splendidly adorned by the sultan *Heussien Mirza*, *Alexandria* built by *Alexander*, who settled a colony of *Macedonians* therein, *Artacanda*, called by ^d *Strabo* *Artacana*, and *itaxa* (K).

• *Parthia*,• *Procl. lib. vi. c. xvii.*• *Geogr. lib. xv.*

“ he gave the preference in his opinion to this province before any
 “ other of all his dominions, which made him lay the foundation
 “ of the city of *Ferabatb*, his ordinary residence where he died (43).

(K) It is not easy to determine, whether *Aria* and *Ariana* were the same province, or, if they were not, how they differed: To discuss so perplexed a question here, and to endeavour to solve what to the best geographers, has appeared an inexplicable doubt, would be at once an act of vanity and rashness. It is better therefore to refer the learned reader to the authors cited at the bottom of the page, from whom he may receive all the satisfaction the nature of the thing will admit (44). In our description in the text we have followed *Ptolemy* exactly, as knowing no better guide, though we must at the same time allow, that some things there are in his description of this province which are not easily understood, such as the several fountains from whence he derives the stream of the river *Arias*, and the lake which he says it forms (45). Of the 35 cities mentioned by that author, we cannot find above five or six mentioned by any other antient writer, and of these the greatest part are found altogether in a paragraph of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (46). It was antiently a very populous country, though much subject to heats, and intermixed with deserts, heaths and forests near the mountains; however, where the heat of the sun is a little rebated, they have very fruitful plains, which among other things produce grapes, the wine of which hath so strong a body as to keep fourscore or a hundred years, without diminution of colour or flavour. The antient city of *Aria*, now known by the name of *Heri* or *Herat*, is still large and populous. Sir *Thomas Herbert* in his travels tells us, that when he was there he found it under a gover-

(43) *Harris's Collect. Vol. II. p. 101.* (44) *Cellar. Geograph. Antiq. lib. iii. c. xxii. p. 721. Casaub. in Strab. lib. xv. p. 720.*
 (45) *lib. vi. c. 17.* (46) *lib. xxii.*

^c *Parthia*, bounded on the west by *Media*, on the north *Parthia*. by *Hyrkania*, on the east by *Aria*, on the south by *Carmania* the desert, surrounded with mountains, which serve it for boundaries on every side, at this day called *Erak* or *Arak*, and to distinguish it from *Chaldæa*, which is likewise called *Erak*, this is stiled *Erac-Agami*.

THE antient *Parthians* ^f are said to have been originally *Scythians*, who, banished from their own country, settled here and assumed this name, which in their own, that is in the *Scythian* language, signified *exiles*. *Ptolemy* reckons 25 large cities with this province, and it must certainly have been very populous, since many cities and 2000 villages were destroyed by earth-quakes. Its capital was *Hecatompylos*, so called from its having a hundred gates, a noble and magnificent place, and so lucky as some think, to remain still the capital of *Persia*, under the name of *Hispahan*, or rather *Spauhawn*. Modern towns of note are ^g *Touchercan*, *Hamadan*, a very considerable place, and especially noted for great herds of cattle fed in its neighbourhood, producing great quantities of butter, cheese, and hides, *Chachan*, *Com*, *Casbin*, &c. (L).
Persis

^c PTOLE. lib. vi. c. 5.
 Voy. l'iv. c. 1.

^f CLUV. ubi supr.

^g TAVERN.

nor of its own, and adds, that the adjoining country abounds with roses, of which they make a water much stronger in its smell than that made in *Europe*. There are likewise, says another eminent traveller, admirable tapestries made in the neighbourhood of this place, such as transcend not only the tapestries of *Europe*, but even those that come from the rest of the *Persian* looms (47).

(L) The mighty reputation which the kings of *Parthia* by their military virtues obtained will oblige us to speak hereafter of this province, more accurately, than in this general description of the *Persian* dominions it was proper for us to do. As to what we have advanced concerning the origin of the *Parthians*, it may not be amiss to give the reader here the words of that author, on whose authority we took it. “ The *Parthians* (says he) are also derived
 “ from the *Scythians*; for they were exiles of that country, as their
 “ very name testifies. For in the *Scythian* language *banished men*
 “ are called *Parthians*. These, in like manner with the *Bactrians*,
 “ being by civil wars driven out of *Scythia*, first fixed themselves by
 “ stealth in the country adjoining to *Hyrkania*, and afterwards ob-
 “ tained by force more extended dominions (48).” Though in later ages *Parthia* became the mistress of her neighbours, and shared

(47) Harris's Coll. Vol. I. p. 435.

(48) Isidor. Origin. ix.

^a *Persis*, bounded on the north by *Media*, on the west by *Susiana*,

^b *PTOL.* lib. vi. c. 4.

with *Rome* the empire of the world, yet under the antient *Persian*, and even under the *Macedonian* monarchs, it was so little considered, that it remained an adjunct of *Hyrkania*, and was not made a particular province. It is not easy to fix the derivation of the capital of *Parthia*; in antient time, *Polybius* says, that it was called *Hecatompylos*, because all the roads through the *Parthian* dominion centered here (49). *Curtius* says it was built by the *Greeks*, but by whom, or at what time, he informs us not (50). It should seem that *Hecatompylos* is rather a *Greek* interpretation of the true name of this city, than the real name thereof, but then what name this was in the *Parthian* language we pretend not to say, it not having been recorded by any author we have met with.

In respect to what has been observed in the text of *Spauharun's* being founded on the ruins of the antient *Hecatompylos*, there are many authorities to bear us out, though I do not find any certain grounds whereon to found this opinion (51). It is unanimously acknowledged, that the present city is of no great antiquity, and the two parts into which it is divided preserve the names of two contiguous towns from the junction of which it was formed. These are *Heider*, and *Neamet Olabi*. The inhabitants of these places, notwithstanding their neighbourhood, bore a mortal hatred to each other, which they have transmitted to their successors, who, tho' they live in the same city, shew notwithstanding, on all public occasions, a warm and inveterate antipathy one towards the other. Some indeed ascribe this enmity to another cause, they say, that *Heider* and *Neamet Olabi* are the names of two princes who reigned antiently over *Persia*, and who divided their subjects into two parties, which are said to have subsisted ever since, not only in *Spauharun*, but in all the towns of *Persia*. Such as say this, however, own that the city we are speaking of was composed of two distinct towns, called by them *Deredechte* and *Joubare*. It may be wondered, that magistrates in the course of ages have not subdued these unnatural feuds. An enquiry into the cause would be impertinent here, if the answer were not short, they have been always indulged by the magistrates, because these quarrels bring them gain (52). It is not very clear at what time the towns before mentioned were united, or when this city received the name by which it is now known. Some say this happened before the reign of the famous *Timur*, corruptly called *Tamerlane*, who destroyed it twice. Certain it is, that *Spauharun* owes the glory it now possesses to the great *Shâh Abbas*, who, after the conquests of the kingdoms of *Lar*

(49) *lib. x. c. 25.* (50) *lib. vi. c. 11.* (51) *Herbert's Travels in Harris's Collect. Vol. I. p. 431. Holstein Ambassadors Travels in the same Collection, Vol. II. p. 79. Careri Voyag. tom. ii. p. 85.* (52) *Tavernier, Voyag. tom. i. l. iv. c. 5. p. 434. Chardin, tom. ii. p. 6. Careri, ubi supr. Le Brun, Voyag. tom. i. p. 197.*

siana, on the east by the *Garmanias*, on the south by the *Persian*

and *Ormus*, charmed with the situation of this place, made it the capital of his empire, between the year 1620 and 1628. There is perhaps no city in the world, the name of which is so differently written as this of the capital of *Persia* (53). Among *Europeans* it is usually written *Hispahan*, or *Ispahan*, it is also called *Spaha*, *Spachea*, *Aspahan*, *Izpaan*, and *Spahon*; the *Nubian* geographer calls it *Ashabarwn*, and the *Persians* themselves pronounce it, as it is written in the text, *Spaubarwn*, which orthography we have taken the freedom to introduce, since the best writers are divided on this head. *Tavernier* and *Sir John Chardin* write it *Ispahan*, *Dr. Gemelli Careri*, *Spahon*, *M. Le Brun*, *Spahan*; but all these authors agree that the inhabitants pronounce it as settled by us. The etymology of the word is no less difficult to be discovered, than the manner in which it should be wrote. Before the time of *Tamurlane* it is said to have been called *Sipahan*, from the prodigious number of its inhabitants, *Sipe*, in the old *Persic* and *Usbeque* language, signifying *an army*, and the plural thereof *Sipahan* consequently signifying *armies*. Another derivation there is from an *Arabic* word signifying a *battalion* (54), but it is time to quit these dry enquiries for something more useful, as well as more entertaining, since in the description of *Persia* it would be an unpardonable fault to omit an exact account of its capital, especially since we are furnished with such noble materials, as are to be found in the travels of *Sir Thomas Herbert*, the *Holstein* ambassadors, *M. Tavernier*, *Sir John Chardin*, *Dr. Gemelli Careri*, *M. Le Brun*, and others; *Chardin* and *Le Brun* having each of them given us a copious description thereof, adorned with copper plates, from whence it is as easy to form a just idea of it as of *London* or *Paris*. All who speak of *Spaubarwn* are agreed, that nothing can be more beautiful in nature than the situation thereof: it stands in a plain spacious and fertile, surrounded with mountains, which defend it alike from the sultry heats of summer, and the piercing winds of the winter season; through this plain run several rivers which water *Spaubarwn*, and contribute alike to ornament and use. The first of these is the river *Zenderoud*, over which there are three fine bridges; this river takes its rise in the mountains of *Jayabat*, three days journey from the city, and is but a small stream of itself; but *Abas* the Great cut a channel, whereby he brought a brisker and more considerable stream to fall into this river, that it might benefit his capital the more, and by this contrivance the *Zenderoud* is as broad at *Spaubarwn* in the spring, as the *Seine* is at *Paris* in the winter. The united waters of these rivers are sweet, pleasant, and wholesome,

(53) *Holstein Ambassadors travels*, *Tavernier*, *Voyag. ubi supr.*
Careri. ubi supr. p. 80. (54) *Holstein Ambassadors travels ubi*
supr.

Iran gulph, called now *Pârs*, or *Fars*, antiently inhabited by the

almost beyond comparison, as indeed are all the springs which are found in the gardens belonging to the houses of *Spauharwn*. The river brought by *Abas* into the *Zenderoud* is called *Mahmoud*, and we shall have occasion to speak both of it and the *Zenderoud* in another place. Besides these there are two other streams, which run very near each other, and are both comprehended under the name of *Abcorrenge*: One of these is pretty considerable, its waters being at all times deep, and generally speaking equal, for which reason several attempts have been made to bring it to enter the *Zenderoud*. King *Tahmas* in the XVth century expended an excessive sum of money on a project of this sort without success. *Abas* the great did the same thing on another project, but without effect, which did not, however, discourage *Abas* the second from twice endeavouring at the same thing, in which likewise failing, it is now looked on as a thing impracticable (55). The extent of *Spauharwn* is very great, not less perhaps than twenty miles within the walls; they are of earth, poorly built, and so covered with houses and shaded with gardens, that in many places it is a difficult thing to discover them; which is a defect not peculiar to this city, but is shared by most of the great towns in *Persia*, whence many travellers have been led to represent them as not walled at all. The *Persians* themselves are wont to say, *Spauharwn Nispe gehon*, i. e. *Spauharwn is half the world*. It is certainly a very large and populous city, but never were there seen wider accounts than those which different authors give us of the number of souls in this city. Sir *Thomas Herbert* says, in his time there were 200,000 (56). Sir *John Chardin* says, that some have reckoned eleven hundred thousand (57); but he is himself of opinion that it is not more populous than *London*. At a distance the city is not easily distinguished, for the streets being many of them adorned with plantanes, and every house having its garden, the whole looks like a wood. The streets in general are neither broad nor convenient, there being three great evils which attend them; the first is that being built on common sewers, these are frequently broke up which is very dangerous, considering that most people ride; the second is, that there are frequent wells or pits in the streets, which are as dangerous; the third arises from the people's emptying all their ordure from the tops of their houses; the latter is indeed in some measure qualified by the dryness of the air, and by its being quickly removed by the peasants who carry it away to dung their grounds. Sir *John Chardin* reckons eight gates; four looking to the east and south, and four to the west and north, viz. the gate of *Hassen-Abad*, the gate of *Joubare* called also the gate of *Abas*, the gate of *Seidabmedion*, the *Dervazedeulet* that is

(55) *Chardin. Voyag. tom. ii. p. 2, 3.*
Ubi supr.

(56) *Ubi supr.* (57)

the *Mesabatae*, *Rapsii*, *Hippophagi*, *Suzæi*, *Megores*, *Stabæi*. Antient cities of note were *Persepolis*, the noble metropolis of the antient *Persian* empire; *Axima*; *Marasium*, called now *Marazu*; *Toace*, the capital of a district of the same name; *Pasargada*, a noble city built by *Cyrus*, and honoured with his tomb¹. As to modern cities there are many of great

¹ TAVERN. Voyag. tom. i. l. iv. c. i. p. 412.

the *imperial* gate, the gate of *Lombon*, the gate of *Tcekhi*, and the gate *Deredecte*; he reckons also six posterns. Other authors say there are ten gates, but it is agreed, that there is no difficulty of entering *Spaubawn* at any hour of the day or night. Whoever has a mind to make himself perfectly master of the names of the streets, and even of the houses of this vast city, may satisfy his curiosity, and be very agreeably entertained by perusing *Chardin's* elegant description; which is at once pleasant and exact, and equally fitted to amuse and to instruct the reader. The compass of this note will not allow us so much as to abridge his curious description, we shall therefore content ourselves with mentioning only the principal things in *Spaubawn*, as they are described by that gentleman and *M. le Brun*. To begin then with the royal palace, which is three quarters of a league in circumference: It has six gates, the first called *Ali Kapie*, that is the gate of *Ali*. The second *Haram Kapesie*, or the gate of the *Serail*; the third *Moerbag Kapesie* the gate of the kitchen; the fourth *Gandag Kapesie*, or the garden gate, through which none passes but the king himself, and his kapaters or eunuchs who attend his women; the fifth *Ghajat-ganna Kapesie*, or the gate of the *taylors*, because those belonging to his majesty have apartments near it. The sixth *Ghanna Kapesie*, or the gate of the *secretary*. The grandees of the kingdom, when they go to pay their court, generally enter the palace by the two gates first mentioned. The *Mey-doen*, which is one of the principal ornaments of this great city: It is a grand market 710 paces long from east to west, and 210 broad from north to south. On the south side stands the royal palace, and on the north the *Nachroe-chone* a building wherein are placed the king's band of music. On one side of the *Mey-doen* stands the mosque called *Sjig-lotf-olla*, so called from one of their doctors, who is reputed a saint. It has a fine dome adorned with green and blue stones encrusted with gold, having on the top a pyramid, on which are placed three balls of the same metal. On the west side of the *Mey-doen* stands the royal mosque extremely magnificent. At some distance from thence appears the gate called *Ali Kapie*; and between these stand a range of fine buildings adorned with porticoes full of shops. The middle space is taken up in a great measure with tents, under which all sorts of goods are sold; but these are taken away in the evening to make

great note, and amongst these *Chiras*, *Benaron*, *Lar*, *Bender-abassi*, or *Gomibrooh*, and *Bender-congo*, are reckoned the chief (M).

Susiana,

make room for the guards, who with their great dogs attend there all night long. In this space the mountebanks erect stages, distribute their packets, and with their antick tricks divert the populace. In the middle stands a pillar, on the summit of which the prize is placed when tournaments are celebrated here; this prize consists generally in a cup of gold, or something of the same value, and none are suffered to contend for it but persons of very high quality. On the feast of *Nouroes*, or the beginning of the year, all the tents are taken away, and every thing is made clear for the more commodious celebration of the carousals which are then performed in the presence of the king, who is seated in a kind of gallery or theatre called *Talael*, very curiously adorned on the gate of *Ali*. Next to this noble market-place we ought to mention the principal street of *Spaubawon*, called *Cbiaer-baeg*, i. e. *four gardens*, one of the grandest ornaments of this city; the shops therein being wonderfully magnificent, and the disposition thereof in every respect convenient and pleasant. From thence runs the bridge of *Allawerdie Chan* over the river *Zenderwade*, 540 paces long, and 17 broad, built with large stones; it has three and thirty arches, some of which are founded on the sand, which is firm and stable; and through these, when it is high enough, the water flows. There are ninety three niches upon this bridge, some shut, some open, and the corners thereof are flanked with four towers. It has a wall or parapet of brick with openings at certain distances, which afford the finest prospect in the world. In the neighbourhood of this bridge are divers pleasure-houses belonging to the king, and gardens stored with fruit trees, and adorned with every thing else that can contribute to the making them worthy of their possessor. There are some other bridges, mosques, and public structures, which deserve to be particularised, if this note were not already too long: Let us conclude it then with observing that the citadel or fortress, called by the *Persians* *Tabarock*, is a very mean structure and in as mean a condition, its walls being in such a ruinous state, that though there are some cannon mounted upon them, yet they are never made use of, from an apprehension that the walls would fall if those pieces were discharged (59).

(M) This country is very frequently mentioned in antient authors, and therefore we are the better enabled to give an account of its former, as well as present state (60). Such parts of it as lie towards the north are hilly and barren, bearing neither fruit nor

(59) *Le Brun. tom. i. p. 198, &c. Chardin. tom. ii. c. 1. Careri, tom. ii. l. 1. c. 5, 6.* (60) *Strab. lib. xv. p. 501. Plin. lib. vi. c. xxvi. Herod. c. 125.*

Sufiana, bounded on the ^k north by *Affyria*, on the west *Sufiana*.
by *Chaldæa*, on the east by *Perfis*, on the south by the *Persian*
gulph

^k PROL. lib. vi. c. 5.

corn sufficient for the use of the inhabitants; some emeralds indeed there are found, but of no great value. On the coast of the *Persian* gulph the soil is as bad, though of a different nature, being hot and sandy, and producing few other trees than *Palms*; but between these there lies a rich and pleasant region abounding with corn, fruit, and cattle, and better watered, though but by small rivers, than most of the other regions within this wide empire. The entrance of this country is narrow and difficult, defended formerly against *Alexander* the Great by *Ariobarzanes*, a noble *Persian*, who gave a check to that conqueror's progress, and immortalized his name by this gallant performance in the service of his country. As to *Persepolis* the antient capital of this province, and of the old empire of the *Persians*, *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, that it was the richest city in the world at the time that it was subdued by *Alexander*; whose soldiers taking it by storm put all the men to the sword, rifled their houses, and carried off immense quantities of gold and silver, *Alexander* reserving to himself the treasures in the citadel, which had been amassing there from the time of *Cyrus*, the founder of the *Persian* empire. If this author's computation be right, he took thence a hundred and twenty thousand talents of gold; in fine, the spoil was so great, that the neighbouring countries were constrained to furnish mules and other beasts of burden, besides three thousand camels, to carry it off; for he had conceived such a dislike to the inhabitants of this city, that he was resolved to leave them nothing of value; and thus, as the same writer observes, *Persepolis*, once so famous for its magnificence, became no less remarkable for its calamity (61). Among the cities of note at this time the principal is *Schiras*, which, with the adjacent country, is thus described by a famous traveller, in his account of the road from *Spauharwn* to the *Indies*: "From thence (*i. e.* *Tebel minar*) to *Schiras* " is an hard day's journey, especially when the snow melts, for then " the road is like a sea. The city of *Schiras*, which many will " have to be the antient *Cyropolis*, the metropolis of the province of " *Persia*, lies in 78 deg. 15 min. long. and 29 deg. 36 min. latitude. It is seated in a plain, about four leagues in extent " from north to south and about five leagues from east to west. " Upon the south-east is a lake of salt water about four leagues " in compass. The soil about it is very good and fruitful, and is " famous for the best wines in *Persia*. The city itself has nothing " handsome in it, for it looks more like a ruined town than a city. " It has no walls but a bad ditch, and the houses are built of mud.

(61) *Diod. Sicul. lib. xvii. c. 68.*

gulph, believed by some to have been the land of *Havilah*, called now *Chufistan*, inhabited by the nations following, viz. the *Elymæi* and *Coffæi*. Its capital the famous city of *Susa*, the ¹ *Shushan* of the scriptures, and *Tariana*, called by *Am-mianus*

¹ DANIEL viii. 2. NEHEM. i. 1. ESTH i. 2.

“ dried in the sun, and whitened over with lime ; so that when
 “ they are well moistened with rain, they often fall down of them-
 “ selves, only the college which *Iman Kouli Kan* built, and some of
 “ the mosques, are of brick ; and the best of these mosques, which is
 “ called *Sha Sbiraque*, is kept in something better repair than ordinary
 “ out of a particular devotion ; but there is nothing worth taking
 “ notice of in it. On the north-east stands an high mountain, which
 “ is covered with several sorts of fruit trees, of which there are
 “ some orange, lemons, and cypresses, and at the foot of it a stone
 “ bridge, from whence there is a street which goes in a strait line
 “ quite through the city. This street is walled on both sides, and at
 “ certain spaces are several great gates which have neat little houses
 “ built upon them, from which is a pleasant prospect into the gar-
 “ dens planted with rows of cypresses. The streets of *Schiras* are
 “ somewhat narrow ; but there are some fair ones, having in the
 “ midst of them lovely canals, and basons of water very pleasant.
 “ There are a great many fair covered bazars with great shops
 “ well furnished with all sorts of *Indian* and *Turkish* commodities,
 “ and every commodity has its particular bazar. In the college
 “ there are professors who have salaries for teaching theology, phi-
 “ losophy, and medicine, and 'tis said it has sometimes 500 stu-
 “ dents in it. There are in this city three or four glass-houses,
 “ where they make great and small bottles to transport the sweet
 “ waters made in this city ; as also several other vessels to put their
 “ pickled fruits in, which they send in great quantities into *India*,
 “ *Sumatra*, *Batavia*, and other places. They make their glass of
 “ a white stone almost as hard as marble, which they fetch from an
 “ hill four days journey from *Schiras*, and 'tis as clear and delicate
 “ as any glass in the world. It is wonderful how they blow their
 “ great bottles called *Caraba*, which are a finger thick, and hold
 “ near 30 quarts of wine. They have no manufactures at *Schiras*
 “ but a few coarse painted cloths, and used only by the meaner
 “ sort. On the north-west side is the king's garden called *Bay sha*,
 “ which is indeed well planted with fruit trees, roses, and jasmins,
 “ but for want of order it looks like a wilderness. From this gar-
 “ den to the hills is a vineyard, belonging to several persons, two
 “ leagues long and one broad, which is watered with the river
 “ *Bendemir*, which is sometimes dry in summer, because it never
 “ rains there but in spring and autumn. The wines made here
 “ are the best in all *Persia*, but they make no great quantities of
 “ them.

mianus Tarfiana ^m. The modern towns of note are ⁿ *Ahawas*, *Scabar*, *Ram-hormus* (N).

THERE

^m Ap. CELLAR. Geog. antiq. lib. iii. c. 19. p. 684. ⁿ Tavern. Voy. ubi supra.

“ them, because they are dry and pickle good part of their grapes.
 “ 'Tis an excellent stomach wine, but very strong, so that, with-
 “ out spoiling the taste of it, it will carry two thirds of water.
 “ They sell their wine by weight, and not by measure, and put-
 “ ting it in chests send a great deal yearly to *Spauharwn* and the
 “ *Indies*. The people of *Schiras* are very witty, and most of the
 “ best poets in *Perfid* were born here. In an antient mosque here
 “ lies *Schëich Sadi*, one of the best of their poets, whom they ho-
 “ nour as a saint. The soil about this city is very good and produ-
 “ ces plenty of all things. They have all the fruits that we have,
 “ and oranges and lemons in abundance. They have vast quanti-
 “ ties of roses, from which they draw such great plenty of rose-
 “ water that they furnish all the *Indies* with it. They have a
 “ great deal of corn, but give much to their horses to be eaten in
 “ the blade, because they say that for want of water it would ne-
 “ ver come to maturity. There is a great deal of opium made at
 “ *Schiras*, for round about the town are large fields sown with
 “ white poppies; they have also store of capers which they send
 “ into all parts (62).

(N) *Sufiana*, as described by *Ptolemy*, includes the province stiled *Elymais* (63), which *Pliny* also observes to have lain within the bounds of this province, and to have been distinguished from it by the river *Eulæus* (64). It received its name from *Susa*, the capital thereof, once the royal seat of the *Persian* kings, who were wont to reside one part of the year here, and the other at *Ec-batana*. *Pliny* says, that it was founded by *Darius* the son of *Hys-taspes* (65); but this is not to be taken strictly, for certain it is, that the *Darius* he speaks of could only be its restorer, since *Strabo* positive-ly affirms, that it was built by *Tithonus* the father of *Memnon* (66); and *Herodotus* long before says, that *Susa* was called the city of *Mem-non* (67). 'Tis difficult to determine whether in pleasantness, magni-ficence, or strength this noble city excelled; seated it was as sacred and prophane authors agree, on the river *Ular* or *Eulæus*, called also the *Choaspes*, or rather on the confluence of these two rivers, for the *Eulæus* and the *Choaspes*, meeting at *Susa*, run together in one stream, and are afterwards stiled sometimes by one name, sometimes by the other. As to its beauty, *Diodorus* affirms, that *Alexander*, when he seized the palace here, took possession of the noblest man-

(62) *Tavern. in Harris's collection, Vol. II p. 344.* (63) *Cellar. Geog. Antiq. lib. iii. c. 19. 5. 2 p. 682.* (64) *Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 27.* (65) *ubi supr.* (66) *Geogr. lib. xv. p. 500.* (67) *Terpsich. c. 54.*

Curdistan **THERE** are two other provinces of the *Persian* empire, which need not be described here, because they have been treated of elsewhere already. These are ^o *Curdistan*, containing the antient *Assyria*, and ^p *Schirwan*, of old stiled *Media*. A famous modern traveller ^q tells us, that there are reckoned in the dominions of *Persia* upwards of five hundred considerable places, walled towns, and castles, about sixty thousand villages, and forty millions of souls.

Climate.

As to the air and climate of this country, considering the great extent thereof, it cannot be otherwise than varied, according to the situation of the several parts thereof, some being frozen with cold, and others burnt with heat at the same time of the year, which cannot be stiled wonderful, since it is natural, and occasioned by causes for which we can easily account. The air, where ever it is cold, is dry; but where it is extremely hot, it is sometimes moist: In order to give the reader a just notion of this, it will be necessary to observe, that all along the coast of the *Persian* gulph, from west to east, to the very mouth of the river *Indus*, the heat is for four months so excessive, that even those who are born in the country are unable to bear it, but are forced to quit their houses, and retire to the mountains; so that such as travel in these parts at that season, find none in the villages, but wretched poor creatures left there to watch the effects of the rich, at the expence of their own health. As the extreme heat of the air renders it insupportable, so it makes it also prodigiously unwholesome, strangers frequently falling sick there, and seldom escaping. The eastern provinces of *Persia*, from the river *Indus* to the borders of *Tartary*, are subject to great heats,

^o CLUVER *Geog.* l. v. c. 14. TAVERN. ubi supr. See before, p. 123. ^p CLUVER. ubi supr. TAVERN. ubi supr. See before, p. 355, & seq. ^q CHARDIN. *Voy.* tom. iii. p. 4.

tion in the universe. Here were preserved the records of the *Persian* empire; and here were laid up the treasures of the kingdom, that they might be made use of on any emergency, and not be squandered away at the will of the prince. *Alexander* took from hence nine thousand talents of coined gold, and forty thousand talents of gold and silver bullion (68) The modern name of this celebrated city differs not much from that by which it was formerly called. The city of *Sbussern* being by some travellers conceived to be built at least very near the place where of old stood *Susa* (69).

(68) *Diod. Sicul. lib.* xviii. c. 66.
i. l. iv. c. 1.

(69) *Tavern.* *Voyag.* tom.

but

but not quite so unwholesome as on the coasts of the *Indian* ocean and *Persian* gulph; but in the northern provinces, on the coast of the *Caspian* sea, the heat is full as great, and, though attended with moisture, as unwholesome as on the coast before-mentioned. From *October* to *May* there is no country in the world more pleasant than this; but the people carry in their faces indelible marks of the malign influence of their summers, looking all of them of a faint yellow, and having neither strength nor spirits, though about the end of *April* they abandon their houses, and retire to the mountains, which are five and twenty or thirty leagues from the sea. In a word, the unhealthiness of this place is so notorious, that when a person is sent to the government of *Ghilan*, it is generally looked on as a kind of disgrace, and the people at *Spauhawn* are apt to ask, whether he has robbed or murdered to deserve such a commission. But this moistness in the air is only in these parts; the rest of *Persia* enjoys a dry air, the sky being perfectly serene, and hardly so much as a cloud seen to fly therein. To say the truth, the purity of this element is the greatest blessing the inhabitants enjoy, deriving from thence a clear and florid complexion, together with an excellent habit of body. It rains seldom, but it does not follow that the heat admits of no mitigation; for in the night, though not a cloud be seen, the sky being so clear that the stars alone afford a light sufficient to travel by, yet there is a brisk wind which lasts till within an hour of morning, which gives such a coolness to the air, that a man may dispense with a tolerably warm garment. The seasons in general, and in the middle of this kingdom, happen thus; the winter, beginning in *November* and lasting till *March*, is very sharp and rude, attended with frost, and snow falling in great flakes on the mountains, but never descending on the plains. There are mountains three days journey to the west of *Spauhawn*, on which the snow lies for eight months of the year. It is said, that they find there white worms as big as one's little finger, which if crushed feel colder than the snow itself. From the month of *March* to that of *May*, there are brisk winds, from *May* to *September*, the air is serene and dry, refreshed by pleasant gales which blow in the night, at evening, and morning, and in *September* and *November* the winds blow as in spring. It is to be observed, that in summer the nights are about ten hours long, the twilight being very short, which joined to the coolness of the nights, renders the heat of the day so moderate, that this season is as supportable at *Spauhawn* as at *Paris*. The great dryness of its air exempts *Persia* from thunder and earthquakes. In the spring indeed there sometimes falls hail,
and

and as the harvest is then pretty far advanced, it does a great deal of mischief. The rainbow is seldom seen in this country, because there rise not there vapours sufficient to form it; but in the night there are seen rays of light shooting through the firmament, and followed, as it were, by a train of smoke. The winds, however brisk, seldom swell into storms or tempests; but on the other hand they are sometimes poisonous and infectious on the shore of the *Gulph*, as all travellers agree (O).

THERE

(O) As to the air and clime of *Persia*, we have chiefly followed the so often commended Sir *John Chardin*, but never without comparing what he says with what is said by other writers the most esteemed on the same subject. M. *Tavernier* and he both agree in reporting, that at *Spauhawn* it is usual to enquire whether a man has robbed or murdered who is sent to *Kilan* (70); which makes it the more strange, that intelligent persons, who have also been on the spot, should report directly the contrary, as has been remarked in a former note; yet after all some account may be given of this matter, nay, it is to be hoped, such a one as will satisfy even a critical reader. There are a few months in the year in which the account given by *Olearius* is still found strictly true; but, alas! the rest of the year the people are in a wretched condition, fly from their habitations, and scarce know where to seek for rest. It was in the best season of the year that the *Holstein* ambassadors and their retinue crossed this country, and thus, it seems, it came to pass, that they represented it as a paradise, not suspecting that at another season of the year it could be so intolerable a place as it really is. As to the insupportable heat at *Gombron*, all authors are agreed about it. M. *Tavernier* says, that people often find themselves struck by a south wind in such a manner, that they cry, *I burn*, and immediately fall down dead (71). M. *le Brun* says, that he was greatly incommoded therewith while he was there, and that the people assured him, that the weather was at some times so excessively sultry as to melt the seals of letters. At this time the people go in their shifts, and are continually sprinkled with cold water; nay, the interpreter, belonging to M. *le Brun* and his company, had a well in which he passed some part of the day. Among the inconveniencie consequent from this malign disposition of the air, one of the most terrible is the ingendering in the arms and legs a kind of long small worms which are not to be withdrawn without great danger of breaking them, upon which a mortification ensues. Our author last mentioned has therefore just reason to say, that a severer punishment could not be inflicted even on a heinous offender than the leaving him in such a place as this; and yet, as he observes,

(70) *Chardin tom. iii. p. 7. Tavern. tom. i. l. iv. c. 1 p. 414* (71) *Tavern. tom. i. l. v. c. 23. p. 764.*

THERE is perhaps no country in the world, which general-*Mountains.*
ly speaking, is more mountainous than *Persia*; but these
mountains are far from being advantageous, since many of
them yield neither springs nor metals, and but a few are shad-
ed with trees. It is true, that many of them are situated on
the frontiers, and serve as a kind of natural bastions or ram-
parts to this vast region, and it is very likely contribute in
other places to make the country wholesome, by sheltering
the vallies under them from excessive heat. On some of these
hills there is found a sort of mineral salt, which is sold very
cheap^r. As for particular mountains, we have already men-
tioned most of them, which deserve to be remembered, in our
description of the several provinces of *Persia*.

IN respect to rivers, it has been already observed, that, ex-*Rivers.*
cept the *Araxes*, there is not one navigable stream in all this
country. There are indeed in most of its provinces some lit-
tle rivers which run short courses, and would be more confi-
derable than they are, if through want of water the inhabi-
tants were not forced to divert their streams, by small chan-
nels, in order to fructify their grounds. An eminent travel-
ler informs us, that this was practised antiently much more
than of late years, and that from hence in a great measure
arises the mighty difference between the productions of antient
and modern *Persia*. He affirms, that a *Persian* of great qua-
lity, and who was perfectly acquainted with this matter, in-
formed him, that, within the space of 24 years, no less than
fourscore channels had been choaked up and lost in the terri-
tory of *Tauris*^c. As to seas, the northern provinces of the
Persian empire lie on the *Caspian* lake or sea, of which an
ample description has been already given. On the south the
Persian shore is washed by the *Indian* ocean, and by the wa-
ters of the *Persian* gulph or gulph of *Balsora*, flowing out of
the *Indian* ocean near the isle of *Ormuz*, from the south-east
to the north-west, having *Persia* on the east, and *Arabia* on
the west, it runs as high as the antient *Chaldaea*, where it re-
ceives the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris* united in one stream, and
very few rivers of note besides. It may not be amiss to take

^r TAVERN. Voy. tom. i. l. iv. c. 1. p. 416.
Voyag. ubi sup.

^c TAVERN.

there are many people of worth and good sense, who for the sake
of acquiring large fortunes in a short time, hazard themselves here,
and rarely live to enjoy riches when they have got them (72).

(72) *Le Brun. Voyag. tom. ii. p. 381.*

notice here, that the gulph is sometimes stiled the *red sea*, as well as the gulph of *Aden* (P)

AFTER

(P) As we have remarked, that there is not above one navigable river in *Persia*, the reader need not be surpris'd that we say so little of the several streams which water that country ; one of them we shall have occasion to speak of under the head of natural rarities, but the river *Araxes* deserves to be further considered on account of the mistakes which some writers have been guilty of in relation thereto, occasioned chiefly by the giving this name to two different rivers ; *Olearius* gives us a very distinct account of this matter, which we shall therefore recite in his own words. “ The 17th we cross'd
“ the famous river of *Aras* (*Araxes*) by the means of a bridge of
“ boats near *Tzanat*. *Q. Curtius*, speaking of this river, in two
“ different passages, and in a different sense, has not a little puzzled
“ the antient historians and geographers, who indeed for the most
“ part put it in the same province, but can't agree in the description
“ of its course ; for *Q. Curtius* in his fifth book puts it in *Persis*,
“ and says its course is to the south, whereas in his seventh book
“ he makes it pass through *Media*, and to disembogue in the *Caspian*
“ sea. *Strabo* is no less dubious, and *Raderus*, endeavouring to
“ dissolve this knot, by asserting that the river *Alodus*, before it is
“ joined with the *Araxes*, has its course to the south, and after-
“ wards exonerates itself into the *Caspian* sea, is fallen into a gross
“ mistake ; for how is it to be conceived, that the river should
“ make its way through the vast mountain *Taurus*, which is so
“ many leagues in breadth, and divides not only all *Persia* but even
“ *Asia* itself, and so continue its current from *Persepolis* to the *Cas-*
“ *pian* sea ? The foundation of the whole mistake lay here, that
“ there are two rivers which bear the name of *Araxes* in *Persia*,
“ one in *Media*, the other in *Persis* ; to the last, which washes the
“ walls of *Persepolis*, (now called *Schiras*) *Q. Curtius* has left the
“ right name of *Araxes*, but has taken the liberty to impose the
“ name of *Tanais* upon the *Jaxartes*, which passes through *Scythia*,
“ as he has given the name of *Caucasus* to the eastern branch of
“ the mountain *Taurus*, but with what reason I am not able to de-
“ termine. That which passes through *Persis* is by the *Persians*
“ called *Bend Emer*, from a signal miracle there performed by *Ali*,
“ and disembogues in the ocean in the *Persian* gulph ; that which
“ we speak of now keeps its antient name, and rises out of the
“ mountains of *Armenia* behind the great *Ararat*, and being joi-
“ ned by many other rivers, the chiefest whereof are *Karasu*,
“ *Senki*, *Kerni*, and *Arpi*, it turns its chanel near *Karasu* deep
“ into the country, and afterwards near *Ordabath* falls with a great
“ noise, which is heard two leagues thence, in the plain of *Mokan*.
“ Its course there is very slow, and after having received into its
“ chanel about twelve leagues above *Tzanat* the river *Cur* or *Cy-*
“ *rus* (as large a river as itself, coming northward out of *Georgia*)
“ it exonerates itself into the *Caspian* sea. This sufficiently refutes

AFTER this account of mountains and rivers, and after Soil. affirming that there are many of the former, and but a very few to be met with of the latter, the reader will easily comprehend, that the soil cannot be generally rich or fruitful, but on the contrary sandy and barren; however, here and there, there are vallies fruitful and pleasant enough. The earth in some places is sandy and stony, in others heavy and hard, but

“ *Ptolemy* and those who follow his footsteps, who make the *Araxes*
 “ and the *Cyrus* fall by two different channels into the *Caspian* sea.
 “ Thus they would have *Cyropolis* called *Scamachie*, which *Maginus*
 “ would infer from the degrees of latitude given by *Ptolemy*: But
 “ according to that supposition these two rivers must not be placed
 “ above, but below the city towards the south, it being certain,
 “ that when we travelled in those parts, we found the conflux of
 “ those two rivers at 39 deg. 54 min. and the city of *Scamachie* at
 “ 40 deg. 50 min. which is 13 leagues thence and under another
 “ meridian. Neither is there any other river within 19 days jour-
 “ ney of *Scamachie* on either side, which bears the least compar-
 “ son in bigness or otherwise to this river (73)”. We should not
 have introduced so long a quotation, if it had not been a matter of
 consequence, as will appear in the subsequent history, where this
 account will serve to rectify some points, which have hitherto con-
 founded even the best authors. It is but just to add, that *M. Le*
Brun in his travels confirms precisely what this author has said (74).
 As to the *Persian* gulph, it is not to be questioned, but that the
 antients stiled it, as well as the gulph of *Arabia*, the *Red sea*;
 what renders it most remarkable now is its pearl-fishery, of which
 no doubt the reader will expect some account. They fish for them
 in many places of the gulph, but especially about the islands of
Babarix. This fishery produces a prodigious quantity of pearl, *Sir*
John Chardin says, more than a million in a year; the largest weigh
 generally from ten to twelve grains, and if by chance any are ta-
 ken of greater weight, the fishers are directed under great penalties
 to bring them to the king’s exchequer, which it is, however, belie-
 ved they do not always do (75). This fishing is performed by di-
 vers, who, being carried down to the bottom of the sea in five fa-
 thom water, by the weight of a stone fixed to their toes, pick up
 there all the shells they can see as fast as they can, and put them
 into a basket they carry down with them on purpose, and then rise up
 again to take breath, and refresh themselves with a pipe of tobacco;
 those who are in the boat pull up the baskets, the divers work
 but from one to eleven, and from eight to three. They fish for
 pearls from the end of *June* to the end of *September*; besides the
 pearl-oysters, they catch others in this sea excellent for eating (76).

(73) *Ambassadors of Holstein’s Travels in Harris’s Collect.* II. p. 104.

(74) *Voyag.* tom. ii. p. 158. (75) *Chardin*, tom. iii. p. 31. (76)
Tavern. in *Harris’s Collect.* v. ii. p. 314.

every where so dry that if it be not watered it produces nothing, no not so much as grass. Rain is not wholly wanting here, but it rains, however very seldom, and not enough to keep even the best lands in a condition of bearing corn or fruits without farther help ; and even in the winter the beams of the sun are so brisk and so drying, that the rain has not much effect. But wherever the soil is sufficiently moistened, either by natural or artificial means, it bears wonderfully well. If it should be asked, how this description suits with what we find recorded, in antient authors, of the luxury and profuseness of the *Persians*, such a demand is capable of various answers ; for first, *Persia* is not now near so much peopled as it was heretofore, and consequently there cannot be so great a number of labourers, which must induce barrenness in a country, where the soil produces nothing without cultivation. Again, it may be said, that the alteration of government, and of religion, has in a great measure produced this difference, the antient kings of *Persia* were mild and beneficent to their subjects, whereas the *Mohammedan* princes have been always proud, overbearing, and cruel. According to the opinion of the *Persees* or *Gaurs*, it was meritorious to render barren fields fertile, whereas the *Persians*, like other *Mohammedans*, are satisfied with what good things they find, and will not give themselves the trouble to labour for posterity. They look upon life as a great road, wherein men ought to content themselves with such things as fall into their way, and, in consequence of such notions, there is no great wonder, that sterility has ensued, and that modern travellers do not speak in the same language with *Quintus Curtius*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and other such like authors. Sir *John Chardin*,^c therefore delivers it as his opinion, that if the *Turks* were to inhabit this country, it would grow still poorer than it is, whereas if the *Armenians* or the *Persees* were to become masters thereof, it would from their industry quickly recover its antient splendor. It must not, however, be imagined, that there subsists not at this day the same variety in point of fruitfulness among the provinces of this extensive country as heretofore. *Media*, *Iberia*, *Hyrkania*, and *Bactria*, are still in a great measure what they were, and surpass most of the other provinces in their Productions ; as along the coasts of the *Persian* gulph the soil is still more barren, cattle less plenty, and every thing in a worse condition than any where else. Before we part with this subject, we think proper to remark, that the *Persians* are so sensible of the snow's fertilizing their land,

^c Voyage tom. iii. p. 11.

that they examine very curiously how high it rises every year, there being a stone on the top of a mountain four leagues from *Spauhawn*, between two and three foot high, over which when once the snow rises, the *Peasant*, who first brings the news to court, receives a considerable reward for his pains^u. But it is now time for us to speak more particularly of the productions of the earth.

AMONG the trees, the most common in *Persia*, we may *Tree.* reckon the plantane, the willow, the fir, and cornil, called by the *Arabs Seder*, and by the *Persians Conar*, from whence, probably, came the Latin *Cornus*, and thence our cornil. It is a received opinion in this country, that the plantane has a singular virtue against the plague, and all other infectious diseases, and they positively assert that there has been no contagion at *Spauhawn*, since the planting vast numbers of these trees in its streets and gardens. The tree which bears *Gall nuts* grows in several parts of *Persia*, but particularly in *Kourestan*. The trees which produce *Gums*, *Mastic*, and *Incense*, are found very commonly in most parts of *Persia*; that, however, which bears *Incense* is particularly found in *Carmania the desert*, resembling in form a large *Pear Tree*; *Turpentine Trees*, and *Almond Trees*, with the wild *Chestnut*, are common. The tree which bears *Manna* is also frequent, but there are several sorts of *Manna* in *Persia*; the best is of a yellowish colour and of a large grain, it comes from *Nichapour*, which is a part of *Bactria*. There is another sort called the *Manna of Tamarisk*, because it is gathered from that tree; all the different sorts of *Manna* are used to the same end in medicine, and are therefore gathered with like care, being esteemed a valuable commodity, as well as one easily disposed of. The herbs in *Persia*, espe- *Herbs and* cially such as are aromatic, exceed those of other countries; *drugs.* roots, legumes and salleting are larger, fairer, and better tasted than elsewhere, and are eaten raw without danger of their creating any crudities in the stomach. Most of our *European* roots and legumes flourish here in great perfection, and they would certainly be more cultivated than they are, if, as in *Europe*, men were by religion restrained from eating flesh. As to drugs, *Persia* produces as many as any country in *Asia*; for, besides *Manna*, *Cassia*, *Sena*, the *Nux Vomica*, common in most provinces, gum *ammoniac*, called by the *Persians Ouscioc*, is found in abundance on the confines of *Parthia* towards the south. *Rhubarb* grows commonly in *Corassan* or the antient *Sogdiana*, but it is not so good as that

^u TAVERN. voyage. tom. i. l. iv. c. i. p. 414.

which is brought from the country of the *Tartars*, between the *Caspian* sea and *China*, and for this reason they endeavour to confound both under the name of *Rivend-tchini*, i. e. *rhubarb* of *China*; in *Corassan* they eat it commonly as we do beet-roots. The poppy of *Persia* is esteemed the finest in the world, not only in respect to its beauty, but because its juice is by far stronger than the juice of the same plant elsewhere. The *Persians* call this juice *Afioun*, from whence our word *opium*; the best is made in the territory of *Lingan* six miles from *Spaubawn*, though others prefer the *Afioun* of *Cazeron*, which is towards the *Persian* gulph, as being less apt to ingender crudities in the stomach. Tobacco grows all over *Persia*, especially about *Hammadan*, which is the antient *Susa*, and in *Coureston* near the *Persian* gulph, which is esteemed the finest; the *Persians* themselves, however, who are great smokers, prefer what they call *Tambacou Inglese*, or *English* tobacco, to their own; but Sir *John Chardin* says, that this tobacco, which was no other than brazil, being kept at too high a price, the demand for it is now quite lost. Saffron is cultivated in many provinces, and especially about the *Caspian* sea and in the neighbourhood of *Hammadan*, and is much esteemed. The plant called by the *Persians* *Hiltet*, and supposed to be the *lazerpithium* or *silphium* of *Dioscorides*, from whence drops the *Assa-fœtida*, is common every where, but abounds most in *Sogdiana*: there are two sorts of it, the white and the black, the white is the least esteemed, because less strong than the black; this juice or gum is all over the east called *King*, and the *Indians* consume vast quantities of it, mixing it in all their ragouts and sauces; it has by far the strongest odour of any thing hitherto discovered, since places where it has been kept will retain its scent for whole years, and the vessels in which it is transported to *India* are so thoroughly impregnated therewith, that no other goods can be put on board them without acquiring its scent, however carefully packed up. Mummy of both sorts is a great *Persian* commodity, the first is taken from embalmed bodies, or such as are dried in the sands, the other is a precious gum which distils out of a rock; there are two mines or sources of it in *Persia*, the one in *Carmania the desert* in the country of *Sar*, which is the best; for it is certain that there is no bruise, cut, or wound, which a drachm of this precious gum will not cure in twenty four hours. The other mine is in *Corassan*, the rocks from whence it distils belong to the king, and all that issues from thence is for his use, they are inclosed with walls, the gates of which are secured by the seals of the five principal officers

officers in the province; once a year each mine is opened in their presence, and all the mummy that is then found, or at least the greatest part of it, is sent to the king's treasure. It derives its name from the *Persian* word *Moum*, which signifies literally *an unguent*; the *Hebrews* and the *Arabs* make use of the same term: the *Persians* say, that the prophet *Daniel* taught them the use and preparation of mummy. Cotton is very common over all *Persia*, but there is a tree which somewhat resembles it, but is by far more rare, which produces a sort of silk very fine and soft, and of which many uses are made. Galbanum is likewise common in this country, together with the vegetable alkali, and many other drugs which do not deserve to be mentioned here *.

IN speaking of the fruits of *Persia*, melons certainly claim *Fruits.* the first place, they have above twenty sorts of them here, the first are called *Guermec*, i. e. *forced by heat*; they are round and small, a spring fruit, insipid in the mouth, and consequently no way pleasant, the people, however, fancy them prodigiously wholesome, and on their first coming in eat, for a fortnight or three weeks together, twelve or thirteen pound weight each day; nay an author of good credit and a physician says, that some eat thirty pounds of them at a meal without feeling any inconvenience therefrom. For four months in the year, in which melons are common, the common people eat hardly any thing else, and Sir *John Chardin* says that they eat more of them in *Spauhawn* in a day than throughout all *France* in a month; the best grow about a little borough called *Craguerde* on the borders of *Tartary*, from whence, though it be thirty days journey, they are brought to *Spauhawn* for the use of the king. The people in general are so fond of melons, that they take great pains to preserve them in certain repositories during the last months of the year, and even till the *guermec* are again in season. After the melon the raisin deserves our notice, of which there are twelve or fourteen sorts in *Persia*, the most esteemed are the violet, the red, and the black, they are so large that one of them is a good mouthful; they preserve grapes all the winter in *Persia*, putting them up in paper bags on the vines, in order to preserve them from the birds. In *Courdestan*, and about *Sultania* where they have abundance of violets, they mingle their leaves with the dry raisins, which at once give them a fine taste, and render them the more wholesome; the best grapes in the neighbourhood of *Spau-*

* TAVERN. voyag. tom. i. liv. c. 2. p. 418. CHARDIN. tom. iii p. 12. CARRERI. tom. ii. p. 209.

hawn are found on the vines belonging to the *Gaurs* or antient *Persians*, for they, being permitted by their religion to drink wine, take the more pains in cultivating these trees, which for the same reason are neglected by the *Mohammedan Persians*. The dates of *Persia* are without comparison the richest in the world, their syrup being sweeter and more pleasant than virgin honey, the best grow in *Coureston*, *Sistan*, about *Persepolis*, and the shore of the *Persian* gulph, and particularly at *Jaron*, a town in the road between *Schiras* and *Lar*; strangers, however, ought to eat very moderately of this fruit, otherwise it is apt to overheat the blood, sometimes to such a degree as to create ulcers, but the inhabitants never feel any such inconvenience. Dates grow in clusters on the palm-tree, which is the highest of all fruit-bearing trees, and has no branches but at the very top; it produces fruit at fifteen years growth, and continues bearing till it is two hundred years old. All our *European* fruits grow in great perfection here; their apricots are excellent and of several sorts, nectarines and peaches weigh sometimes sixteen or eighteen ounces each, they break easily, and what is very extraordinary, the stone opens at the same time the peach is broke, and discovers a kernel extremely white, and of a taste the most delicious that can be imagined. The *Persian* pomegranates grow of several colours and in the highest perfection, some of them weighing a full pound; to sum up all, it may not be amiss to mention the particular places where the several kinds of fruit are held most excellent; apples and pears grow to the highest perfection in *Iberia*, dates in *Carmania*, pomegranates about *Schiras*, oranges in *Hyrkania*, and all sorts of things in *Bactria*, which produces finer and fairer fruit than any other country in the world; but it is particularly renowned for its onions, at once prodigiously large, and sweet as apples; pistaches, almonds, hazels, filberds, and figs abound, and Sir *John Chardin* tells us, that, at an entertainment near *Spauhawn*, he saw fifty several kinds of fruit provided for one desert w.

Grain.

THE grain most common in *Persia* is wheat, which is wonderfully fair and clean, as for barley, rice, and millet, they make bread of them in some places, as in *Courdestan*, when their wheat bread is exhausted before the return of harvest. They do not cultivate in this country either oats or rye, except where the *Armenians* are settled, who make great use of the latter in *Lent*. Rice is the universal aliment of all sorts of people in *Persia*; for this reason they are extremely

^w CHARDIN. tom. iii. p. 23, TAVERN. ubi supr. CARRER, ubi supr.

careful in its cultivation; for after they have sown it in the same manner with other grain, they in three months time transplant it root by root into fields which are well watered, otherwise it would never attain that perfection in which we find it there, since it is softer, sooner boiled, and more delicious to the taste, than the same grain in any other part of the world: it may be its taste is in some measure heightened by a practice they make use of to give it a glossy whiteness, *viz.* by cleansing it after its being beaten out of the husks with a mixture of flour and salt *.

THERE are in *Persia* all the sorts of flowers which are to be found in *Europe*, but they are not equally common in all the provinces of this empire; for there are fewer sorts of them, and fewer of each sort in the southern provinces than in the rest, excessive heat being more destructive to them than frost, which is the reason that in *India* they have fewer than in *Persia*; and that those in *Persia* have more vivid and delightful colours than those either in *India* or in *Europe*. *Hyrkania* in this respect excels the rest of *Persia*, as much as *Persia* does other countries; there are there whole forests of oranges, the jessamin single and double; and there all the flowers we have in *Europe*, with many we have not, are profusely scattered by nature. The most eastern part of this country, which is called *Mazenderan*, is a perfect parterre; from *September* to the end of *April* the whole country is covered with flowers as with a carpet, and the fruits are then in their best season, the excessive heat and the malignity of the air destroying them in succeeding months. Towards *Media*, and on the northern frontiers of *Arabia*, the fields are adorned with tulips, anemonies, and ranunculusses, of the brightest red, all springing of themselves; in other places, as in the neighbourhood of *Spauhawn* jonquils grow wild, and subsist all the winter. To recite all that is said on this subject, by such as have travelled through *Persia*, would not be agreeable to the design of this work; let us content ourselves therefore with adding, that roses of uncommon beauty are frequent here, the bushes bearing often three different coloured roses on one branch, *viz.* yellow, yellow and black, and red. *Pietro della Valle*, who reports that the *Persians* are wont to make use of art in dying their roots, in order to give different colours to their flowers, is in this circumstance contradicted by Sir *John Chardin*, who affirms on the contrary, that their gardeners have little or no skill, and that the nobility of *Persia* are so far from being curious in such things, that they take

* CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 101.

no pleasure in walking in their gardens, however beautifully and richly adorned, but content themselves with singling out some spot or other on their first coming in, where they sit down, and smok, and drink coffee, as long as they remain there † (Q).

*Metals or
minerals.*

METALS of all sorts are frequently found in *Persia*, especially of late years; and since the reign of *Abas the Great*, who was at immense pains to search them out, and to make the best use of mines where ever they were discovered, iron, copper, and lead are common, but of gold and silver, there are no mines open at present. As *Persia* is a very mountainous country, and as those mountains produce sulphur and salt-petre, if the inhabitants of this country were as active and inquisitive as amongst us, there is no doubt to be made, but that gold and silver both might be found in some part or other of the *Persian* dominions. In the country of *Guendamon*, near a town called *Kervan*, four leagues from *Spauhawn*, there is a silver mine, which has been formerly wrought, but through the scarcity of wood its produce has never equalled its expence; and it is therefore become a proverb in *Persia* to signify an unlucky undertaking, *that it is like the mine of Kervan, where they lay out ten to receive nine*. There were also silver mines in *Kirman* and *Mazenderan*, but they are now abandoned for the same reason. Mines of iron are found in *Hyrkania*, in the northern *Media*, in *Parthia*, and in *Bactria*, but it is not so pliable as some *European* iron. The mines of steel are the most valuable of any in this coun-

† CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 26. TAVERN, tom. i. l. iv. c. 2. p. 420. CARRERI, tom. ii. p. 3. LE BRUN, tom. i. p. 227.

(Q) Though there is scarce a province in *Persia* which does not produce wine, yet the wine of some provinces is much more esteemed than the wine of others; but *Schiras* wine is universally allowed to be the very best in *Persia*, insomuch, that it is a common proverb there, that to live happily one must eat the bread of *Yezd*, and drink the wine of *Schiras*. They do not make use in this country of wooden vessels, as we do, for keeping their wine, but preserve it in earthen vessels, which they take care to have well glazed, otherwise they would imbibe a great quantity of the wine. These pots are set in very handsome order in their caves or cellars, these too being as much adorned as such places will admit of, and have always a reservoir of water in the middle of them, that upon occasion people may be entertained there, and drink wine out of the reach of the sun (77).

(77) Tavern. tom. i. liv. iv. c. 2. p. 420.

try, and produce in such abundance, that Sir *John Chardin* tells us, it is not worth above sixpence a pound; this steel is so full of sulphur, that if you take of the filings thereof and cast them into the fire, they make a report as loud as gunpowder; it is so fine and close, that it is as hard as a diamond, but on the other hand it is as brittle as glass; and as the *Persian* artizans know not how to correct this, they are able to make no very valuable instruments thereof. It is to be observed, that this steel is quite a different metal from iron, which appears from hence, that by giving it too fierce a fire it may be burnt and destroyed; the *Persians* call both this and the steel of the *Indies*, *steel of Damascus*, in order to distinguish it from *European* steel. Copper is found in greatest quantity at *Sary* in the mountains of *Mazenderan*; there are also mines of it in *Bactriana*, and towards *Casbin*; it is, however, poor and not fit for use, till mingled with either *Swedish* copper or copper of *Japan*; the lead mines are towards *Kirman* and *Yezde*. Minerals are also found in *Persia* in vast abundance, sulphur and salt-petre are taken out of the mountain of *Damavend*, which separates *Hyrkania* from *Parthia*. Salt is made here by nature without the least assistance of art, as are also sulphur and allom; there are two sorts of salt in *Persia*, that found on the earth and rock salt; nothing is more common than to meet in this country with plains, sometimes ten leagues in length, covered intirely with salt, and others covered in like manner with sulphur or allom; in *Media* and at *Spauhawn* the salt is dug out of mines, and is as hard and firm as free-stone, nay in *Carmania* the desert the people actually use it as such in building their houses. Marble, free-stone, and slate, are found in great plenty about *Hamadan*; the marble is of four colours, white, black, red, and black and white; the best is found about *Tauris*, it is transparent as crystal, its colour is white mingled with a pale green, but it is so soft that some have questioned whether it be really a stone or not; in the neighbourhood of the same city they find azure, but it is not so good as that of *Tartary*. In *Hyrkania*, and especially in *Mazenderan*, the *Petroleum* or *Naphthe* is met with, of two sorts, black and white, but the richest mine in *Persia* is the *Turquoise*; there are two sorts of this precious stone, one at *Nichapour* in *Corassan*, and the other in *Phirous-Cou*, or mount *Phirous*, between *Hyrkania* and *Parthia*, four leagues journey from the *Caspian* sea; this mountain derives its name from an antient king of *Persia*, who subdued this country, and in whose time the mine was found; nay, the very stones carry his name also, for though

we call them *Turquoises*, because they come from the true and proper *Turkey*, yet throughout the east they are stiled *Firouse*. They have of late years discovered another mine of the same sort of stones, but they are by no means so valuable, but are distinguished amongst us by the name of *Turquoises* of the new rock, to difference them from those taken out of the antient mines, which belong entirely to the king, who, after selecting the most beautiful, sells the rest to merchants; the reason why these late discovered turquoises are less valued than those of the old mines is, because they are less beautiful in their colour, and what colour they have is not thoroughly fixed, but grows paler by degrees, and at last wears almost quite out^a.

*Beasts
tame and
wild.*

THE horses of *Persia* are the most beautiful in the east, though they are not so much esteemed as those of *Arabia*; they are higher than our saddle horses, and their limbs as well proportioned as can be imagined; though there are great numbers of them, yet considering how much they are used, and the great demand made for them by the subjects of the mogul on one side, and of the grand seignior on the other, they are held at a very great price, a fine horse being sometimes valued at a thousand crowns. Next to horses we may reckon mules, which are much esteemed here, and are very fine, and next to these we may justly place asses, of which they have in this country two sorts, the first bred in *Persia*, heavy and doltish as asses in other countries are, the other originally of an *Arabian* breed, the most docile and useful creature of its kind in the world; these are used wholly for the saddle, and are very frequently adorned with fine accoutrements, because of their easy manner of going, and their being very sure-footed. The clergy, that have not great benefices, affect to ride much on these *Arabian* asses; and on this account these animals also are kept at a high rate, a good ass being worth at *Spauhawn* twenty five pistoles. Camels are numerous in *Persia*, and so much in esteem that they are called *Kechty-krouch-konion*, i. e. *the ships of the earth*, because the inland trade is carried on by the help of these camels as the foreign by ships: To describe this animal particularly here would be improper, since they are rather more employed by the *Arabians* than by the *Persians*; let us content ourselves therefore with observing, that the *Persians* make use of three sorts, a smaller, a larger, and a swifter kind of camel, than

^a CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 28. TAVERN. tom. i. l. iv. c. 2. p. 221: CARRER, tom. ii. p. 212.

are common elsewhere. The largest camels will travel with a load of twelve or thirteen hundred weight, the swifter kind of camel is called *Revatric*, i. e. *the gaer*, because they trot as fast as a horse can gallop. It is worthy of notice, that these creatures are managed entirely by the voice, those who direct them making use of a kind of song, and according as they keep a quicker or slower time the camel moves brisker, or at its ordinary pace. As beef is little eat in *Persia*, their oxen are generally imployed in ploughing and other sorts of labour. Hogs are no where bred in *Persia*, if we except a province or two on the borders of the *Caspian* sea; sheep and deer are very common throughout all *Persia*, and as to the former, Sir *John Chardin* assures us, that he has seen flocks of them which covered four or five leagues of pasturage. As to beasts of chace they are not so common here as in most of the countries of *Europe*, because it is, generally speaking, devoid of wood; but in *Hyrkania* where there are woods, deer of all sorts, and gazells are found in great abundance; the gazell is a creature common throughout the east, and so many of them have been brought into *Europe* that they need not any description. As to wild beasts, there are not a great number of them in this country, for the same reason which has been before assigned with respect to beasts of chace, except in *Hyrkania*, where in the woods there are great numbers of lions, bears, tygers, leopards, &c. so that the antients spoke very truly of *Hyrkania*, when they called it the country of wild beasts. One thing, however, is to be remarked, that neither here nor throughout all *Persia* are there any wolves; but the chakal or jackal, a creature which makes a terrible noise, and which many good writers take for the *Hyæna*, is common every where, and has this peculiar quality, that it tears up dead bodies, if the graves are not carefully watched; as to insects, the dryness of the air prevents our having much to say about them; there are, however, in some provinces prodigious numbers of locusts or grass-hoppers, which come in such clouds as to obscure the air. In certain parts of the *Persian* dominions they have large black scorpions, so venemous, that such as are stung by them die in a few hours; in others they have lizards frightfully ugly, which are an ell long, and as thick as a large toad, their skins being as hard and tough as that of the sea-dog; they are said to attack and kill men sometimes, but that may be doubted. Among the reptiles of this country there is a long worm called by the inhabitants *Hazarpey*, i. e. *thousand feet*, its whole body is stuck with small feet, with which it runs prodigiously fast; it is longer and

smaller than a caterpillar, and its bite is dangerous, and even mortal, if it gets into the ear ^a.

Birds.

THERE are in *Persia* all the several sorts of fowl which we have in *Europe*, but not in such quantities, because they are chiefly bred and taken care of by the *Armenians*, who have frequently capons fatted to such a degree, that they are killed for nothing but their grease. There are, however, vast numbers of pigeons, wild and tame; and as the dung of pigeons is the best manure for melons, they keep great flocks all over the kingdom, so that it may be on just grounds presumed, that no country in the world has such a number of pigeon-houses; they are most of them six times as large as any we have in *Europe*, they are built of brick and plaistered on the outside, every thing being disposed in the most convenient manner possible for the preservation of these creatures. In the neighbourhood of *Spauhawn* they reckon more than three thousand of these pigeon-houses, chiefly erected for the preservation of the dung, which is sold for about three pence the dozen pound. The *Persians* call this manure *Tchalgoas*, i. e. *enlivening*; it is a great diversion among the lower sort of people in town and country to catch pigeons, though it be forbidden; for this purpose they have pigeons so taught, that flying in one flock, they surround such wild ones as they find in a field and bring them back with them to their masters. People who follow this trade are called *keftor-perron*, or *pigeon-stealers*, and there are some so addicted to it, that they will lie out whole days in the very depth of winter, in order to carry on this foolish and wicked employment; for, under the notion of wild pigeons, they take every body's pigeons they can find. The partridge of this country are the largest and finest in the world, being generally of the size of our fowls; as to water-fowl, they have geese, ducks, cranes, herons, and many other sorts, but they are more plenty in the northern than the southern provinces; the singing-birds here are of the same kinds we have in *Europe*; the nightingale is heard here all the year, but chiefly in the spring; they have also martlets, which learn whatever words are taught them, and another bird of the same size, called by them *Noura*, which chatters continually, and repeats very pleasantly whatever it hears. As to birds of a larger size, the most considerable is the *Pelican*, called by the *Persians* *Tacab*, i. e. *water-carrier*, and also *Misc*. i. e. *sheep*, because it is as large as one of these animals; its feathers are white and soft like those of a goose,

^a CERARDIN, tom. iii. p. 32. TAVERN. tom. i l. iv. c. 3. p. 423. CARRERI, tom. ii. p. 215.

its head is much larger in proportion than its body, and its beak from eighteen to twenty inches long, and as thick as ones arm, under this beak it has a sack or pouch, in which it preserves a quantity of water for moistening its food ; it usually rests this long beak on its back, which would otherwise incommode it very much. The *Pelican* lives chiefly upon fish, in taking of which it shews an admirable contrivance, by placing its beak in such a manner under the water, as to catch them as it were in a net ; when it opens its throat, the passage is large enough for a lamb ; it is called *the water-carrier*, because in *Arabia* and other places where water is hard to be had, it makes its nest at a great distance from streams or wells, foreseeing that there will be less danger of disturbance in such places, though this situation obliges the bird to fly sometimes two days journey for a supply of water for her young, which she brings in the sack before-mentioned ; and hence the fable of the antients of the pelican's tearing her breast open to feed her young. There are in *Persia* various birds of prey, and in the mountains, about fifteen or twenty leagues from *Schiras*, there are some of the largest and finest in the world. The people take great pains in teaching them to fly at game, and the king has generally eight hundred of these birds, each of which has a person to attend it. The *Persian* lords are likewise great lovers of falconry, and even the common people practise it much ; for neither this, nor shooting, nor hunting with dogs, is forbid to the meanest man in *Persia* ^b.

WE shall divide the fishes of *Persia* into fresh and salt water *Fish*. fish ; as to the first, they are not very plenty, because there are no great rivers in *Persia* ; however, there are of these three kinds, those of the lakes, of the rivers, and of the *Kerises* or subterraneous passages ; those in the lakes are carps and shads ; the river-fish is chiefly barbel, which is also the sort of fish commonly met with in the subterraneous channels ; they are very large, but they are by no means good, and their eggs are particularly dangerous, which is generally attributed to their never beholding the light of the sun, but living altogether in these foul and cold streams. There are in the river at *Spanhawon* a great number of crabs which crawl up the trees, and live night and day under the leaves, whence they are taken, and are esteemed a very delicious food. As to sea-fish, no country is better served ; the *Caspian* sea, as we have seen before, contains very fine fish on one side, and

^b CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 38. TAVERN. tom. i. l. iv. c. 3. p. 225. CARRERI, tom. ii. p. 214.

the *Persian* gulph on the other is believed to have more fish in it than any other sea in the world ; they fish there twice a day, morning and evening, and such fish as are not sold by ten o'clock in the morning, or before sun-set, are thrown back into the sea. There are taken on the coasts of this gulph a sort of fish, for which they have no particular name, its flesh is of a red colour, very delicious, and some of them weigh two or three hundred pounds ; its flesh will take salt like beef, but it cannot be kept long, because the salt in this country is very corrosive ; for which reason, whenever they intend to keep either fish or flesh, the inhabitants content themselves either with drying it in the air, or by the help of smoke^c.

Natural
rarities.

As we have now examined the productions of the air, earth, and waters of *Persia*, we are next to speak of the natural rarities which are to be found in this large empire. Of these the first we are to take notice of is a certain poisonous shrub or plant, called by the *Arabians* *Chark*, by the *Persians* *Gulbad Samour*, i. e. *the wind-poisoning flower* ; it flowers like the thistle, and has pods filled with a thick white liquor of the consistence of cream, sharp and sour to the taste ; it is affirmed, that wherever the wind blows over a member of these plants, as it does frequently in *Carmania the desert*, it thence contracts a poisonous quality, which proves mortal to the next that respire it^d. There is likewise another shrub in the same country, viz. *Carmania the desert*, singularly noxious, it is called *Kerzehre*, i. e. *asses poison*, because those creatures are apt to eat of its fruit which generally proves mortal. The very water that washes its roots is likewise held to be poisonous, the trunk of this shrub is as large as one's leg, and it sometimes grows to the height of six feet ; its bark is remarkably rough, and of a bright green colour, its leaves perfectly round, with a rising point in the middle ; it bears a sort of flower exactly resembling the rose, of a kind of flesh-colour, whence it is apprehended, that the *Greeks* called it *Rhododendron*, the *Arabians* as well as the *Persians* call it the gall or poison of an ass. Some are of opinion, that it is the *Nerium* of our herbalists, and the same plant that is called in *French* *Rosage*^e. The goats, both wild and tame, which feed on the shore of the *Persian* gulph, afford the bezoar, so much esteemed in medicine, but the very best is taken out of these creatures in the province of *Corassan* or *Bactria*, and

^c CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 44. TAVERN. tom. ii. l. iv. c. 11. p. 421. CARERI, tom. ii. p. 210.

^d CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 13.

^e CHARDIN, ubi supra.

is thought to excel by far the bezoar of *Golconda* and the rest of the *Indies*. The naturalists in *Persia* give it as their opinion, that the more dry and hard the food is, on which the animal lives, the more salutiferous and efficacious the bezoar found in it proves. *Corassan* and the coasts of the *Persian* gulph are allowed to produce the dryest herbage in the world. It is no fable what has been reported, as to the formation of bezoar, for there is generally found in the core of such balls, lumps, or stones as it grows in, a little sprig of bramble or other bush, round which by a continual accession of matter the ball of bezoar is formed; this stone is here found in sheep as well as in goats, but it is not so in the *Indies*. Its very name is of oriental extract, and should be wrote *Pe-zaor*, i. e. *poison killing*, for the eastern people held it heretofore to be one of the strongest counter-poisons; quacks, however, were those who commended it most, and its virtues were rather taken upon trust, than supported by experience: the number of the credulous, however being great, raised its price very high; but of late years it is much sunk in its reputation, as well in the east as in *Europe*, it being now regarded chiefly as a sudorific, and thought no very extraordinary thing in that class. The manner of giving it in *Persia* is thus, they either scrape or powder it, and put about two or three grains for a dose into a spoonful of rose-water. While it was dear, it was often counterfeited, and the materials made use of to this end were, generally speaking, resin and *Spanish* wax. It may not be amiss to observe, that the polish which bezoar stones generally have, is artificial, for when they are taken out of the creature, their outside is of a rough greenish hue, just as the stone appears within. The *Abmelec*, i. e. *water of locusts*, or *grasshoppers*, is a bird which deserves to be described better perhaps than most others of which travellers have given us an account, because the facts relating to it are not only strange in themselves, but are also so well and so distinctly attested, that, however surprising they may seem, we cannot but afford them our belief. The food of this creature is the locust, or grasshopper. It is of the size of an ordinary hen, its feathers black, its wings large, and its flesh of a greyish colour; they fly generally in great flocks, as the starlings are wont to do with us; but the thing which renders these birds wonderful is, that they are so fond of the water of a certain fountain in *Corassan*, or *Bactria*, that wherever that water is carried, they follow; on which account it is carefully preserved; for wherever the locusts fall, the *Armenian*

priests, who are provided with this water, bring a quantity of it, and place it in jars, or pour it into little channels in the fields, the next day whole troops of these birds arrive, and quickly deliver the people from the locusts^s (R). The river *Mahmoudker*, i. e. *Mahmoud the deaf*, is a noble natural rarity. At some distance from *Spauhawn* there is a range of rocks, plain and equal for a considerable space, except that here and there they have openings, like the embrasures in bastions, through which the winds pass with surprising velocity; through these rocks falls the river we mentioned into a noble basin, partly wrought by the water itself, and partly formed by art. As one ascends the mountain, certain natural chinks shew the water at the bottom of it, like a sleeping lake covered with rocks and mountains; it is thought to be of unfathomable depth, and when stones are thrown into it, they make a most amazing noise, whence this river derives its name. After its descent from the basin before mentioned, it

^s CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 40. TAVERN. tom. i. l. iv. c. 3. p. 426.

(R) Sir *John Chardin* has given us in his description of *Persia* the following passage from an antient traveller in relation to this bird. “ In *Cyprus*, about the time that the corn was ripe for the
“ sickle, the earth produced such a quantity of cavalettes or locusts,
“ that they obscured sometimes the splendor of the sun. Where-
“ ever these came they burnt and eat up all; for this there was
“ no remedy, since as fast as they were destroyed the earth produ-
“ ced more; God, however, raised them up a means for their de-
“ liverance, which happened thus. In *Persia*, near the city of
“ *Cuerch*, there is a fountain of water, which has a wonderful pro-
“ perty of destroying these insects; for a pitcher full of this, being
“ carried in the open air, without passing through house or vault,
“ and being set on a high place, certain birds which follow it, and
“ fly and cry after the men who carry it from the fountain, come to
“ the place where it is fixed; these birds are red and black, and
“ fly in great flocks together like starlings, the *Turks* and *Persians*
“ call them *Musulins*. These birds no sooner came to *Cyprus*,
“ but they destroyed the locusts with which the island was infested;
“ but if the water be spilt or lost, these creatures immediately dis-
“ appear, which accident fell out when the *Turks* took this island,
“ for one of them going up into the steeple of *Famagusta*, and
“ finding there a pitcher of this water, he, fancying that it con-
“ tained gold or silver, or some precious thing, broke it, and spilt
“ what was therein, since which the *Cypriots* have been as much
“ tormented as ever by the locusts” (77).

(77) *Voyag. de Villamont* p. 97. ap. *Chardin*, tom. iii. p. 40.

rouls along the plain, till at last it falls into the river *Zenderoud*; some are of opinion, that this river does not derive its water from springs, but from the snow on the tops of the mountains, which, melting gradually, distills through the chinks of the rocks into the vast lake before mentioned; and this they think, is in some measure proved from the acrimonious taste of these waters, which is, however, lost after it joins the *Zenderoud*^h. Under a certain mountain called *Tagte-Rustan*, so called from the ruins of a building on the summit thereof, supposed to have been erected by the giant *Rustan*, there runs a grotto, which deserves a place among the natural rarities of *Persia*; from the top of this grotto there distills through the whole mountain, in two or three places, fresh water, which falling into proper receptacles, forms two or three distinct streams, which issue from thence to water the plain. In this grotto, about the beginning of *April*, a great number of *Indians* assemble to celebrate a feast in honour of a hermit or saint of theirs, who lived long here, and the whole cave is full of shreds or rags of peoples garments, who have come hither to be cured of their diseases, and have found relief. Not far from hence there is a mountain, where they pick up a sort of blue stones, very hard and shining, which they make use of in adorning their mosques, tombs, and other public buildings. We might add a multitude of other articles of this nature, if the description of *Persia* did not already begin to swell under our hands; though we have used all the caution in our power to prevent its containing any thing, which may not be useful and instructive, as well as entertaining, to the reader. Let us now pass to the artificial rarities visible in *Persia*.

To begin then with the antient *Persopolis*, the ruins of which still testify the truth of what some antient writers have affirmed, that in the day of its prosperity it was one of the most august cities in the world; nay, when we consider all things, when we compare the descriptions of travellers one with another; when we consider what is recorded of other cities, and what is still to be seen of those that were most famed; we shall be induced to confess, that the *Persian* empire in all its grandeur could boast of nothing more glorious, nor have left any thing more astonishing to posterity, than the preport and ruins of this city. Should we pretend to give a full account of these noble remains, it would extend much farther than it is reasonable this chapter should go. We are

^h CHARDIN, tom. ii. p. 2.
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ⁱ LE BRUN, tom. i. p. 246.
L I I writing

writing a geographical description of *Persia*; we ought to omit nothing that may give the reader a distinct idea of this country, or which may enable him to understand thoroughly that history which is to follow; but in doing this we are to remember, that this geographical description and this history are but sections of a far greater work, and therefore we must have a care that it be of a piece, and not resemble a statue, with the body and arms of a man, and the hands, or even the finger, of a giant. For this reason we think ourselves obliged to contract the many diffusive accounts, which we have read of the ruins of *Persepolis*, within a reasonable compass, giving the reader such an account as may enable him to conceive how grand and how magnificent they are, and at the same time how useful fine draughts and exact relations of them may be, towards settling many points of antient history, and giving us just notions of the spirit and genius of that nation, whose capital this was. In doing this we shall not involve ourselves in the disputes of travellers, or attempt to decide whether *Le Brun* be in the right in his criticisms, or rather invectives, against Sir *John Chardin*, our business is to give a succinct prospect of what has been said of *Persepolis*, by authors antient and modern, and therefore to this let us come without farther preface (S).

THE

(S) In order to give the reader some idea of the difficulty we have met with in collecting this article, we shall here give him a concise account of such authors as have written on this subject, and whose descriptions we have perused. The first is Sir *Thomas Herbert*, who in his travels has a long relation, not only of what himself saw at *Persepolis*, but of what has been said by antient authors on that head. He has given us also a specimen of the characters which are to be seen in the tablets belonging to these ruins, which agrees perfectly well with the drawings of *Le Brun*. He has likewise inserted his conjectures concerning these antiquities, which are neither improbable nor injudicious, but as we shall be obliged to mention most of these from *M. Le Brun*, it would be unnecessary to trouble the reader with them here, we shall therefore add only to what we have already said concerning the remarks of our worthy countryman, that the draught which he has left us of these ruins is far from being exact, and can hardly be said to bear any resemblance to the accurate descriptions of *Chardin* and *Le Brun* (79). Prior in point of time to Sir *Thomas Herbert*, but far inferior to him in every other respect, is the concise description of these remains of antiquity given by our countryman Mr. *Geofry Duckett*, who in 1568 passed

(79) Sir *Thomas Herbert's travels in Harris's collect.* Vol. I. p. 429.
this

THE plain in which this famous city stood is one of the finest in *Persia*, and indeed in all the east; its length is eighteen or nineteen leagues, its breadth in some places two, in others

this way. The main of what he says may be reduced to this, that *Persepolis* was 12 miles broad from gate to gate, whether this deserves any credit, or whether it was the slip of an inadvertent author, as well as heedless observer, we presume not to determine (80) *John Albert de Mandelsloe*, who observed these ruins in the year 1638, has left us a better description of them than most of the writers who went before him, and as there is something very plain and instructive in what he has left us on this subject, it cannot but be agreeable to the reader to compare what he has said with what we have recorded in the text. “The foundation or ground-work, “on which this vast structure was erected, is raised 22 geometrical “feet, having at each of its four corners a pair of stairs of white “marble of 95 steps, so flat and broad that twelve horses may go “up conveniently together abreast. Before you come to the main “body of the structure itself you pass through a square, where you “see the ruins of a wall and the remainders of two great gates, “each of which have a horse harnessed and saddled after a very “antic manner, carved on one side, and on the other two creatures “resembling a horse, except that they have wings on each side, “and the head is crowned, and like that of a lion. On the one “side you see the ruins of 19 pillars of white and black marble, “the least of which are 8, and some 10 ells high without the “bases, but whether they had been intended for the support of “some large hall, or were built purely in the air is not to be distinguished at this time”. The same author, speaking of some unintelligible characters engraven on a square pillar, tells us, there are twelve lines of them so well proportioned and nicely engraven, that they carry not in them the least mark of barbarity, but seem rather to have been wrought in a nice well-judging age; he complains of the rudeness of the inhabitants, who, without the least regard to so noble and so antient a palace, carry away large quantities of marble and other stone, for the quicker dispatch of common and private buildings; he also deploras the want of perfect draughts of these wonderful fragments of the antient magnificence of *Persia* (81). Sir *John Chardin* in the year 1674, took a view of these ruins, examined them with great care and pains, as appears from the large and particular account of them inserted in the second volume of his travels; it is true, *M. Le Brun*, who staid there a much longer time than he, and who had consequently a better opportunity of studying and describing what he saw than this gentle-

(80) *Account of Mr. Geofrey Duckett's Travels in Harris's collect. Vol. I. p. 526.* (81) *J. A. Mandelsloe's travels in Harris's collect. Vol. I.*

others four, and in some places six ; it is watered by the great river *Araxes* or *Bendemir*, and by a multitude of rivulets besides. Within the compass of this plain, there are between a thousand and fifteen hundred villages, without reckoning those

man had, attacks him very warmly on the head of his description ; but whoever reads, with calmness and candour, what Sir *John Chardin*, with great perspicuity and without the least affectation of learning, has delivered on this head, will be of opinion, that how much nicer and more exact soever the descriptions of *M. Le Brun* may be, yet both the narration and the cuts of Sir *John Chardin* are excellent in their kind, and serve to communicate to us a multitude of useful particulars which are no where else recorded (82). Dr. *Gemelli Carreri* has written a whole chapter under the title of a description of the palace of *Darius*, and the ruins of the antient *Persopolis* ; it is concise as all his descriptions are, and the observations he makes are short and weighty, according to the custom of *Italian* authors. He has illustrated his narration with a few prints, which serve to give a competent idea of the magnificence of this antient city, and to demonstrate the conformity there is between the several accounts of these ruins contained in the works of intelligent writers (83). *M. Le Brun*, who arrogates to himself a great superiority over all the writers on this subject, spent a long time in surveying, measuring, and drawing views of these fragments of antiquity, he has taken up upwards of thirty folio pages in describing what he saw, and remarking on the intentions of those who designed the several figures, of which he has given us copies which are certainly very useful, as well as very beautiful ornaments to his book. Besides, he has written a long dissertation on the difference between his account and that of Sir *John Chardin*, wherein the antiquities of *Persopolis* are farther explained (84). From these materials a very copious description, and very curious observations, might have been thrown together, especially when we consider, that, besides travellers, several other writers of great eminence have left us their thoughts on this subject, such as the most judicious Dr. *Hyde* in his learned book of the religion of the antient *Persians*, wherein he has explained with great knowledge and learning some of the enigmatical figures represented on the walls and pillars of these antient buildings (85) : but it is our business to hint only where the curious and inquisitive reader may be informed at large, as to all the extraordinary particulars relating to these monuments of the *Persian* glory, our description being no more than the out lines of a regular dissertation on this head, for which what has been said above, and what we have advanced in this note, will, we hope, serve for a sufficient apology.

(82) *Chardin voyag. tom. ii. p. 140—197.* (83) *Carreri voyag. tom. ii. p. 240.* (84) *Le Brun voyag. tom. ii. p. 285.* (85) *Hyde. Hist. relig. vet. pers. p. 344.*

in the mountains, all adorned with pleasant gardens, and planted with shady trees. The entrance of this plain on the west side has received as much grandeur from nature, as the city it covers could do from industry or art. It consists of a range of mountains steep and high, four leagues in length and about two miles broad, forming two flat banks, with a rising terrace in the middle, the summit of which is perfectly plain and even, all of native rock. In this there are such openings, and the terraces are so fine, and so even, that one would be tempted to think the whole the work of art, if the great extent and prodigious elevation thereof did not convince one, that it is a wonder too great for ought but nature to produce. Undoubtedly these banks were the very places where the advanced guards from *Persopolis* took post, and from which *Alexander* found it so difficult to dislodge them. One cannot from hence descry the ruins of the city, because the banks are too high to be overlooked, but one can perceive on every side the ruins of walls and of edifices, which heretofore adorned the range of mountains, of which we are speaking. On the west and on the north this city is defended in the like manner, so that, considering the height and evenness of these banks, one may safely say, with a late ingenious traveller, that there is not in the world a place so fortified by nature *. The ancient palace of the kings of *Persia*, called by the inhabitants *Chil-minar*, i. e. *forty columns*, is situated at the foot of the mountain; the walls of this superb building are still standing on their sides, and it has the mountain on the east. The front is in extent six hundred paces from north to south, and three hundred and ninety from east to west, quite to the rock, without any stair-case on that side, till one comes to the mountain, where, by the help of certain ragged stones, it is easy to get to the lowest part of the wall, where it is not above eighteen feet seven inches in height, and in some places not so high. This curtain is four hundred and ten paces in length, on the north, and one and twenty foot high in some places; but in most thirty quite to the mountain, where there is still a corner of the wall, and in the middle an entrance, by which one may get up to the top by broken pieces of the rock. One finds also before the west side several rocks, which rise towards the north, till they are even with the wall, appearing like a kind of platform, extending eighty paces before it. It seems, as if there had been a stair-case antiently on this side, and some buildings without this curtain, the rocks being very smooth in many places. On the top of this edifice there is a

* CHARDIN, tom. ii. p. 141. LE BRUN, tom. ii. p. 261.

platform

platform of 400 paces, which extends itself in the middle of the front-wall, quite to the mountain. Along this wall, and all the three sides, runs a pavement of two stones joined together, which fill up a space eight foot broad ; part of these stones are eight, nine, and ten feet long, and six in breadth, but the rest are smaller. The principal stair-case is not placed in the middle of the front, but much nearer the north end than the south, being six hundred paces distant from this, and only a hundred and sixty five from that ; this stair-case is composed of two flights of stairs, forty two feet asunder at bottom. Its depth is 25 feet 7 inches to the wall, from whence proceed the steps, which are as long as the stair-case is deep within five inches ; each of these steps is four inches high, and fourteen in breadth, so that nothing can be more commodious. There are fifty five on the north side, and fifty three on the south, but the latter are not so whole as the former. Ascending thus high, one meets with a landing-place, fifty one feet four inches broad, proportioned exactly to the breadth of the stair-case ; the stones of this landing-place are of an extraordinary size. The two flights of the stair-case are separated by the wall of the front, but in such a manner, that they decline from each other to the middle, and incline towards each other from the middle to the top, which has a wonderful effect on the eye, and suits perfectly well with that magnificence which reigns throughout every other part of the building.

THE upper part of this stair-case consists of 48 steps on one side and on the other, some of which are damaged, notwithstanding they are cut in the rock. At the top of these there is another landing-place, between the flights of stairs, 75 feet broad, paved with great stones, some 13 or 14 feet long, and 7 or 8 broad¹ (T).

To

¹ LE BRUN, ubi supr. CHARDIN, ubi supr.

(T) In the description in our text we have adhered pretty closely to M. *Le Brun*, and that for many reasons ; first because his profession, which was that of a painter, rendered him more capable of describing minutely, and of designing exactly, all the wonders of *Persepolis*, than any former traveller, whom either business or curiosity had led that way. Secondly, this gentleman had, as we have more than once hinted, determined with himself to consider more attentively, and to examine more nicely, these relics of *Persian* architecture, than any other author had done. Thirdly, he had not only all the authors we have mentioned in our last note, but Mons.

Chardin's

To speak now of what is to be seen when one is amongst these ruins. The first thing that salutes the eye in a strait line, 42 feet distant from the front before described, are two great porticoes and two columns. The pavement of the first is much damaged by time, and the second is sunk five feet lower than the former, these porticoes are 22 feet 4 inches in depth, and 13 feet 4 inches in breadth. One sees in the front of each pilaster a large figure cut in bass-relief, 22 feet in length from its fore to its hind feet, and 14 feet and a half

Chardin's curious plans to direct him, and it may be to correct him, in his notions on this head. Fourthly, there is such an agreement, in material points at least, between his accounts and those of *Chardin*, notwithstanding his affecting on all occasions to quarrel with that gentleman's sentiments, that we did not think it at all necessary to trouble the reader with any particulars of a dispute of no great importance in itself, and which, though prosecuted with warmth, seems to have been commenced out of vanity. It may not be amiss to observe here, that the fame of these ruins has, for the two or three last centuries, been so great, and the desires of the *Virtuosi* to see exact plans of them so strong, that some have ventured to publish the conceptions of their own brains for the antiquities of *Chilminar*. Such was the view of *Persopolis* sent into the world by *Sebastian Serlio* an *Italian* architect, in his account of noble buildings antient and modern, since therein are found just forty columns adorned with chapiters of the *Corinthian* order, which no traveller ever had the happiness to see. In the voyages of *John Struys*, amongst a multitude of other strange things and temerarious assertions, we have a wild description of these ruins, and a wilder plan, said in the title page of the book to be drawn by the author's own hand, which, if it were, he certainly drew by guess; since it is not only quite different from the plans published by others, but contains also such palpable mistakes, as never could have been committed by an eye-witness of these noble works, especially one who looked on them with a design of describing them to the rest of mankind. We are not, however, to fancy, that wherever travellers differ in their accounts, one of them must be mistaken. *M. Le Brun* and *Sir John Chardin* vary very little in what they say, relating to the pillars yet standing at *Persopolis*; but there is a considerable difference on this head between what they say and what we find recorded in the writings of *Figueroa*, *Herbert*, and *Thevenot*, all of whom testify nearly to the same point. Time and the barbarity of the modern *Persians*, who make very little account of these ruins, have made considerable alterations since they were first described; and it is very probable, that whoever sees them twenty years hence, will find them not exactly answerable to what is said of them by *M. Le Brun* (86).

(86) *Le Brun. Voyag. tom. ii. p. 152.*

high. The heads of these animals are entirely destroyed, their breasts and feet project from the pilaster, and their bodies are very much damaged. Those of the first portico front towards the stair-case, and those of the second which have wings on their bodies towards the mountains. One sees above the pilasters certain characters, but they are so small and so high that one can make nothing of them. The first portico is still 39 feet high, and the second 28. The bases of the pilasters are five feet two inches high. The animals are not carved out of one stone, but out of three joined together for that purpose. In the present condition it is not easy to decide what they were intended for, tho' many authors have given the world their conjectures, of which the reader will find some account in the authors cited at the bottom of the foregoing pages, and will judge for himself which is the most probable of those taken notice of there.

THE two columns which stand between the two porticoes are more entire than any other part of the ruins. They are of white marble, fluted, and wonderfully beautiful, that is as to their chapiters and other ornaments, for as to their bases they are covered with earth; they are 26 feet from the first portico, and 56 from the second, 14 feet in circumference, and 54 high. There were certainly two others between these and the last portico, of which there are still some remains, great pieces of marble lying about half buried in the earth: 52 feet from the last mentioned portico southward, there is a large cistern cut out of a whole stone, 20 feet long, 17 feet 5 inches broad, and three feet above the earth. From thence to the wall there is a space of about 150 paces, in which one finds nothing but broken pieces of stone, and the remains of a column which appears to have been unfluted, and therein differs from all the rest; it is about two feet in compass and 12 and a half long: from it to the mountain, there is nothing to be met with but wild heaps of broken stones.

TURNING from these porticoes to the south, one sees at the distance of 172 feet another stair-case, consisting of two flights of steps in the same manner as the former, one fronting towards the east, the other towards the west. The wall is still about six feet 7 inches high, but in the middle 'tis almost entirely ruined. The extent is 83 feet of the east flight of stairs, and it is evident enough from the lowermost of them, that they were adorned with figures in bas-relief. On the top of the stair-case are still some foliages, visible with figures in bas-relief of a lion tearing a bull, larger than the life. The stair-case is half buried in earth, and one sees certain small figures on the wall, on both sides. The west flight consists of

of 28 steps ; the other having suffered more by the accession of the earth, has now but 18, each 17 feet long, three inches high, 14 inches and a half broad. There are many of these towards the top broken, and two or three entirely destroyed, tho' cut out of the rock. At the end of the landing-place, from the stair-case, there is another front whereon there are three rows of small figures, one above another ; of the first row there is nothing now to be seen but the parts below the girdle, the rest being destroyed by time ; the second row, which is the best preserved, has notwithstanding received great injuries ; and as to the third, there is nothing now above ground but their heads. These figures are two feet nine inches high, and the wall, of which there is still five feet three inches above ground, is 98 feet in extent from the first step to its left corner, where there is another stair-case, the steps of which are exactly of the same size with those before described. From what remains of the inner wall it appears, that it also was covered with small figures. At the end of the stair-case there is another wall, which extends 90 feet beyond the landing-place ; the corner turns a little to the south, and goes no farther, because the earth is there at the same height ; returning to the west flight of steps of the stair-case before mentioned, we meet with a wall 45 feet in length, beyond the bottom of the stair-case, with an interval of 67 feet to the west front. This Side like the former is adorned with three rows of figures, and a lion tearing a bull or an ass, with a horn in its forehead ; between these animals and the figures, there is a square space filled with characters, of which the highest are quite effaced ; the figures on this side are fairer than on the other, the ground being less elevated ; there are 25 steps here. The wall from the stair-case westward extends quite to the front ; but beyond the stair-case is unadorned with figures.

At the step of the stair-case, between the two flights of stairs, there is an open place, paved with very large stones between the stair-case and the first columns, which are 22 feet and two inches distant ; they stand in two rows, each consisting of six columns, of which there is only one remaining entire, eight bases, and some broken pieces of the rest. There are six rows of columns 70 feet eight inches distant from these, each row consisting of six columns. These thirty six columns are 22 feet two inches one from the other as the former are. There are still seven of these entire, with the bases of all the rest, but much broken and defaced. Of those which are left, there is one of the first row, one of the second, two of the third, and one of each of the rest. One finds, between these columns and those before mention-

ed, several large stones, heretofore part of some subterraneous building. Seventy feet eight inches west from these columns, towards the front of the stair-case, there were 12 columns more, disposed in two rows, of which there are only five remaining. The bases of seven more are visible, and the ground is covered with ruins of those which are decayed. One can discover, however, among the fragments of those ornaments, which lie half interred, that each of these columns was surmounted by the figure of a camel kneeling. To the south of these columns stands the edifice most elevated of any in these ruins, but it is necessary for us to observe, that on the east there are still discernible two rows of columns, consisting of six each, of which the bases of four or five remain still above the earth, and in all appearance these were opposed to other rows of columns which were in the front. Advancing still towards the mountains, one finds the ruins of many buildings, consisting of porticoes, passages, and windows, the porticoes are adorned with figures, and these ruins take up a great space ; but to return to the edifice spoken of before, it extends 118 feet from the columns ; and the wall of its front is yet five feet seven inches high, composed of one row of stones only, some of which are eight feet broad, extending from east to west 113 feet. There is before the edifice certain stone foundations still visible, but what end they served cannot be guessed, since there is no stair-case on this side. This wall is adorned with no sort of ornament as the rest are ; there are, however, two stair-cases, one on the north, the other on the south-side, but almost entirely ruined ; on the landing-place, however, we still discover the remains of porticoes which an earthquake threw down ; all the rest of the building, which consists of great and little porticoes, is entirely ruined, the ground covered with the fragments is about 147 feet in length, and nearly square. On the north there are two porticoes, and three niches or windows walled up, and on the south a portico and four windows open. There are two other porticoes, which are not covered, on the west, with two openings ; and a third to the east, with three niches or windows walled up. Six of these openings are without cornices, and there remains but half a one to the east. One sees under the two porticoes on the north, on each side, the figure of a man, and of two women from their knees upwards, their legs being covered with earth ; under one of those on the west side, there is the figure of a man fighting with a bull, which has a horn in its forehead, the man holds this with his
left

left hand, and strikes a poignard into the belly of the beast with his right ; on the other side the figures are the same, excepting only, that the man holds the horn with his right hand, and stabs the beast with his left. In the second portico there is the figure of a man holding a beast, resembling either a deer or a lion, by such a horn in its forehead, and with wings upon his back. Under the portico to the north, the same figures are visible, only the man combats here a true lion, which he holds by the mane ; these figures have half their legs buried under the earth. On both sides of the portico towards the south, there is the figure of a man, with an ornament on his head resembling a crown, attended by two women, one of whom holds an umbrella over his head, and the other has some ensign of authority in her hand. Above these figures are three niches full of characters. On the pilasters of the first portico, which are out of their places, and lie near the flight of stairs last mentioned, there are two men, each armed with a lance, which the one holds with both hands, the other only in his left ; one of these only is entire. Behind this edifice one finds another of much the same kind, except that it is 38 feet longer, with a niche or window blocked up, and another open, with two stones standing up, one on the right hand, the other on the left : Of these, that towards the east is broken, the other towards the west is still 28 feet high. There is on the top of this stone three niches or tablets full of characters, and a fourth below which seems to have been cut after the rest. The like inscriptions are seen in the niches or windows before mentioned, each tablet consisting of one stone only. To the south there are two flights of stairs, the one to the east, the other to the west ; but of these only five steps are remaining ; and on the wings, as well as on the wall which separates them, there are still visible some small figures and foliages, though half buried in the ground : a hundred feet from thence to the south, the last ruins are found of these edifices, consisting chiefly of porticoes and enclosed spaces of ground, and between these two heaps of ruins another stair-case, of which only seven steps are remaining, which serve, however, to shew that antiently they were adorned with figures and foliages. On the east side of this stair-case there are certain subterraneous passages, in which the inhabitants imagine great treasures are hid. *M. Le Brun* entered them, as several travellers have done before, but was quickly obliged to return without making any discoveries, the passages being so narrow, and so dark, and moist, that it was impossible to go far. However, even these experiments are sufficient to shew, that the con-

jectures of the inhabitants are very indifferently founded, since from the structure of these vaults we are left to judge they were rather intended for carrying off water, or some such like purpose, than to be made the repositories of royal treasures ^m.

THERE would be no difficulty in following *M. Le Brun's* description much farther, or in adding thereto his particular delineations of the pillars, niches, and figures spoken of before ; but for the reasons already given we shall stop here, that we may have room to say somewhat as to the conjectures of the learned, concerning these remains of the magnificence of antient times. The processions delineated on the walls, the vases in the hands of many of the figures, the several tablets of unknown characters, and the many hieroglyphical representations, which are still seen in these ruins, have led some great men into an opinion, that this antient structure was a temple, dedicated to the deities worshipped in *Persia*. Others, with much greater reason, have delivered it as their sentiment, that these ruins are what remain of the antient palace of *Persepolis*, which they think strongly confirmed by the description left us by antient authors of that noble pile of building. As to the figures in procession, those who adhere to this notion say, that they represent a birth-day feast of one of the *Persian* emperors, when his courtiers were wont to bring him presents ; as to the inscriptions, they are, generally speaking illegible by the *Persees* or antient *Persians* themselves, so that hardly any argument can be deduced from them. The hieroglyphics might as well serve for ornaments to a palace as to a temple, and, it may be, were some of the spoils of *Egypt*, brought thence by *Cambyses's* army, led by *Smerdis* the *Magian*. However this be, certain it is, that the habits of these figures agree perfectly well with the descriptions of the old *Median* and *Persian* robes, as they are recorded in *Greek* writers. On the whole, therefore, it may be presumed, that whatever this edifice was, it was actually erected by the kings of the first race, since nothing seen there carries the aspect of later times ; but whether *Cyrus* was the founder, or whether this palace was begun by *Darius*, and finished by *Xerxes*, is a point not easily, if at all, to be determined. From a view of the figures visible on the walls, pillars, &c. it seems probable to us, that they were enigmatical representations, at least for the most part, of the course of the heavenly bodies, and of the effects produced by them ; but of this, and of the reasons which in-

^m *LE BRUN*, Vol. ii. p. 268.

cline us to believe it, we shall take occasion to discourse more largely in our section on the religion of the antient *Persians*. The traditions of the natives in respect to these antiquities are generally represented by travellers, as confused, extravagant and not to be depended on. This may, however, in some measure arise from their want of acquaintance with oriental history, which is not always so fabulous and incoherent as it is represented to be : there is, and there ever will be, a wide difference between the narrative style of these eastern nations, and that in use amongst us ; but as we shall elsewhere shew, even in respect to these ruins, certainty may be deduced, as well from the hyperbolical relations of eastern writers, as from the artful memoirs of some of our western historians (V).

AT

(V) In this note we intend to examine, in as short a compass as possible, what antient writers have delivered concerning the city and palace of *Persepolis* ; to begin then with what is said by *Diodorus the Sicilian* on this subject : He relates, that, after passing the river *Araxes*, *Alexander* met with near 800 *Greeks*, most of them old men, some having their hands, others their feet, some their ears, and some their noses, cut off, which had been done by the *Persians* of that district ; which so incensed him, especially against the inhabitants of *Persepolis*, that he called, says our author, the *Macedonians* together and told them, “ That *Persepolis*, the
 “ metropolis of *Persia*, of all the cities of *Asia*, had done most
 “ mischief to the *Grecians*, and therefore he gave it up to the
 “ plunder and spoil of the soldiers, except the king’s palace.
 “ This was the richest city of any under the sun, and for many
 “ ages all the private houses were full of all sorts of wealth, and
 “ whatever was desirable. The *Macedonians* therefore, forcing into
 “ the city, put all the men to the sword, and rifled and carried a-
 “ way every man’s goods and estate, amongst which was abun-
 “ dance of rich and costly furniture, and ornaments of all sorts.
 “ In this place was hurried away here and there vast quantities of
 “ silver, and no less of gold, great numbers of rich garments, some
 “ of purple, others embroidered with gold, all which became a
 “ plentiful prey to the ravenous soldiers. And thus the royal
 “ seat of the *Persians*, once famous throughout the world, was now
 “ exposed to scorn and contempt, and rifled from top to bottom.
 “ For, though every place was full of rich spoil, yet the covetous-
 “ ness of the *Macedonians* was insatiably still thirsting after more.
 “ And they were so eager in plundering, that they fought one
 “ with another with drawn swords, and many who were conceiv-
 “ ed to have got a greater share than the rest, were killed in the
 “ quarrel. Some things that were of extraordinary value they
 “ divided with their swords, and each took a share ; others in
 “ rage

AT two leagues distance from these ruins, there is a famous mountain, seated between two of the finest plains in the

“ rage cut off the hands of such as laid hold upon a thing that
 “ was in dispute. They first ravished the women, as they were
 “ in their jewels and rich attire, and then sold them for slaves.
 “ So that by how much *Persepolis* excelled all the other cities in
 “ glory and worldly felicity, by so much more was the measure of
 “ their misery and calamity. Then *Alexander* seized upon all the
 “ treasures in the citadel, which was a vast quantity of gold and
 “ silver, of the public revenues that had been heaping up, and deposited there from the time of *Cyrus*, the first king of *Persia*, to that day. For there was found an hundred and twenty thousand talents, reckoning the gold after the rate of silver. Part of this treasure he took for the use of the war, and ordered another part of it to be treasured up at *Susa*. To this purpose, he ordered, that a multitude of mules, both for draught and carriage, and three thousand camels with pack-saddles should be brought out of *Babylon*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Susa*, and with these he conveyed all the treasures to the several places he had appointed. For, by reason of his great hatred to the inhabitants, he was resolved not to trust them with any thing, but utterly to ruin and destroy *Persepolis*: Of whose palace in regard of its stately structure, we conceive it will not be impertinent if we say something. This stately fabric or citadel was surrounded with a treble wall: the first was sixteen cubits high, adorned with many sumptuous buildings, and lofty turrets. The second was like to the first, but as high again. The third was drawn like a quadrant four square, sixty cubits high, all of the hardest marble, and so cemented as to continue to the latest time. On the four sides are brazen gates, near to which there are curtains or pallisades of the same metal, twenty cubits high, these were raised as well to strike the beholder with terror, as for the strengthening and security of the place. On the east side of the citadel, about four hundred feet distant, stood a mount called the *royal mount*, for here are all the sepulchres of the kings, many apartments and little cells being cut into the midst of the rock; into which cells there is made no direct passage, but the coffins with the dead bodies are by machines hoisted up, and so let down into these vaults. In this citadel were many stately lodgings, both for the king and his soldiers, of excellent workmanship, and treasury chambers most commodiously contrived for the laying up of money. Here *Alexander* made a sumptuous feast for the entertainment of his friends, in commemoration of his victory, and offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods. At this feast were entertained whores who prostituted their bodies for hire, where the cups went so high, and the reins were so let loose to drunkenness and debauchery, that many were both
 “ drunk

the world, and which is called by the inhabitants by several names ; sometimes they style it *Kabreston Gauron*, i. e. *the sepulchres*

“ drunk and mad. Among the rest there was at that time a
 “ courtesan, called *Thais*, an *Athenian*, that said *Alexander* would
 “ perform the most glorious act of any that ever he had done,
 “ if while he was feasting with them he would burn the palace,
 “ and so the glory and renown of *Persia* might be said to be
 “ brought to nothing in a moment by the hands of women. This
 “ spreading abroad, and coming to the ears of the young men,
 “ (who commonly make little use of reason when drink is in their
 “ heads) presently one cries out, *Come on, bring us firebrands*, and
 “ so incited the rest to fire the citadel, to revenge that impiety
 “ the *Persians* had committed in destroying the temples of the *Gre-*
 “ *cians*. At this others with joy set up a shout, but said, that so
 “ brave an exploit belonged only to *Alexander* to perform. The
 “ king stirred up at these words embraced the motion, upon which
 “ as many as were present left their cups and leaped from the
 “ table, and said, that they would now celebrate a victorious fes-
 “ tival to *Bacchus*. Hereupon multitudes of firebrands were pre-
 “ sently got together, and all the women that played upon musi-
 “ cal instruments, which were at the feast, were called for ; and
 “ then the king with songs, pipes, and flutes, bravely led the way
 “ to this noble expedition, contrived and managed by this whore,
 “ *Thais*, who next after the king, threw the first firebrand into the
 “ palace. This precedent was presently followed by the rest, so
 “ that in a very short time, the whole fabric by the violence of
 “ the fire was consumed to ashes (87)”. We have transcribed this
 long passage to avoid a multitude of quotations, since several au-
 thors have either copied *Diodorus*, or the authors made use of by
 him. *Plutarch*, in his life of *Alexander*, gives us an account of
 this transaction, little different from that which we have just seen ;
 indeed he speaks less confidently of the story of *Thais* than *Dio-*
dorus does, whence some have suspected the truth of it, and whe-
 ther *Thais* had any concern therein or no. *Arrian* says, that *Alex-*
ander seized at *Passargaden* on the money which had been laid up
 there by *Cyrus*, and then adds, “ the royal palace of the *Persian*
 “ monarchs he burnt, much against the will of *Parmenio*, who
 “ intreated him to leave it untouched, not only because it was im-
 “ proper to spoil and destroy what he had gained by his valour,
 “ but that he would thereby disoblige the *Asiatics*, and render
 “ them less benevolent to him ; for they would then suppose that
 “ he would not keep *Asia* in his possession, but abandon it as soon as
 “ it was conquered and laid waste. To which *Alexander* made an-
 “ swer, that he was resolved to revenge the antient injuries his
 “ country had received by the *Persians* ; who, when they arrived

(87) *Diodor. Sicul lib. xvii. c. 2.*

“ with

sepulchres of the Gaurs ; sometimes Nachs Rustan, the pictures of Rustan ; and sometimes Takt Rustan, i. e. the throne of

“ with their army in *Greece*, subverted *Athens*, burnt their temples,
 “ and committed many other barbarous devastations there. But
 “ this, in my opinion, seems to have been no prudent or politic
 “ action in *Alexander*, and was no revenge upon the *Persians* at
 “ all (88)”. *Strabo* speaks very concisely on this subject, his words
 are these ; “ *Alexander* destroyed the temple of *Persepolis* in re-
 “ venge of the injuries done the *Greeks*, whose cities and temples
 “ the *Persians* had formerly destroyed with fire and sword (89)”.
Curtius has nothing singular upon this head, except the following
 observation. “ The city of *Persepolis* was so far from being re-
 “ built, that unless the river *Araxes* ran near it, there had not been
 “ the least sign left to have guessed where it stood ; that it was
 “ situated twenty stadia from the banks of this river, the inhabi-
 “ tants rather believe than know with any certainty (90)”. In
 this point, however, he seems to have been mistaken ; for first,
 he is the only author who says that *Persepolis* was ruined. *Dio-*
dorus says indeed that it was plundered ; but as to burning and
 destroying, what he relates is confined to the palace ; besides, af-
 ter the death of *Alexander*, he informs us, that *Antigonus*, taking
 five thousand talents of silver out of the treasury at *Ecbatana*,
 marched into *Persia*, and after twenty days arrived at its capital
Persepolis (91). *Arrian* also speaks of this city as still standing af-
 ter the destruction of the palace ; and, if we may believe the au-
 thor of the book of *Maccabees*, it continued a great and noble
 city. What he says on this subject, stands thus in our translation.
 “ About that time came *Antiochus* with dishonour out of the coun-
 “ try of *Persia*. For he had entered the city called *Persepolis*, and
 “ went about to rob the temple, and to hold the city, whereupon
 “ the multitude, running to defend themselves with their weapons,
 “ put them to flight ; and so it happened, that *Antiochus*, being
 “ put to flight of the inhabitants, returned with shame (92). In
 the first book of *Maccabees*, there is still a more extraordinary
 passage in respect to the point before us. “ About that time, says
 “ the author, king *Antiochus*, travelling through the high countries,
 “ heard say, that *Elymais*, in the country of *Persia*, was a city greatly
 “ renowned for riches, silver, and gold ; and that there was in it
 “ a very rich temple, wherein were coverings of gold, and breast-
 “ plates, and shields which *Alexander*, son of *Philip*, the *Macedo-*
 “ *nian* king, who reigned first among the *Grecians*, had left there.
 “ Wherefore he came and sought to take the city, and to spoil
 “ it ; but he was not able, because they of the city, having had

(88) *Exped. Alex. lib. iii. c. 18.*

(89) *Geogr. lib. xv. p. 730.*

(90) *Curt. lib. v. c. 7.*

(91) *Diod. Sicul. lib. xix. c. 3.*

(92) 2 *Mac. c. ix. ver. 1.*

of *Rustan*. This *Rustan*, as we have observed before, is the *Hercules* of the east, or rather the *Amadis*, for the stories they tell of him are alike fabulous and romantic. Our business, however, is not with them, but with the mountain, which is one entire rock, harder and capable of a better polish than marble ; it is levelled by art, its sides are perfectly perpendicular, so that it looks like a large wall, and upon it there are figures represented in bass-relief, with great skill and beauty. The first of these, which is about the height of a pike from the ground, represents a combat between two knights, mounted on horseback, each of them having an iron mace in his left-hand. He on the right has a bonnet on his head, and holds out in his right hand a large ring of iron, of which the other knight seems to take hold with his right-hand ; at the foot of each of their horses lies a man groveling on the ground. All these figures, as well of horses as of men, are gigantic ; and as to the meaning of the piece, if we trust tradition and the *Persian* poets, it is thus to be understood ; they say, that one of these cavaliers was *Rustan* or *Rustem*, the son of *Sal the white*, the son of *Sam*, the son of *Noramon* king of the *Indies* ; the second *Rustan* or *Rustem*, the son of *Tahmour* king of *Persia* ; these two princes are said to be engaged in long and bloody wars, and at last to have agreed to determine their quarrels by a combat. The manner in which this was to be performed was thus : one extended a ring of iron in his right-hand which the o-

“ warning thereof, rose up against him in battle : so he fled, and
 “ departed thence with great heaviness, and returned to *Baby-*
 “ *lon* (93)”. That this city *Elymais* was *Persopolis*, we have all
 the reason in the world to believe, since we are certain, that the
 latter is only a *Greek* appellation, and not the true name of the
 city ; nor in all probability did the *Greeks* ever commit the *Per-*
sian name thereof to writing. One thing we will venture to ob-
 serve here, which has not hitherto been remarked by any au-
 thor : it is, this ; *Persopolis* or *Persæpolis* signifies in *Greek* no
 more than the city of the *Persians* ; *Elymais* signifies the same thing,
 as also *Phars-abad*, which Sir *John Chardin* conjectures to be its
 antient name in the *Persic* tongue ; hence therefore, we may with
 probability conclude, that its most antient name was *Elymais*, de-
 rived from the antient name of *Persia*, *Elam*, that in process of
 time when *Persia* was called *Pharas*, this city might be stiled *Pha-*
ras-abad, and that the *Greeks* might translate either of these ap-
 pellations into their own language by the word *Persopolis* ; all which
 we submit to the curious and inquisitive reader.

(93) 1 *Mac. c. vi. ver. 1.*

ther laid hold of, it being previously agreed, that whoever could wrench from the other this iron ring, should be esteemed the conqueror, and should be obeyed for the future by him who lost it ; they say too, that the king of *Persia*, who is the person represented by the figure, having a long beard, vanquished the king of the *Indies* in this engagement. Besides this ring and mace, these combatants have iron bullets hanging by chains at the sides of their horses, which it is to be supposed they let fly at each other, in the same manner as peasants sometimes fight with their flails. Joining to this figure there is another, wherein the men are represented as of a less stature than in that before described, viz. not above seven foot high ; there is a person represented in the middle of the piece armed from head to foot, leaning on a naked sabre with both his hands ; he is said to be the same king of the *Indies* before mentioned, because his bonnet and beard resemble those of the figure so called in the former piece ; he turns his head towards five men, who have their bodies hid by the wall from the shoulders downwards, perhaps to signify that they are prisoners ; behind him, there are three other men in the same position, who seem to be making signs to the five over-against them. As to this representation it is impossible to say any thing with certainty, since we are furnished with no lights by antient writers, and the traditions of the modern *Persians* on such subjects are little to be depended on ; though to say the truth, the common people in *Persia* are rather more modest than elsewhere, for when they are asked about the meaning of these figures, they generally say, God knows. Nay, their men of learning content themselves with affirming, that they relate to the antient heroes of their country, without pretending to enter into particulars. At 120 paces distance from this figure, one finds the first tomb, but before one comes thither, one sees here and there on the mountain several tablets, which seem to have been designed for such representations as have been before described ; whence it is evident, that the works on this mountain have been left unfinished. One sees before this first tomb the representation of a combat between a knight and a giant ; but as to the meaning thereof, we know as little as of that of the former. At sixty paces from this tomb there is another, thirty paces from thence another, and at the distance of a hundred paces a fourth, which is the last. There are two inscriptions near the third tomb, one fifteen lines in length, in the character made use of in the inscriptions at the palace of *Persepolis*. There are many other curious representations carved on this mountain, some perfectly whole and
sound,

found, others much defaced, either through the injuries of time and weather, or the brutal zeal of the Mohammedans, who pique themselves much on destroying images. We shall not detain the reader any longer on so obscure a subject, since our descriptions, however prolix, would never afford him the same idea he may gain at once by looking on the prints inserted in their travels by *Chardin* and *Le Brun*^a. Besides, should we run into a long discourse on the conjectures, which have been or may be made in relation to these sepulchres, it would certainly lead us far out of our road, and turn very little to the edification of the reader. On the whole therefore, we shall content ourselves with saying, that these stupendous monuments of antient magnificence are sufficient to fill us with high ideas of the wisdom and genius of the antient *Persians*, before superstition and slavery took place (X).

THE

^a Vid. *CHARDIN*, tom. ii.*LE BRUN*, tom. ii.

(X) Besides the tombs spoken of above, there are two near the ruins of the palace of *Persepolis*, which Sir *John Chardin* says, appeared to him the most curious remnants of antiquity which he beheld there. They are about six hundred paces from the columns, and in order to reach them, there is a necessity of climbing three hundred paces up the rock. These monuments are cut and hollowed into the rock. The one is on the north, over-against the great stair-case of the palace, the front is 72 feet broad, and its height about 130. The platform is square and like the landing place of a stair-case; it is about four feet deep that is cut into the mountain; on each side there are six figures finely cut, and exactly resembling those in the procession; in the wall of the palace there are four columns fronting the spectator, and exactly in the middle there appears a door, but it is only the figure of a door cut in the rock, and does not seem ever to have been designed for a passage into any cavity behind it. Over this there is another fine piece of workmanship full of figures; and on the summit there appears an altar with fire burning on it, and a reverend person holding a bow in his hand, kneeling on a kind of ascent, over-against it as if at his devotions. In the corner of the piece there is a round figure which seems to represent the sun, and in the middle, as if in the air, there is a small figure of the same person, whom we see praying below, as if he were ascending into the heavens. The other tomb, which is on the east side differs not much from this which we have described. It has four columns, a false door, and has over it an altar with fire, and a prince or high-priest praying before it, with the other decorations mentioned before. Some inconsiderable differences there are in the architecture, and in the disposition of things in this second tomb, but we do not think them of consequence enough to be mentioned here. Sir *John Chardin* tells us, that the inhabitants of the country say, that *Nembroth* or *Nimrod*

THE great perfection, which appears in these antient works and those of *Persepolis*, leaves us no room to doubt, that those

was buried in the first, and *Dar-ab*, i. e. *Darius* in the second ; but he thinks the first fabulous. And as to *Darius* being interred here, he owns it is in some measure warranted by the account given us by *Arrian* ; that *Alexander* caused the body of that unfortunate prince to be embalmed, and to be sent to his mother, that she might cause it to be interred in the tomb of his ancestors. It is allowed, that the sepulchres of the kings of *Persia* were at *Ecbatana* in *Media*, and that, at the time *Alexander* sent back *Darius's* body, that country was new conquered and in great disorder. It is not impossible therefore, that his mother might cause him to be buried at *Persepolis*. However, *Sir John Chardin* himself is of opinion, that the thing was otherwise, and that these tombs were actually closed up before the reign of *Darius* (94). It is the firm opinion of the present inhabitants of *Persia*, that in these tombs, and also in those described in the text, there are concealed great quantities of treasure and valuable effects. It must be said in favour of this vulgar notion, that it has antiquity on its side, since we know that when *Alexander* conquered this country, it was expected that mighty sums would be found in the tomb of *Cyrus* (95). As on the other hand, we know that *Josephus* (96) reports a mighty mass of money to have been laid up in the sepulchre of *David*. As we are writing here a note only, and not a dissertation, we shall not expatiate further upon this subject, but confine ourselves to these very tombs in the mountain of *Nachs Rustem*. It is certain, that not only the common people, but people of distinction and learning, concur in believing that there are vast heaps of gold, silver, and other rich things, contained in these repositories of the dead ; but at the same time they affirm this, they assert with equal confidence, that the passages within the tombs form a kind of labyrinth, out of which a man can hardly ever find his way, so that many have perished in search of these supposed mountains of riches. *Sir John Chardin*, however, tells us a story of one who actually found and bore away some of these shining spoils : he had it from the mouth of the bailiff of *Mirkaskoun*, a little town in the neighbourhood of *Persepolis*. This man informed him, that about two hundred years before, when this country was subject to a prince of its own, who resided at *Schiras*, the farmer of his revenues in this part of the country, having dissipated his effects, and not being in a condition to pay what was due from him to the royal treasury, was under the greatest dejection of mind, on the receipt of a message from the grand vizier, threatening him, in case he did not make a speedy payment, with a cruel death, and with the selling his wife and

(94) *Chardin Voyag. tom. ii. p. 166.* (95) *Arrian. Exped. Alex. lib. vi. ult.* *Strab. Geogr. lib. xv. c. 730.* (96) *Antiq. lib. vii. c. 15.*

those who were the authors of them, might, if they had so pleased, have left marks of their skill and genius in other parts of this empire also, or at least that their successors might have done something in the same way. We have already put ourselves under such restrictions, as forbid a prolix prosecution of this hint, and therefore we shall content ourselves with remarking here, that Mr. *Le Brun* takes notice in his travels of some remains of antiquity, which he, with two *English* gentlemen, saw near a mountain a league and a half from *Schiras*, on the left of the plain. There stood here a mosque, called the mosque of the mother of *Solomon*, square, and about twenty paces from one corner to the other, having three por-

children for slaves, in order to produce the sum he was in arrear. The poor man, distracted with fear, and knowing not which way to turn him, thought of laying violent hands on himself, but checking this thought on a sudden, he said in his mind, Why should I destroy myself without attempting to throw off this load of misfortunes by some other means? in yon house of idols (so the *Mohammedans* call all places where there are figures in bas-relief) everybody agrees there are vast quantities of wealth concealed, why should not I go look for it? If I succeed I shall not only pay the king, but have wherewithal to live splendidly myself all the rest of my days; and on the other hand, if I perish, I perish, death is the same thing in those tombs or here. Having taken this resolution, he provided himself with lights and with some provisions, and then essayed to enter the tombs; in this exploit he was so lucky, that he fell into a path which led him to a large square room full of pieces of gold, of which he took as many as he could carry away, and returned home on the fourth day. But as the sum he brought back was not quite sufficient to pay his debts, he determined to make another experiment, which proved as unfortunate as his first had been happy; for, by some means or other, losing his way, he perished in the mountain, and was never heard of more. Many travellers have taken great pains themselves, and where their spirits have failed, have hired others to attempt the finding out the rooms which are said to be in this mountain, but most of them have toiled in vain, though not all; for *Pietro della Valle*, an author worthy of credit, affirms, that he saw a square room, built up in the form of a tower, close on all sides except a door which was almost at the top, and altogether inaccessible; this he took to be a sepulchre. Sir *John Chardin* could find nothing like it, but he declares he does not doubt the fact, and tells us further of his own knowledge, that these subterraneous passages are really very perplexed, frequently cross each other, and are full of a moist vapour which quickly extinguishes lights (97).

ticoes exactly resembling those at *Persepolis*, the first on the east, the second on the north-west, and the third on the north-east. They are eleven feet high, and have on each pilaster the figure of a woman as big as the life, with something in her hand, in the same attitude with the figures on the wall at *Persepolis*. North-east from this ruined mosque, the same author says, there are seen on the side of the rock nine small figures, much damaged by time, and only half of them appearing above ground ; and on the north-west a stone of prodigious magnitude representing a cask or tun. All the ground thereabout is covered with stones, and most of the pilasters are out of their places, which could not possibly have happened but by an earthquake ; the cornice however, of the middle one is very little damaged : a quarter of a league farther, the ruins are seen of that wall, which antiently surrounded this mosque ; and about a league from the mosque, the same gentleman tells us, that he saw several figures cut in the rock, divided into three tables. The first table contains three figures, one of which is represented leaning with its hand on a great sword. The second represents a man with something not unlike a turban on his head. The third figure has a mitre on its head, and, like the first, leans its hand on the guard of a great sword ; they are very much broken and damaged, so that it is difficult to describe them particularly *. For which reason we may suppose the author has omitted the descriptions of the other two tables. If we may be allowed to found any thing on the representations given us in his prints by this accurate traveller, we may with some assurance, that these figures are neither so old, nor executed near so well as those on the mountain of *Nachs Rustem*, which they resemble much more than any thing which is to be seen at *Persepolis*. Mr. *Le Brun* speaks frequently of the traditions of the inhabitants relating to such things as these ; but there is no necessity of examining their accounts here, since we shall be obliged to give an ample account of these matters, when we speak of the *Persian* history, as it has been written by oriental authors. In the mean time the reader will be pleased to observe, that the foregoing relation is a direct proof of the opinion we advanced, that on a strict enquiry, other fragments of antiquity might be found in *Persia*, than those hitherto described and magnified so much.

* *LA BRUN*. Voyag. Vol. ii. p. 299.

S E C T. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the antient PERSIANS.

THE Persians were, without all doubt, a very antient *The origin* nation. Their country was first peopled by *Elam*, or *of the Per-* as *Josephus* calls him ^a *Elymus*, the son of *Shem*; *fians*. whence *Persia* is constantly called by the sacred writers *Elam*; nor does it appear, that it was known to the *Jews* before the captivity by any other name. The descendants of *Elam* settled first in that province, which from them was called *Elymais*, and by degrees, as their numbers increased, spread themselves into *Susiana* and other adjoining provinces; as appears from *Daniel*, who places *Susa*, the metropolis of *Susiana*, in the province of *Elam* ^b (A). All the *Greek* interpreters by *Elam* understand *Persia*, and in the acts the *Persians* are called *Elamites* ^c. Whence it is probable, that they were descended from *Elam*, of whom both the country and inhabitants borrowed their name. How this name was changed into that of *Persia* we have shewn already.

THE government of *Persia* was monarchical, and the crown *Their go-* hereditary. The kingdom of *Elam* seems to have been pretty *vernment-* powerful even in the time of *Abraham*; for *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, who was contemporary with that patriarch, is said in scripture to have invaded the *Zamzummins* and *Emims*, who were of a gigantic race, and to have taken and pillaged the cities of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*; though he was at last overthrown by *Abraham*, who came to the rescue of *Lot*, whom the *Elamite* had taken prisoner ^d. In the time of *Jeremiah* *Elam* must have been a great and potent kingdom, as is plain from the prophecy, where he foretels the increase of *Nebuchadnezzar's* dominions, and particularly, that he should subdue *Elam*, a kingdom on the river *Ulai*, to the eastward of the *Tigris* (B).

BUT

^a JOSEPH. antiquitat. c. 8. ^b DANIEL viii. 2. ^c ACT. ii. 9
^d GEN. xiv. 5. DEUT. ii. 20, 21.

(A) *And I saw in a vision, says the prophet, (and it came to pass, when I saw that I was at Shushan the palace, which is in the province of Elam) and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river of Ulai. Shushan is without doubt the city of Susa in Susiana, which stood on the river Eulæsu, or as the prophet styles it, Ulai.*

(B) *Behold I will break the bow of Elam, the chief of their might. And upon Elam will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of the*

The majesty of their kings.

BUT to speak here of *Persia*, as the second of the four great empires (for of the kings who preceded *Cyrus*, we shall have occasion to give some account hereafter) ; the *Persian* monarchs were under no controul, but governed by their own arbitrary will and pleasure. They were revered by their subjects like deities on earth, none daring to appear before their throne, without prostrating themselves on the ground with a kind of adoration. *Spercies* and *Bulis* both *Lacedæmonians* refused to comply with this ceremony, as did also *Conon* the *Athenian* ; as *Justin* informs us ^e, and *Ismenias* the *Theban* declined it, as we read in *Ælian* ^f, by letting his ring drop from his finger, and then throwing himself on the ground to take it up. *Timagoras*, as we read in *Valerius Maximus* ^g, was put to death by the *Athenians* for paying this veneration to a *Persian* monarch. In the time of *Appollonius* none were allowed to appear before the king, who had not done the same honours to his image. While they were in the king's presence, they were to hold their hands, so long as their audience lasted, within their sleeves ; for neglecting this ceremony *Antofaces* and *Mitræus* were put to death, as we read in *Xenophon*, by *Cyrus* the younger. None were suffered to enter the royal palace without the sovereign's leave, except the princes who slew *Smerdis* ; all others, of what rank soever, before they set foot in the palace, were obliged to acquaint the king by a messenger that they desired to attend him, and wait his royal pleasure. What respect and obedience his vassals payed him we learn from *Herodotus*, who tells us, that *Xerxes* being once in danger by sea, many at the king's desire strove who should be the first in leaping overboard to lighten the vessel and save their prince's life, at the expence of their own ^h. They all lived in no less dread of the king's wrath, than of the anger of the gods ; whence they looked upon the incurring his displeasure as the greatest misfortune that could befall them in life, and were ready at

^e JUSTIN, l. vi. 2. ^f ÆLIAN. var. histor. l. i. ^g VALER. MAXIMUS, l. vi. c. 3. ^h HERODOT. l. viii.

the heaven, and will scatter them towards all those winds, and there shall be no nation whither the outcasts of Elam shall not come. For I will cause Elam to be dismayed before their enemies, and before them that seek their life : and I will bring evil upon them, even my fierce anger, saith the Lord, and I will send the sword after them, till I have consumed them. And I will set my throne in Elam, and will destroy from thence the king and the princes, saith the Lord (1).

(1) *Jerem. xlix. 35—38.*

the least intimation given them by their prince to become their own executioners. The crown was hereditary, and bestowed on the eldest of the deceased king's lawful children. In long or dangerous expeditions, to avoid all contests, the heir apparent was named by the reigning king before he set out on his journey or march. The new king was crowned at *Pasargada*, or as *Pliny* calls it *Pasagarda*ⁱ, by the priests, who bore a great sway in the court of *Persia*. This ceremony was performed in the temple of the goddess of war; where the king used first of all to cloath himself with the garment, which *Cyrus* the founder of the *Persian* monarchy, had wore before he was raised to the throne. Being thus attired, he used to eat some figs with a small quantity of turpentine, and drink a cup of sour milk, then * the tiara or crown was placed on his head by one of the grandees, in whose family that right was hereditary, and deemed, all over *Persia*, the greatest honour a subject could enjoy. The king's tiara was by a peculiar name called *Cidaris*, being a kind of turban rising up with a sharp point without bending; whereas the other *Persians* wore turbans bending, in token of subjection, down to their foreheads. However, the descendants of those who with *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes* slew the usurping *Mage*, were allowed to use a tiara bending to the middle of their head, and not, as that of the other subjects, reaching down to their eye-brows. Round the tiara the king wore a purple and white band or diadem; for nothing else is meant by the word *Diadem* in the antient writers, but a band of this nature wreathed round the forehead^k. This tiara with the purple and white band is the only ensign of royalty we find among the *Persian* kings of the first dynasty. The king's birth-day was kept as sacred, and celebrated with public sports and the utmost pomp and magnificence. His death was bewailed by shutting the tribunals of justice for five days; and that fire, which was worshipped in private families as a household god, was on that occasion alone extinguished^l. The king's abode was according to the season, seven months at *Babylon*, three at *Susa*, (C) and two at *Ecbatan*^m. Whence they

ⁱ *PLIN.* l. vi. c. 26. * *PLUT.* in *Artaxerx.* ^k *DRUS.* observat. l. xii. c. 12. *BRISQ.* l. i. p. 44. ^l *DIODOR.* Sicul. l. viii. ^m *ZONAR.* Annal. l. i.

(C) *Susa*, called in scripture *Shushan*, was the metropolis of the province *Susiana*. It was built on the banks of the river *Eulæus*, called by *Daniel* *Ulai*, by *Memnon*, as some say, the son of *Tithonus*.

they are compared by *Ælian* ⁿ to cranes, and by *Aristotle* to the *Scythian Nomades*, who, by often shifting their abode, always enjoyed a temperate season. They likewise removed sometimes to *Pasargada*, and sometimes to *Persepolis*, which at last became their ordinary residence. The king's court or palace had many gates, and each gate a body of guards, whose duty it was not only to defend the king's person, but to give him notice of whatever they saw, or heard done in any part of the kingdom; whence they were called, some *the king's ears*, others, as *Aristotle* * informs us, *the king's eyes*. To these messengers were sent from the most remote provinces of the empire, when any thing happened worthy of the king's knowledge; and besides, they received immediate intelligence of any sudden commotion by means of fires, which were always ready at small distances from each other, and lighted when occasion required; so that they could in one day receive no-

ⁿ *ÆLIAN*. hist. natur. l. ii. c. 3. * *ARIST.* l. de mundo.

who was slain by the *Thessalians* in the *Trojan* war (2). *Strabo* (3) and *Pausanias* (4) compare the walls of *Susa* even with those of *Babylon*. *Cassiodorus* tells us, upon what authority we know not, and therefore give him no credit, that the walls of this city were cemented with gold. *Polyaetus*, as we read in *Strabo* (5), would make us believe, that it had no walls, which is no less improbable, considering the kings of *Persia* resided there three months in the year, and that great part of the royal treasures were lodged in it, as *Diodorus* informs us (6). It was called *Susa* from the many lillies which grew in that neighbourhood, says *Stephanus*, and in the *Persian* language bore that name. It is also called *Memnonia* by *Herodotus* (7) and others, from its founder *Memnon*. In scripture it is constantly named (8) *the palace*; but besides the king's palace there was, without all doubt, a city, as is plain from all the prophane writers. The city was sheltered by a high ridge of mountains from the northern winds, which rendered it very agreeable during the winter; but in summer the heat was so parching, that the inhabitants were forced to cover their houses, as *Strabo* writes, with earth two cubits deep (9). *Susa* was in antient times a wealthy and magnificent city; *Alexander* found in it 50000 talents of gold, besides jewels of an inestimable value, and an immense quantity of gold and silver vessels. Here *Abasuerus* kept his great feast, which lasted 183 days. It lies now in ruins and is known, as *Tavernier* informs us, by the name of *Schouster* or *Suster*.

(2) *Strabo*, l. xv. p. 500. (3) *Strabo*, ubi supra. (4) *Paus.* *Messen* c. 31. (5) *Ubi supra*. (6) *Diodor.* *Sic.* l. xviii. c. 66. (7) *Herodot.* l. v. c. 54. (8) *Dan.* viii. 2. *Nahem.* i. 1. *Esth.* i. 2. (9) *Strabo*, l. 15.

tice of any tumult, rebellion, or invasion, in what part soever it happened of that vast empire.

THE king's palace was deemed holy, and respected as a temple. It was extremely magnificent, and furnished with utensils of an inestimable value. The walls and roof of the rooms were all covered with ivory, silver, amber, or gold. The throne was of pure gold, supported by four pillars richly set with precious stones. The king's bed was likewise of gold, and *Herodotus* ^o mentions a plane-tree and vine of gold presented to *Darius* by *Pythius* a *Lydian*, who after the kings of *Persia* was accounted the richest man in the world (D). The body and branches of this vine, says *Athenæus* ^p, were enriched with jewels of great value, and the clusters of grapes were all precious stones. It hung over the king's head as he sat on the throne. At his beds head stood always a chest or coffer containing five thousand talents, which was called the king's bolster, and another at his feet with three thousand talents ^q; adjoining to the king's palace were large gardens and parks stocked with all sorts of game for his diversion. *Tully* tells us out of *Xenophon* ^r, that *Cyrus* planted and cultivated one of these delicious gardens with his own hand. *Alexander* enriched them with trees and plants out of *Greece*. The *Persian* kings drank no other water but that of the river *Choaspes*, which was carried about with them in silver vessels whithersoever they went (E). ^s They drank only *Calybonian* wine made

^o HERODOT. l. vii. ^p ATHEN. l. xii. vide. BUD. de aff. l. iv. ^q BUDÆUS ubi supra. ^r CIC. de senect. ^s HERODOT. l. i. c. 159.

(D) *Pythius*, if we believe *Herodotus* (10), entertained at *Cælene* in *Phrygia* *Xerxes* and all his army, as he was marching against *Greece*, and moreover offered him towards the charges of the war two thousand talents of silver, and three millions nine hundred ninety three thousand pieces of gold, all bearing the stamp of his father *Darius*. *Xerxes* with no less generosity not only refused the treasures offered him, but ordered seven thousand *Darian* pieces or *Darics* to be given to *Pythius*, as a reward of his affection and good will, nor did he leave *Cælene* till the sum was paid.

(E) It is matter of dispute among geographers, whether the *Choaspes* and the *Eulæus* be one and the same, or two different rivers. *Pliny* (11) distinguishes them, and says, that they both rise in *Media*, but that the *Choaspes* discharges itself into the *Pasitigris*, and the *Eulæus* into the lake *Characenus*. *Polycletus* likewise, as

(10) *Herodot. l. vii.* (11) *Plin. l. vi. c. 27.*

made at *Damascus* in *Syria*, and touched no bread but what was of the wheat of *Affos* in *Phrygia*, and their salt was brought from *Egypt*. The magnificence of their public feasts exceeds, as appears from holy writ ^t, what we read of in the histories of other nations. Their table was daily served with somewhat of the product of each nation subject to them ^u. Among the prisoners taken by *Parmenio* at *Damascus* were, as *Athenæus* ^w informs us, 277 cooks, 29 who took care of the dishes, 17 who ministred water, 70 who had in charge the wine, 40 employed about ointments, and 66 whose province it was to prepare garlands used, according to the custom of those times, in banquets. During their repast their ears were feasted with the harmony both of vocal and instrumental music, and 300 women, of the sweetest and most melodious voices, were in constant attendance to divert the king at his unbending hours. It was likewise their province to lull him asleep with the melody and variety of their notes, and recreate his mind as soon as he awaked in the morning ^x. Most of the *Persian* kings were so dissolved in pleasures, that they scarce minded any thing beside their own satisfaction. *Xer-*

^t ESTHER. i. ^u ATHEN. l. viii. ^w Idem. l. xii. ^x Idem. ibid.

we read in *Strabo* (12), supposes them to be two different streams, though he makes them disembody themselves into the same lake. On the other hand, *Salmasius* (13) takes them to be one and the same river under different names; for the *Choaspes* rising in *Media* buries itself under ground, and again appears not far from *Susa*; in *Media* he thinks it is called *Choaspes*, and in the province of *Susiana* *Eulæus*. This seems agreeable to what we read in *Ptolemy* (14), who mentions two springs of the *Eulæus* (for he no where names the *Choaspes*) one in *Media* and the other in *Susiana*. Besides, *Herodotus* tells us (15), that the *Choaspes* washed the walls of *Susa*, and that the *Persian* kings drank no other water; whence it is manifest, that the *Choaspes* and *Eulæus* are one and the same river at least at *Susa*, and even *Pliny* (16) and the other writers, who distinguish them, place the city of *Susa* on the banks of the *Eulæus*, and all the interpreters take the river *Ulai* mentioned by *Daniel* (17) to be the *Eulæus*. Nor is there any thing more common, than that the same river should be known in different places by different names; thus the *Daube* was called by the *Latins* *Danubius* and *Ister*, the *Wejër Vierra* and *Vifurgis*, the *Po Padus* and *Eridanus*, &c.

(12) *Strabo*, l. xv. p. 501. (13) *Salmas.* in *Solin.* p. 493. (14) *Ptol.* l. vi. c. 3. (15) *Herodot.* l. i. c. 153. (16) *Plin.* ubi supra (17) *Dan.* viii.

xes was not ashamed to propose, by a public edict, an ample reward to any one that should devise a new pleasure ^y. The king seldom admitted others to his table, besides his wife and mother; such as received this honour were so placed as not to see, but only be seen by, the king; for they thought it was, in some degree, a degrading of their majesty to appear subject to the same necessities with other mortals. This desire of appearing above the level of other men was what confined them within their palaces, and scarce ever suffered them to appear abroad. Their lust and voluptuousness sufficiently appears from the book of *Esther*, and *Tully* ^z adds, that the revenues of whole provinces were employed on the attire of some of their favourite concubines, one city being obliged to supply them with ornaments for their hair, another for their necks, &c. Nay *Socrates* ^a mentions an ambassador, who being sent into *Persia* spent a whole day in travelling through a country which was called the *Queen's Girdle*, and another day before he reached the borders of a rich territory stiled the *Queen's Head-dress*.

THE king's children, more especially the eldest, were presently after their birth committed to the care of eunuchs. At seven years old they learnt under experienced instructors to ride and hunt, which were looked upon as the most manly exercises; at the age of fourteen they were put under the discipline of four learned preceptors, of which one was to teach them prudence, another justice, the third temperance, and the fourth fortitude ^b.

THE king's ordinary guard consisted mostly of *Persians*. *Curtius* mentions a guard which attended the king's person, consisting of 15000 men, who were called *the king's relations*; there was also a body of 10000 choice horse-men, all *Persians*, who accompanied him in all his expeditions, and were called *immortal*. His guards received no pay, but were very plentifully provided with all necessaries of life.

BUT the grandeur and magnificence of the *Persian* kings appeared no where greater than on occasion of the public sacrifices, at which they often assisted, as we shall have occasion to take notice in the next section, as also of their funerals and other religious ceremonies in use among the *Persians*.

NOW to say something of the customs and manners of the ancient *Persians*, they had a particular care of the education of their children above any other nation. A son was not admitted to the presence of his father, but was brought up by

The king's children.

The king's guard.

The manner of the Persians,

How they educated their children.

^y CIC. *Tusc. quæst.* VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 2. ^z CIC. in *Ver.* act. v. ^a SOCRAT. in PLAT. *Alcibiad.* ^b XENOPH. l. i. c. 11. BRISON, *Polit.*

women of the best characters, till he attained the age of five years, lest if he should die before that time his father might be too much grieved at his death. At five years old the children of such as could afford it were committed to the tuition of learned masters or *Mages*, who carefully taught them, more by examples than precepts, the practice of justice, patience, sobriety, abstinence, and all other virtues. They took great pains to implant in their breasts an aversion to all manner of vice, especially to lying and contracting debts. They learned also to ride, to shoot with bows, and fight on horse-back. This was their education till seventeen years of age, when the children of men of rank were admitted among the king's guards, and attended him at home when he went a hunting, or abroad in his warlike expeditions. They were brought up with such an awful respect to their parents, that they never offered to sit down in their presence. Every father had power of life and death over his own children, but was restrained by the laws from exercising such severity for small faults, or for one crime alone.

The miscellaneous customs of the Persians.

THE *Persians* were antiently all trained up to military exercises, but more especially to handle the bow, which they did with great dexterity, whence it is, that we find the *bow of Elam* mentioned by the prophet *Jeremiah* ^c, and the *quiver of Elam* by *Isaiah* ^d, as the arms peculiar to this nation. From the age of five years to that of twenty they taught their sons chiefly three things, as *Herodotus* informs us ^e, *to manage a horse, to use with dexterity the bow, and to speak truth*. A numerous issue was looked upon by them as the greatest blessing which the gods could bestow, and such as could shew a numerous offspring received yearly presents from the king ^f. They celebrated their birth-days with great pomp and magnificence, furnishing their tables on such occasions in a very plentiful manner, tho' at other times they lived very sparingly, at least under their first kings. In their diet they were very temperate, but were always inclined to drinking; they used even to debate the most important matters in their cups; but the master of the house, where they met to consult, proposed the same subject the next day, before they tasted any liquor, when the resolutions taken the day, before were approved or rejected ^g. When they met they saluted with a kiss on the mouth, if they were equal; on the cheek, if one was somewhat inferior to the other; but those who were of a much lower rank used to prostrate themselves on the ground, when they met or ac-

^c JER c xlix. 35.
HERODOT. ubi supra.

^d ISA. c. xxii. 6.
^e HERODOT. ibid.

^f HERODOT. l. i.

costed their superiors. ~ They shewed most value for those that lived next to them, and very little to such as lived at a great distance, as if men were more or less worthy, in proportion as they lived at a greater or smaller distance from them ^b. No nation was ever more ready to adopt foreign customs. They no sooner conquered the *Medes*, but they assumed their dress ; in war they used the *Egyptian* armour after they had subdued that kingdom ; and imitated the *Greeks*, as soon as they became acquainted with them, in the worst of vices, as *Herodotus* himself owns ^c. They were indulged many wives, and besides as many concubines as they were able to maintain, those who had many children, being looked upon as heroes, of as great prowess, as those who had distinguished themselves in military exploits. They bore such respect to their parents that they thought it impossible a man should ever put to death his father or mother, whence no punishments were inflicted by their laws on such offenders, and if any one was indicted for committing so heinous a crime, he was always declared by the judges spurious or supposititious. To affirm a falsehood was accounted the utmost infamy, and next to that the being in debt, because it exposed a man to the necessity of lying. If any among them happened to be infected with a leprosy, or any other distemper of that nature, he was not permitted to stay within the city, nor to converse with the others, having, as they believed, drawn this punishment upon himself by committing some offence against the sun. All strangers that were subject to this distemper were expelled the country. These customs, and some others relating to their funerals, of which we shall speak in the next section, we have learned of *Herodotus*, who tells us, that he can with certainty affirm them to be true.

THE most severe punishment in use among the *Persians* *Their pu-* was that of shutting them up between two boats, which was *nishments.* done in the following manner. They made two boats on purpose, so even that the one was neither broader nor longer than the other ; then they laid the offender in one of them on his back, and covered him with the other, his hands, feet, and head being left uncovered, and appearing through an opening made for that purpose. In this posture he was supplied with victuals and drink by the executioners, who even forced him, by thrusting sharp iron tools into his eyes, to eat what was necessary to support nature, lest he should starve himself, and thereby put an end to his pain. On his face, that was placed full in the sun, they poured honey,

^b Idem ibid.^c HERODOT. ubi supra.

which

which inviting the flies and wasps, they tormented him no less than the swarms of worms that were bred by his excrements, and devoured his body to the very entrails. Under such a complication of unrelenting torments the unhappy offender lived many days ; for *Plutarch*, who describes this cruel manner of putting to death ^k, tells us, that *Mithridates*, whom *Artaxerxes* condemned to this punishment for killing his brother *Cyrus* ^{*}, lived seventeen days in the utmost agony, and that the uppermost boat being taken off at his death, they found his flesh all consumed, and swarms of worms gnawing his very bowels. Such as were convicted of high treason were condemned to have their head and right-hand struck off ; which sentence was, by order of *Artaxerxes*, executed even on the dead body of his brother *Cyrus* ^l. But by the antient laws of *Persia* the king was restrained from putting any man to death for a single crime ; and besides, the judge was to examine narrowly into the actions of the delinquent ; and if his faults were found to over-balance his former services, the king was allowed to punish him at pleasure, if not, he was either pardoned, or punished less severely ^m. Poisoners were pressed to death between two stones, which punishment we find inflicted upon *Gigis*, a woman greatly favoured by *Parysatis*, mother to *Artaxerxes*, for having conspired with her to poison queen *Statira* ⁿ.

THE *Persians* were beyond any other people jealous of their wives and concubines. It was death to touch any of the king's women, to speak to them, or even to come near them or their coaches as they travelled. They were allowed to marry their own sisters and daughters ; thus we are told, that *Artaxerxes* married two of his daughters, *Amestris* and *Atossa*, though he had promised them to others. *Minutius Felix* ^o reproaches them with marrying, or criminally conversing with, their mothers ; and *Eusebius* quotes a saying of *Bardefanes*, which shews, that they were indulged by law to marry their sisters, daughters, and mothers. This incestuous custom they observed also in other countries, namely in E-

^k PLUTARCH. in vita Artaxerxis. ^l PLUTARCH, ibid.
^m HERODOT. ubi supr. ⁿ PLUTARCH, ubi supr. ^o ARNOB. contra gentes.

^{*} *Artaxerxes*, according to *Plutarch* (1), rewarded *Mithridates* for killing his brother *Cyrus* ; but put him to this cruel death for boasting of it, being himself desirous to pass for the person who had done it.

(1) *Plutarch in vit. Artax.*

gypt, Phrygia, and Galatia, as Eusebius witnesses^p, where they were on that account abhorred by the inhabitants, and nick-named *Maguffæi*, or, *addicted to magic*^q. They were the first that introduced those amphibious animals called *Eunuchs*, which *Petronius Arbiter*^r and *Seneca*^s impute to their insatiable lechery.

THE first that caused gold and silver to be coined in *Persia* *Their mo-*
was *Darius* the son of *Cyaxares*, or as he is called in scripture^{ney}.
Darius the Mede, the founder of the *Medo-Persian* monarchy
(F). In his reign were coined those famous pieces of gold
called *Darics*, which for many ages were preferred, being of
pure gold, to all other coins throughout the east. They were
stamped on one side with an archer, cloathed in a long robe,
and crowned with a spiked crown, holding a bow in his left-
hand, and an arrow in his right; on the other side was the
effigies of *Darius*^t. To these pieces alluded *Agésilas*, when
finding himself obliged to quit *Asia* in order to suppress the
tumults, which *Artaxerxes* had by dint of gold stirred up in
Greece, he said, that the king of *Persia* had driven him out of
his dominions, with thirty thousand archers^u. The *Darics*
were of the same weight and value with the *Attic Stater*.
Darius seems to have learned the art and use of money of the
Lydians, for the *Medes* had no money before they conquered
Lydia^w; whereas *Cræsus* king of *Lydia* had coined innume-
rable pieces of gold called *Cræsei*; as it was not reasonable that
the coin of *Lydia* should continue current after the downfall
of the kingdom, we may suppose, that *Darius* recoined the
Cræsei with his own effigies, without altering their weight
or value^x. All these pieces of gold, that were afterwards
coined of the same weight and value, by the succeeding kings,
not only of the *Persian* but also of the *Macedonian* race, were
called *Darics* from this *Darius*, in whose reign they were first
coined (G).

^p EUSEB. de Præpar. Evangelic. l. vi. c. 8. ^q Idem. ibid.
^r PETRON. ARB. Satyr. ^s SENECA controver. 4. l. x.
^t PLUTARCH. in Artaxer. ^u PLUTARCH. ibid. ^w HERO-
DOT. l. i. c. 71. ^x Sir Isaac Newton's chronolog. p. 320.

(F) We are told by *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, and the scholiast of *Aristophanes* (18), that the first pieces of gold were coined not by *Darius* the father of *Xerxes*, but by a more antient *Darius*, who must necessarily have been *Darius* the son of *Cyaxares*, king of the *Medes*, since we know of no other *Darius* reigning so early in the east.

(G) In those parts of scripture that were wrote after the *Babylonish* captivity (19), these pieces are mentioned by the name of

(18) *Harpocr. Scholiast. Aristoph. p. 741, 742. Suidas in Δαριός.*
(19) 1 Chron. xxix. 7. Ezra. viii. 27.

*Their arts,
sciences,
&c.*

THERE was, it seems, no great learning among the *Persians* before the time of *Zoroastres*, whom the *Persians* call *Zerduſht* or *Zaratuſh*, who flourished in the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, and was the great mathematician and philosopher of the age he lived in. The *Mages*, being instructed in the mathematics, astronomy, and natural philosophy, partly by him, and partly by *Hyſtaſpes* the father of *Darius*, were reputed above all others skilled in those arts. *Hyſtaſpes* had travelled into *India*, and lived there some time among the *Brachmans*, in order to learn their mysteries and sciences, for which they were famed at that time, and on his return communicated to the *Mages* what he had learned, improving that sect not only in religion, but in all natural knowledge ¹. But this subject shall be treated more at length in the following section, we shall only add here, that this knowledge was locked up among the priests, and seldom communicated to any, except those of the royal family, whom they were bound to instruct ².

*Their
trade and
navigation.*

THE poverty of the antient *Persians*, and their contempt of riches, shews them to have been quite strangers to trade and commerce, which are carried on with a prospect of gain. Before the conquest of *Lydia* they had no money, nor any cloathing but skins; they used water for drink, and had neither wine nor any other thing, but what their barren country produced, as appears from the speech of *Sandanis* dissuading *Cræſus* from invading *Persia* ³. After they subdued *Lydia*, and were masters of so many rich provinces, they very likely applied their minds to trade and navigation, to supply themselves with those commodities which their country wanted, and at the same time dispose of their own productions. But as we can advance nothing with respect to their trade, warranted by good authorities, we shall dismiss this subject, and hasten to their military discipline.

¹ AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxiii. ² PLATO in Alcibiad. i.
STOBÆUS 496. CLEM. ALEXAND. in Pædago. ³ HE-
RODOT. l. i. c. 71.

Adarkonim, and by the *Talmudists* are called (20) *Darkomoth*, both from the *Greek* *Δαρικαί*, that is *Darics*. They were probably coined by *Darius* during the two years he reigned at *Babylon*, while *Cyrus* was absent on his *Syrian*, *Egyptian*, and other expeditions. According to Dr. *Bernard* a *Daric* weighed two grains more than one of our guineas.

(20) Buxtor. Lexic. Rabbini. p. 577.

THE *Persians* learned from their childhood to ride and *Their sol-*
 handle their bow, as we have hinted above, and by the man-
 ly exercise of hunting inured themselves to the toils of war ^b.
 They never parted with their swords, quivers, and bows, even
 in time of peace, but when they went to repose, and had them
 even then always ready at hand ^c; which customs the *Romans*,
 who never used any weapons but in the field, looked upon as
 unbecoming a civilized nation ^d. As soon as they were able
 to bear arms they were obliged to enter themselves in the list
 of soldiers, but received no pay till the age of twenty ^e. In
 time of war they were all bound, on pain of death, except
 such as were disabled by age, to appear under their respective
 colours, and attend the king in his expeditions ^f (H). They
 used no mercenaries in the time of *Herodotus* ^g, nor main-
 tained

^b STRABO, l. xv. ^c AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. 23. ^d OVID.
 Trist. l. 5. ^e STRABO, l. xv. ^f HEROD. l. iv. ^g HE-
 RODIAN. l. iii.

(H) *Herodotus* tells us, that while *Darius* was marching from *Susa*
 with his forces against the *Scythians*, *OEobaxus*, a noble *Persian*,
 who had three sons in his army, begged, that one of his sons
 might be left at home to comfort him in his old age. The king
 received him with great demonstrations of kindness, and told him,
 that he would grant him more than he asked, for he designed to
 leave him all his sons. This answer gave the old man great joy,
 for he did not doubt but the king would be as good as his word.
OEobaxus was scarce departed, when *Darius* commanded the offi-
 cers appointed for such purposes to put all his sons to death, and
 sent their dead mangled bodies home to their father's house (21).
 We have another, still more dreadful, instance of the *Persian* seve-
 rity on such occasions; *Pythius* the *Lydian*, as we have hinted above,
 entertained with great magnificence *Xerxes* and all his army, and
 offered him two thousand talents of silver, and three millions nine
 hundred ninety three thousand pieces of gold to defray the expences
 of the war which he was carrying on against *Greece*. The king
 was so taken with his zeal and affection, that he promised to grant
 him whatever he should ask. *Pythius* had then no request to make;
 but some time after being frightened with an eclipse of the sun, and
 confiding in the merit of his liberal offer, and the king's unlimited
 promise, entreated him to discharge the eldest of his five sons who
 were all in his army, that he might have some body to take care of
 himself in his old age and of his estate. He had no sooner uttered
 this request, but the king, transported with rage, and forgetful
 both of his own promise and the former merits of *Pythius*, comman-

(21) *Herodot. l. iv. Seneca, de ira l. iii. c. 16.*

tained a standing army, but were all obliged, when occasion required, to repair to their colours, returning to their respective homes when the war was at an end, without any other pay or reward, but their share of the plunder.

Their armour and discipline.

In war they wore on the head a tiara, or head-piece, so thick that it was proof against all kinds of offensive arms; on the body a coat of mail wrought in likeness of scales, and embellished with sleeves of various colours; their thighs were defended with cuisses; their shields, or rather targets, were of wicker, their javelins short, their bows of an uncommon length, their arrows of reeds; they wore short swords (H2) hanging from a belt on the right side ^b. Their horses were likewise covered with armour or thick hides, as we read in *Xenophon*ⁱ, *Curtius*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, &c. They were sure marks-men, and quicker than any other nation in discharging, especially on their flight, which was peculiar to them and the *Parthians*; however, in the time of *Procopius*, their arrows did but small execution, which he ascribes to the slackness of their bows; whereas no shield or armour was proof against the *Roman* arrows *. The number of their dead they knew only when the campaign was at an end, and in the following manner. Before they took the field they passed before the king or commander in chief, each man throwing an arrow into a basket; these baskets were sealed up with the royal signet till they returned from the campaign, when they past muster in the same manner, every one taking an arrow out of the same baskets; when they were all past, the remaining arrows were counted, and from their number they reckoned the number of their dead. This antient custom conti-

^b HERODOT. l. vii. XENOPH. l. vii. ⁱ XENOPH. l. viii. c. 190. * PROCOPI. l. i. de Bell. Pers. c. 18.

ded the body of his eldest son to be cut asunder, and one part laid on the right hand of the way, and the other on the left, that the army might pass between both (22). So heinous a crime it was, according to the *Persian* discipline, to exempt one's self from the service, or even ask an exemption for others.

(H2) They wore rather daggers than swords; for *Josephus* (24) compares them to the poignards used by ruffians, and *Darius*, finding in his first engagement with *Alexander* that the length of the *Macedonian* swords did not contribute a little to the victory, caused the *Persian* swords, or *Acinaces* as the *Latins* call them, to be considerably lengthened (25).

(22) Herodot. l. vii. Seneca, de ira. l. iii. c. 17. (24) Joseph. Antiquitat. l. xx. c. 7. (25) Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii.

nued even in the tim of *Procopius*^k. They wore over their armour great-coats of purple, but the king's was white, by which badge he was known and often aimed at by the enemies^l. They excelled all nations in horsemanship, being accustomed thereunto from their very infancy; among them it was disreputable ever to appear in public but on horse-back; on horse-back they transacted all their private and public affairs, held their assemblies, visited their friends, &c.^m. This custom in process of time began to degenerate into luxury, the *Persians* striving to outdo each other in the richness of their caparisons, their very horses, as *Dionysius* expresses itⁿ, champing the purest gold. They fought not only on horse-back, but likewise from chariots drawn by four, six, and sometimes eight horses^o. They were the first, if we believe *Xenophon*^p, that introduced the use of chariots armed with scythes (I). When they went on any expedition, their wives, mothers, children, &c. followed the camp^q, which custom was observed amongst all the eastern nations; their presence, they thought, inspired them with courage, since they were to lose at once whatever was dear to them in the world, if they did not behave as they ought. Their provisions and baggage were carried on camels, the soldiers being loaded with no other burden but that of their arms^r. In what manner they marched we learn from *Herodotus*, who describes the march of *Xerxes's* army thus^s. The baggage, whether carried by servants or beasts of burden, appeared in the front, and was followed by men of all nations, formed into a body without distinction. Between these and the rest of the army was left an interval, that they might not mix with that part where the king was. Before him marched a thousand horse-men,

^k PROCOPIUS. ubi supra. ^l HERODOTUS. l. ix. XENOPHON. l. vii. p. 136. PLUTARCH. in Artaxerxe. ^m XENOPHON. l. iv. p. 81. & l. viii. p. 190. JUSTINUS. l. xli. c. 3. ⁿ DIONYSIUS. de situ orbis. ^o XENOPHON. l. vi. p. 124. ^p XENOPHON. Cyropæd. l. viii. prope finem. ^q CURTIUS. l. iii. 8. 12. XENOPHON. l. iv. p. 76. ^r HERODOTUS. l. viii. ^s HERODOTUS. l. vii.

(I) *Xenophon* ascribes to *Cyrus* the invention of chariots armed with scythes (26). But *Diodorus* tells us out of *Ctesias*, that *Semiramis*, in the war which she waged with the *Babylonians*, had in her army 700 chariots armed with scythes (27), and seems to make the *Assyrian* kings the first inventers of them. Whence it is plain, both from *Xenophon* and *Diodorus*, that *Hesychius* was mistaken when he ascribed this contrivance to the *Macedonians*.

(26) *Cyropæd.* l. viii. prope finem.

(27) *Diodor. Sicul.* l. iii.

and

Their re-
views,
manner of
declaring
war, &c.

and the like number of spear-men with their spears pointing downwards. After these came ten great horses, bred in the plains of *Media* called the *Nisean plains* (K), caparisoned with rich furniture, being consecrated to *Jupiter*. The chariot of that god immediately followed, drawn by eight white horses, the driver on foot, holding the reins, no mortal being allowed to mount the seat. After *Jupiter* appeared the king in a chariot drawn by *Nisean* horses. A thousand chosen spear-men, all *Persians*, marched next to the king, and were followed by another body of horse, consisting of a thousand chosen men of the same nation. After the horse ten thousand *Persian* foot advanced, and of these one thousand armed with javelins, which, instead of the common ornaments, were embellished with pomegranates of gold. The other nine thousand had pomegranates of silver. The ten thousand foot were followed by ten thousand *Persian* horse, and at the distance of two stades. The rest of the forces advanced promiscuously. They computed the number of their forces in the following manner. Ten thousand men were crowded into as narrow a piece of ground as they possibly could, and a kind of furrow being drawn round them, they caused the like number to enter the ground, and continued so doing till the whole army was computed¹. When they intended to make war upon any nation they sent heralds or ambassadors to demand of them earth and water; that is, to command them to submit and acknowledgethe king of *Persia* as the sovereign lord of their country² (L). This manner of declaring war they borrowed of

¹ HERODOT. l. vii.

² DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi. HEROD. l. iv.

(K) The *Misean* or *Nisean* fields in *Media* are celebrated by all the antients for the large, strong, and fleet horses that were bred there (28), and which alone the *Persian* monarchs used after they were masters of that country.

(L) Some have erroneously imagined, that by this demand nothing else was meant, but that those to whom it was directed should furnish the *Persian* army with such a quantity of provisions. But the contrary is plain from all the antients, especially from *Herodotus*, who tells us, that *Darius* dispatched a messenger to *Indathyrsus* king of *Scythia* commanding him to own the king of *Persia* for his sovereign, and to present him with earth and water in token of his submission. To this message the *Scythian* returned answer, that he acknowledged no other lords but *Jupiter* his progenitor, and *Vesta* queen of the *Scythians*, and that, in stead of presenting him with earth and water, he would send him such a

(28) *Herodot.* l. vii. *Ammian.* Mar. l. xxiii. *Themistius Orat.* v. &c.
present

of the *Medes*, as *Plutarch* informs us, and the *Medes* seem to have imitated in that, as in many other things, the *Assyrians*, who, as appears from the book of *Judith* ^w, used in that manner to require an entire submission. In time of action the king was always in the center ^x, and used to encourage his men with a speech ^y. The signal was given with the sound of trumpets, and followed by an universal shout of the whole army ^z. The watch-word was in use even among them, for *Xenophon*, speaking of *Cyrus*, tells us, that his was, *Jupiter our leader and protector* ^z. The royal banner was a spread-eagle of gold, carried on the point of a long spear ^b. They reckoned those happy who died in the field, and inflicted exemplary punishments on such as abandoned their posts, or fled from their colours ^c. They used no stratagems, nor cared for any advantages that were not owing to their valour ^d, or, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* expresses it, thought it unfair and base to steal a victory ^e. They never fought in the night, unless attacked by the enemy, nor marched before the rising of the sun ^f. Duels or single combats were in use among them, as is plain from the stories of *Darius* ^g and *Polydamas* ^h. This is what we have been able to gather, from unquestionable authorities, relating to the military discipline of the antient *Persians*.

^w JUDITH. c. ii. 7. ^x XENOPH. l. i. Ἀνάβαρ. ^y STORÆUS. ser. xlii. CURT. &c. ^z CURT. l. iii. DIODOR. Sicul. l. xvii. ^z XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. vii. p. 137. ^b XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. vii. p. 136. PHILOSTRAT. Iconum. l. ii. c. 32. ^c PLUTARCH. in ARTAXERX. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xxiii. ^d JUSTIN. l. xi. ^e AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xvii. ^f CURT. l. v. 12. 6. ^g DIODOR. Sicul. l. xvii. ^h PAUSANIAS. in Eliac.

present as he deserved, and perhaps might make him repent of his insolence in assuming the title of his master. And accordingly he sent him sometime after a messenger to present him on his part with a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows, which *Darius* would fain have interpreted as a tacit submission, and a giving him possession of the land and water; for, said he, the mouse is bred in the earth and lives on the same food as man; a frog lives in the water; a bird may be compared to a horse, and by the arrows they seem to deliver their whole force into my hands. But *Gobryas* was of opinion, that the king of *Scythia* gave them to understand by such a present, that unless the *Persians* could ascend into the air like a bird, or conceal themselves in the earth like mice, or plunge into the fens like frogs, they should inevitably perish by those arrows (29).

(29) *Herodot.* l. iv.

Their
laws.

As to their laws, they are greatly commended by *Xenophon*, who prefers them to those of any other nation whatsoever¹, and observes, that other law-givers only appointed punishments for crimes committed, but did not take sufficient care to prevent men from committing them; whereas the main design of the *Persian* laws was to inspire men with a love for virtue and abhorrency of vice, so as to avoid the one and pursue the other, without regarding either punishments or rewards. To attain this end, parents were not by their laws allowed to give their children what education they pleased; but were obliged to send them to public schools, where they were educated with great care, and never suffered, till they had attained the age of seventeen, to return home to their parents. These schools were not under the care of common mercenary masters, but governed by men of the first quality and best characters, who taught them by their example the practice of all virtues; for these schools were not designed for learning of sciences, but practising of virtue. The youths were allowed no other food but bread and cresses, no other drink but water², at least from the age of seven to seventeen. Those who had not been educated in these schools were excluded from all honours and preferments³ (M). There were particular laws against ingratitude, and whoever had done any one a good office, if he did not meet with a suitable return, could bring an action against the ungrateful person, who upon conviction was punished with great severity⁴ (N). When any one went to give advice

¹ XENOPH. cyropæd. l. i. ² XENOPH. ibid. JUSTIN. l. xli. CIC. l. 5. Tusculan. quæst. ³ XENOPH. ibid. ⁴ XENOPH. ibid. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. iii. 5. THEMISTOCLES, orat. 3.

(M) These schools the *Persians* called *Liberal markets*; for they allowed no public place for buying or selling, as appears from *Cyrus's* answer to the *Lacedæmonians*, telling them, that he was not afraid of those who in the midst of their cities have a place of public resort, where they cheat one another by mutual oaths; which words, adds *Herodotus* (30), were levelled at all the *Greeks*, who in every city had some public place for buying and selling, whereas the *Persians* allow of no such places, nor any place at all of public resort.

(N) *Seneca* therefore was mistaken when he said, that laws against ingratitude were to be found among the *Macedonians* alone; *excepta Macedonum gens, says he, non est in ullâ data adversus in-*

(30) *Herodot. l. i.*

advice to the king, either of his own accord, or by the prince's order, in proposing his opinion he stood upon an ingot of gold, which he was rewarded with, if his advice was found wholesome, if otherwise, he was publicly whipt ^a.

BEFORE we close this section, we shall add some particulars, relating to the *Persian* kings, gathered from the best authors. The kings of *Persia* were above all others the most arbitrary and absolute, and looked upon their subjects, however distinguished by birth or fortune, as the meanest of slaves. None, their own children not excepted, durst address them with any other title, but that of *Lord, great king, king of kings* ^o; which high-sounding titles they seem to have borrowed from the *Assyrians*; for *Daniel* ^p in speaking to *Nubuchadnezzar*, gives him the title of *king of kings*. As the *Persians* imitated in this the haughtiness of the *Assyrians*, so did the *Parthians* that of the *Persians* ^q, and continued this style even to the time of the emperor *Constantius*, to whom *Sapor* king of *Parthia* wrote himself, *king of kings, partaker of the stars, brother of the sun and moon, &c.* But to return to the *Persian* kings, as they assumed high titles to themselves, so they bestowed no other on their subjects, by what dignity soever distinguished, but that of slaves ^r; and treated them, not in words only, but in all other respects as arrant slaves. To this spirit of slavery, which is inconsistent with true courage, *Plato* ascribes the downfall of the *Persian* monarchy ^s. This spirit of slavery prevailed to such a degree among the *Persians*, that even those who were by the king's order publicly whipt, used to return him thanks for vouchsafing to remember them ^t. Whoever betrayed the least reluctance to put in execution the king's commands, how difficult soever, was sure to forfeit his head and right arm ^u. The custom of adoring their kings, and putting them on the same level with the gods, is by *Justin* ^w fathered upon *Cyrus the great*.

^a *ÆLIAN* var. histor. l. xii. c. 12. ^o *DIO. CHRYS.* orat. 3. de regno. *ARRIAN.* l. vi. *STRABO*, xv. *EZRA*. ^p *DAN.* ii. 37. ^q *PLUTARCH* in *Pomp & Lucullo*. ^r *XENOPH.* l. i. *Ἀράβας*. *Q. CURT.* l. v. *ARISTOT.* de Mundo. *EZRA*, c. iv. 12. ^s *PLATO.* lib. iii de Legib. ^t *STOBÆUS* serm. xii. ^u *STRABO* l. xv. p. 733. ^w *JUSTIN.* c. iv. l. xi.

gratos actio (31), that is, in no nation, except the *Macedonian*, ingratitude is actionable; where some read *Mædorum* instead of *Macedonum*, but all the antient copies have *Macedonum*.

(31) *Seneca, de Benefic. l. iii. c. 6.*

None durst appear before the king without prostrating themselves on the ground; nay, they were all obliged, at what distance soever the king appeared, to pay him that adoration. Nor did they exact it only of their own vassals, but also of foreign ministers and ambassadors, the captain of the guard being charged to enquire of those, who asked admittance to the king, whether they were ready to adore him; if they refused to comply with that ceremony, they were told that the king's ears were open to such only as were willing to pay him that homage, and obliged to transact the business they were charged with, by means of the king's servants or eunuchs*. Nor did their pride and ambition stop here; they sometimes ordered the same reverence to be paid to their favourites, as appears from the history of *Haman* and *Mordecai*†; nay, even to their statues and images, for *Philostratus* acquaints us, that in the time of *Apollonius* a golden statue of the king was presented to all those that entered *Babylon*, and that such only as adored it were admitted within the gates‡. When they appeared before the king, their common salutation was, *Live for ever*⁴, *Let the king live for ever*. To sit in the king's chair or throne (O), to wear any part of the

* PLUTARCH. in Themist. † ESTHER iii. 2. ‡ PHILOSTRAT. l. i. de vita Apollonii. ⁴ ÆLIAN. var. histor. l. i. c. 32. Nehem. c. ii. 3. Daniel. c. vi. 6.

(O) *Q. Curtius* tells us (32), that when *Alexander* marched his army thro' a certain province called *Gabaxa*, one of his soldiers arrived at the place, where they were to encamp, so benumbed with the excessive cold of the season and climate, that he had almost lost the use of both his limbs and senses. The king, who had likewise suffered greatly by the cold, and was then sitting by a fire which they had kindled in the open fields, no sooner saw the soldier in that pitiful condition, but starting up, and with his own hands pulling off his armour, he placed him in the chair where himself was sitting. The soldier by degrees recovered, but was very near fainting away again when he found himself seated in the royal chair, and the king standing by him. But *Alexander* encouraged him to lay aside all fear, saying, *Do not fear, O fellow soldier, but reflect how much happier is your condition under me, than that of the Persians under their king; had you rested in the Persian king's chair, it had cost you your life; to have rested in mine has saved it*. Hence it was, that *Artabanus*, as we read in *Herodotus* (33), though uncle to *Xerxes*, shewed so great reluctancy to comply with his orders, when he commanded him to put on the royal robes, sit on the throne, and repose in his bed.

(32) *Q. Curt. l. viii.*(33) *Herodot. l. vii.*

apparel which he had used, (P) to look into the litter wherein his concubines were conveyed from their habitation to the palace (Q), to shoot in hunting, or strike at the game before the king (R), were all capital crimes^b. Such as betrayed any secret, which they had been trusted with by the king, or gave intelligence to the enemies of his designs, were punished with great severity; whence *Alexander*, as his historian tells us^c, could never have any notice before-hand of their designs, the captives choosing rather to suffer death than betray the designs of their prince. Nobody, of what rank soever, appeared before the king without a present, which custom prevails among the orientals to this day. When he went on his progress or marched out with his army, all the inhabitants of the countries or provinces through which he passed were obliged to declare their vassalage by some present or other; even the inhabitants of the villages and fields flocked to him with their donatives, some offering sheep, oxen, corn, wine, &c. others milk, cheese, dates, &c. every one according to his ability^d (S).

THE

^b DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvii. VAL. MAXIM. l. v. c. 16. Q. CURT. c. xviii. FRONTIN. Stratagem. c. vi. PLUTARCH. in Artaxerx. & Themist. ^c Q. CURT. l. iv. & AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxi. ^d ÆLIAN. var. histor. l. i. c. 31.

(P) *Plutarch* tells us (34) that one *Tiribaxus*, who was very familiar with *Artaxerxes*, whom he used to divert with his wit and humour, having one day begged of him an old gown, obtained what he demanded, but with this condition, that he should not wear it, that being contrary to the laws of *Persia*. *Tiribaxus*, not minding the king's prohibition or the laws of the realm, soon after appeared in it at court, which the *Persians* resenting, as an affront against the majesty of their king, were for punishing him according to the rigour of the law. But *Artaxerxes* saved him by telling them, that he had commanded *Tiribaxus* to appear in that garb as his fool.

(Q) In one of these litters *Themistocles*, who was desirous to have a private conference with *Artaxerxes*, was conveyed to the king's apartment, without being observed by the *Persians*, who began to be jealous of him (35).

(R) This law was abrogated, as we read in *Plutarch*, by *Artaxerxes Macrochir* (36) or *Longimanus*.

(S) We read in *Plutarch* (37) and *Ælian* (38) of one *Sineta* a *Persian*, who meeting by chance *Artaxerxes* at a great distance from

(34) *Plutarch. in Artax.* (35) *Plutarch. in Artax.* (36) *Plutarch. in Apophthegmat.* (37) *Plutarch. in Artaxer. & apophthegmat.* (38) *Ælian. var. hist. l. i. c. 32.*

How they
administer-
ed justice.

THE *Persian* kings frequently heard causes themselves, both civil and criminal, and though transcendently vitious in other respects were nevertheless very tender in point of justice and equity. After hearing the merits of the cause with great attention, they took several days to consider and advise with such as were conversant in their laws, before they gave sentence^e. When they sat on life and death, they not only considered the crime of which the delinquent was impeached, but all the actions, whether good or bad, of his whole life; and condemned or cleared him according as his crimes or deserts prevailed^f (T). Their humanity and good nature even towards those, who, according to the laws, deserved death, is very remarkable. Thus *Artaxerxes Longimanus* ordered; that the turbans of the condemned persons should be struck off instead of their heads, that the strings, with which they tied them, should be cut instead of their ears, and their garments whipt instead of their persons^g. Beside the king there were several other judges, all men of unblemished characters, and well skilled in the laws of the king-

^e PHILOSTRAT. l. i. de vita Apollon. EPIPHAN. l. ii. c. de Manichæis. ^f EPIPHAN. l. ii. c. de Manichæis. JOSEPH. Antiquitat. l. xi. c. 3. HERODOT. l. i. ^g PLUTARCH. in Artaxerx. & apophthegmat. AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxx.

his poor cottage, and having nothing else to present him with, ran to the river *Cyrus*, and filling both his hands with water, made an offering of that to the king, which was by him graciously received.

(1') To this purpose *Herodotus* tells us (39), that *Darius* having pronounced sentence of death against a corrupt judge, and afterwards finding that his former deserts over-ballanced his present crime, ordered him to be taken down from the cross and set at liberty. This does not agree with what we read in *Diodorus Siculus*, who tells us, that the sentence of death, once pronounced, could not be repealed even by the king himself; for after relating how *Darius* pronounced sentence of death against *Charidemus*, he adds, that the king immediately repented, as if he had been over-hasty in a matter of the utmost consequence, *but it was not in his power to undo what he had done* (40). Perhaps he means nothing else but that the king could not restore him to life again; for, as both he (41) and *Xenophon* (42) inform us, the sentence was no sooner pronounced, but the criminal was hurried away to execution.

(39) *Herodot.* l. vii (40) *Diodor. Sicul.* l. xiv. (41) *Dio-*
dor. Sicul. l. xii. (42) *Xenoph.* l. i. *Ἀναβάσεως* p. 205.

dom.

dom. These were called *royal judges*, they administered justice at stated times in different provinces, and some of them attended the king whither soever he went ^h. The king often advised with them, and in matters concerning himself referred the whole to their judgment ⁱ. They were nominated by the king, who, as that employment was for life, took great care to prefer such only as were famed for their integrity (U).

THE *Persian* kings had several wives, besides what number of concubines they pleased. *Darius* maintained as many *Their concubines.* as the days of the year ^k. *Artaxerxes* had by his concubines 115 children ^l. The concubines were introduced to the king, each in their turn ^m, whence some have concluded, that the antient *Persian* year consisted of 360 days, seeing that several of the *Persian* monarchs had the like number of concubines, who went to their kings in constant courses ⁿ (W).

WE

^h *ÆLIAN* var. histor. c. xxxiv. ⁱ *HERODOT.* l. iii. ^k *DIO-*
DOR. SICUL. l. xvii. ^l *JUSTIN.* l. x. c. 1. ^m *ESTHER*, ii. 12--15.
ⁿ See *Whiston's* theory of the earth, Book II. p. 149.

(U) *Artaxerxes* raised one to that dignity, as *Ælian* (43) informs us, who was not a *Persian*, but a *Mede* by birth, for having condemned his own son to death, according to the power which parents had in those days over their children. And *Cambyfes* being informed, that one of the Judges had received a bribe, caused him upon conviction to be flayed alive, and having covered the seat, on which he pronounced the unjust sentence, with his skin, appointed his son in his room, ordering him to sit in the same chair when he pronounced sentence (44). These judges according to *Josephus* (45) and *Zonaras* (46), were seven in number, which they gather from the commission of *Artaxerxes* to *Exra*, who was sent of the king and his seven counsellors (47).

(W) This conjecture is not altogether groundless: but we cannot help thinking it somewhat strange, that the same writer should alledge the authority of *Q. Curtius* to prove, that the antient *Persian* year contained but 360 days, when that author tells us, in express terms, that the *Persian* year consisted of 365 days; his words are, *Magos trecenti & sexaginta quinque juvenes sequebantur—diebus totius anni pares numero; quippe Persis quoque in totidem dies descriptus est annus* (48); that is, the *Magos* were followed by 365 youths, answering in number to the days of the year; for among the *Persians* too the year is divided into 365 days. But *Curtius*

(43) *Ælian* var. histor. l. i. c. xxxiv. (44) *Herodot.* l. v. Val. Max. l. vi c. 3. (45) *Joseph.* Antiquit. l. xi. c. 6. (46) *Zonar.* tom. I. (47) *Exra* c. vii. v. 14. (48) *Q. Curtius* iii. 3. 8. & seq.

Their re-
venues.

WE shall end this section with some account of their revenues. Each province had its peculiar treasure and treasurer, as is plain from all the antient writers, both sacred and prophane; and from the great sums, which *Alexander* found in several particular provinces or cities, we may judge of the immense treasures they possessed. In the city of *Damascus* he found 2600 talents, and silver uncoined to the value of 500 more; in *Arbela* 4000 talents, in *Susa* 40,000 and 9000 *Darics*, in *Persopolis* 120,000, in *Pasargada* 6000, in *Ecbatan* 180,000^b. These immense sums arose from the tributes which each province was yearly obliged to pay according to the assessment of *Darius Hystaspes*. For, during the reigns of *Cyrus* and his son *Cambyses*, no tributes were imposed, the people voluntarily contributing, for the maintenance of the king and his army, what they thought fit; from the imposing of these taxes, and other things of the like nature, the *Persians* gave *Darius* the nick-name of *Merchant*. The sum total of the king's revenues, according to the computation of *Herodotus*^c, amounted to 14560 *Euboic* talents^d, besides other smaller sums. These revenues were gathered from the provinces of *Asia* only, but in process of time the islands and several provinces of *Europe*, with *Egypt*, *Syria*, &c. were likewise taxed, which encreased the king's revenues to such a degree, that, if we believe *Justin*^e, *Alexander*, after the conquest of *Persia*, received yearly from his subjects the sum of 300,000 talents. The *Persian* kings preserved their treasures in the following manner; they caused the gold and silver to be melted down and poured into earthen vessels, which they broke, when occasion required, and took such a quantity as seemed necessary^f. The lands of the *Persians* were free from all taxes; but other provinces, besides money, were obliged to contribute considerably, each something of their proper product, towards the maintenance of the king, and,

^a CURT. l. v. DIODOR. SIC. l. xviii. ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 16. PLUTARCH. in Alexand. ^b HERODOT. l. iii. ^c See the preface to the first volume. ^d JUSTIN. l. xiii. c. 1. ^e HERODOT, ubi supra.

in this, as in many other particulars, was certainly mistaken, since *Herodotus*, whose authority is of more weight, in speaking of the tributes which *Darius Hystaspes* laid on the provinces subject to the *Persian* empire, says, that the *Cilicians* were obliged to furnish *Darius* with 360 white horses, that is, one for every day of the year (49),

(49) *Herodot. l. iii.*

in

in time of war, of his army^c. Thus the provinces of *Syrene* and *Barca* were, besides the ordinary taxes, assessed at such a quantity of corn as was sufficient to supply 120,000 men; the *Satrapæ* of *Babylon* maintained the king and his court for four months, and moreover paid him a yearly tribute of 500 young eunuchs. The *Ethiopians* and adjoining people made a present every third year of two *Chænixes* (X) of gold, two hundred bundles of ebony, five *Ethiopian* children, and twenty elephants teeth of the largest size. The *Colchians* or *Colghi* presented the king every fifth year with a hundred boys, and the like number of young women; the *Arabians* with a quantity of frankincense, answering the weight of 1000 talents, &c.^u. But it is now time to dismiss this subject, and hasten to the most entertaining and important part of the *Persian* history, their religion and religious ceremonies.

S E C T. III.

Of the Religion of the PERSIANS.

THERE is hardly any subject, which hath employed the pens of authors antient or modern, that deserves to be treated with greater accuracy, or to be read with more attention, than this which we are now about to discuss. The religion of the *Persians*, if we may credit the most learned and industrious writers^a, is venerable from its antiquity, and worthy of admiration from its having subsisted now some thousand years, in as great or greater purity, than any other religion known to us at this day. But the accounts, which are still extant of the religion of the antient *Persians*, are far

The importance of this subject, and the difficulties which occur in treating of it.

^c HERODOT. ubi supra. STRABO, l. xv. XENOPH. l. iv. *Aræstæ*, p. 261. ^u HERODOT. ubi supra. ^a Vid. Hist. Relig. veter. Persar. per THOMAM HYDE, 4to. Oxon. 1700. The religion of the *Persees* by HEN. LORD, 4to, London, 1630. Relation de l'Etat. present de Perse par SANSÓN, Paris, 1695. Hist. of Chaldaic Philosophy by THOMAS STANLEY, Book.ii. p. 67. Folio, London, 1662. Philos. General. per THEOPH. GALVUM, lib. i. c. 5. 8vo, London, 1676. Connection of the history of the Old and New Testament, by Dean PRIDEAUX, Vol. I. p. 299. 8vo, Lond. 1729. HERBERT'S, DELLA VALLE'S, TAVERNIER'S travels, &c.

(X) *Chænix* was a *Greek* measure containing such a quantity of wheat as served a man one day.

from corresponding exactly ; and the descriptions, which modern travellers have given us of those who profess this religion in *Persia* and *India*, even in our time, differ so widely, though not indeed in essential articles, that it requires no small degree of patience to separate the ore from the dross, and to present the reader with what is worthy of being known and believed among heaps of fables and misrepresentations (A).

II

(A) The accounts, we have of the *Persian* religion, are, as we have stated them above, of two sorts ; first, such as have been collected from books ; and these again may be divided into two classes, one extracted from the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, the other from *Oriental* historians ; the second consists of what travellers deliver from their own knowledge, concerning the doctrines and practices of the present *Persians*, who themselves affirm, and are allowed by others, to practise the religion of their ancestors with little or no variation. As to such as have drawn their materials from books, they have been, as we shall frequently have occasion to shew, prodigiously misled in their opinions, confidently enough delivered on this subject. For as to the *Greek* writers, such as *Herodotus*, *Strabo*, &c. they delivered what they had from others, and that likewise under this disadvantage, that being polytheists themselves, they of course conceived, that other nations had variety of gods as well as their own, and therefore reported, that the *Persians* worshipped the fire, because they prayed before it ; the air, because in their devotions they lifted up their eyes towards it ; and the sun, because they professed to reverence it (1) ; nor was this all, they forged, for the sake of making their histories uniform, such sacrifices and other religious rites, as seemed to them correspondent with the notions which they had framed of the *Persian* religion, and attributed them to the *Persians*. Thus *Herodotus*, speaking of the passage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, relates impossible things of the *Magi*, with as much boldness as if he had been an eye-witness of them. “ The
“ country (says he) that lies about the mountain *Pangæus* is called
“ *Pbillis*, on the west side extending to the river *Angites*, which
“ falls into the *Strymon* itself. At their arrival the *Magi* offered
“ a sacrifice of white horses to this river ; and after they had thrown
“ them into the stream with a composition of various drugs, the
“ army broke up, and marched to the *Nine Ways* of the *Edonians*,
“ where they found bridges prepared for their passage over the
“ *Strymon*. But being informed that this place was called by the
“ name of the *Nine Ways*, they took nine of the sons and daughters of the inhabitants, and buried them alive, as the manner of
“ the *Persians* is. And I have heard, that *Amestris*, the wife of
“ *Xerxes*, having attained to a considerable age, caused fourteen

(1) *Herodotus*, *Clio*, p. 25 *Strab. Geograph. lib. xy. Diog. Laertius, in Proem.*

IF we had still any considerable collection of the antient *Persian* records; we should doubtless find in them what would satisfy

“ children of the best families in *Persia* to be interred alive, for
 “ a sacrifice of thanks to that god, who, they say, is beneath the
 “ earth (2).” We have shewn in the text, that the *Persians* were indeed reverencers of water as well as fire, but that they sacrificed to it, or threw any thing into a running stream, is a flat contradiction to this very notion of theirs, which consisted in preserving the purity of those elements, and not in polluting them with blood and dead carcases; and in respect to sacrifices, *Herodotus* himself in another place acknowledges as much (3). *Q. Curtius* with like hardiness describes the chariot of *Darius*, in which he appeared in the field against *Alexander*; “ it was adorned (says he) with images of
 “ their gods in silver and gold, the axle-tree thereof glittered
 “ with precious stones; upon it were two images of gold, the one
 “ representing *Ninus*, the other *Belus*, of a cubit stature each;
 “ between them was an eagle of gold displaying her wings over
 “ both, &c. (4).” All this is downright fiction; *Ninus* and *Belus* were never worshipped by the *Persians*; they were not wont to erect images, or to worship them; what makes it probable, that *Curtius* was the inventer of this whole story, is this; that *Arrian* (5), an author of great accuracy, and who wrote from excellent materials, says not one word of all this; nor indeed does any other antient historian; but *Curtius* was so great a rhetorician that he could not write plainly, but, on the contrary, loaded all his descriptions with ornaments, without any regard to probability or truth. As to the relations of travellers, we need not wonder that they differ about the religious opinions, rites, and ceremonies of the *Persians*, or as some call them *Persees*, since they very seldom agree exactly, even in their descriptions of less intricate things than these. As for *Henry Lord*, whose small treatise in relation to these people has been received as a kind of oracle, merely because he ventured to talk very authoritatively therein; it is scarce possible to determine from what he says, whether they are idolaters or no; he calls them so, it is true, and speaks of their worshipping the fire in an idolatrous manner; yet the better part of his book, which consists of what he heard from one of their priests, contains nothing which can justify his opinion (6). On the whole, we have thought it necessary to peruse, and shall on occasion make use of, whatever is related by *Herbert*, *Ovington*, *Tavernier*, *Thevenot*, *Chardin*, or other travellers concerning the *Persees*, their tenets and custom; but it is our happiness to follow a more capable guide than any of

(2) *Herodotus Polybimn.* p. 183. (3) *Clio.* p. 25. (4) *Q. Curt. lib. iii. cap. 3.* (5) *lib. ii. cap. 11.* (6) *Lord's history of the Persees,* p. 10. 44.

these;

satisfy us as to the primitive doctrines of their wise men ; but as these are most of them either long since destroyed, or at least are hidden from us, we must be content to follow such lights as yet remain, and where we cannot make the reader understand things as clearly as we would, it is our duty to make them, however, as clear as we can. This is certain, that the *Persians* have preserved the worship of one God, and other essential articles of true religion ^b, through a long course of ages, without suffering themselves to be drawn over by fraud, or submitting through force, to any new faith, though they have often changed their masters ; a thing singular, and in some sort commendable, if we consider how much they have been depressed, since the death of *Yezdegherd*, the last king of their own religion, and the opprobrious treatment they have met with from the *Mohammedans*, who are wont to call them and christians, with like contempt, *infidels*. Though the principles of the former, as well as the latter, are far more reasonable than the ill connected legends of the *Arabian* impostor ; and though the modern *Persians* (taking that proper name in a religious not a civil sense) are unanimously acknowledged to be as honest, as charitable, and inoffensive a people as any upon earth. So that, in God's due time, we have just reason to believe, they will at last acknowledge the truth of the gospel dispensation, and be included within the pale of the christian church (B).

WE

^b Hist. relig. veter. Pers. c. xxxiii. Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 360.

these, the very learned and judicious doctor *Thomas Hyde* ; who, from the mighty stores of various learning which he possessed, as well as from the curious observations he in his travels had made, composed his valuable history of the religion of the antient *Persians*, wherein every thing he lays down is supported by antient monuments, or by the express authority of that law which this people professed to have received from *Zerdusht*, a compendium of whose writings contained in the book *Sad der*, the *Enchiridion* of the modern *Persees*, is annexed to the doctor's treatise (7).

(B) Since the introduction of the *Mohammedan* religion into *Persia*, the antient inhabitants have been exposed to various persecutions on account of their religion ; for the *Mohammedans* being generally speaking bigots, they are not content with giving these unhappy men always ill language, but on every occasion are stirring up

(7) *Magorum liber Sad-der Zoroastris Præcepta & Canones continens In usum Ecclesiæ Magorum & Fidelium eorum omnium.*

their

WE have heretofore shewn, that the original inhabitants *Origin of*
of Persia descended from *Elam* the son of *Shem*^c, and from *the Persi-*
 those an *religion*.

c Vol. I. p. 360.

their princes to oppress and destroy, under colour of religion, these
 relicts of the antient *Persians*. It is true, the *Mohammedan Persians*
 have in all ages had among them some men of learning and genius ;
 yet few or none have ever inquired thoroughly into the doctrines of
 these poor people ; on the contrary, they are as ready as any to
 load them with opprobrious names, and such as they no way de-
 serve ; thus they call them *Nogusha*, i. e. *Zabian*, or *deserter of the*
true faith ; *Ghebri*, i. e. *infidel* ; this word is as differently spelt as
 it is differently pronounced, the most usual way of writing it is
Ghaur ; they likewise stile an antient *Persian Atesh-pereft*, i. e. *fire-*
worshipper ; *Philiv* or *Caliv*, i. e. *fool* or *madman* ; the most
 gentle term they make use of is *Mogh*, that is, *Magian*, but then
 they frequently say that a *Mogh* is *Atesh-pereft* and *Zindik*, that is,
 a *fire-worshipper* and a *Sadducee* ; for among other calumnies with
 which they load these poor men, that of denying a future state is
 one ; however, though they may amongst themselves destroy their
 good name, yet with strangers their aspersions do the *Persians* no
 hurt ; for they, looking on the innocence and integrity of these
 poor peoples lives, cannot avoid affording them both pity and
 esteem : it would be an easy matter to support all that has been
 advanced in this note, by quotations from the best accounts we
 have of *Persia* and the *Indies* ; but, instead of fatiguing the reader,
 it may perhaps answer the same end, if we here set down the five
 precepts which these *Persians* acknowledge as the rule of life, which
 every *Behedin* or *Lay-man* is bound to obey, as they are reported by
 Mr. Lord.

I. “ To have shame ever with them, as a remedy against all sin ;
 “ for a man would never oppress his inferiors, if he had any shame ;
 “ a man would never steal, if he had any shame ; a man would
 “ never bear false witness, if he had any shame ; a man would
 “ never be overcome with drink, if he had any shame. But be-
 “ cause this is laid aside, men are ready to commit any of these,
 “ and therefore the *Behedin* or *Lay-man* must think of shame.

II. “ To have fear always present with them, and that every
 “ time the eye twinkled or closed its lids together, they should
 “ stand in fear at those times of their prayers, lest they should not
 “ go to heaven ; the thought of which should make them fear to
 “ commit sin, for that God sees what manner of ones they are,
 “ that look up towards him.

III. “ That whensoever they are to do any thing, to think
 “ whether the thing be good or bad that they go about, whether
 “ commanded or forbidden in the *Zundavajstaro* ; if prohibited,
 “ they must not do it ; if allowed by the [book of religion, they
 “ may embrace and prosecute the same.

IV. “ That whosoever of God's creatures they should first be-

The Persians pretend to derive their religion from Abraham.

They were always zealous in the service of One God.

those two patriarchs, it is most probable, they derived the true religion, which at first flourished amongst them with the utmost purity, but in process of time was corrupted by an intermixture of superstitious rites and heretical opinions, at such time as the rest of the oriental nations were overspread with that deluge of false religion, which generally goes under the name of *Zabism*. From which some affirm they were thoroughly recovered by the patriarch *Abraham*, who, they say, undertook the reformation of their religion, and having freed it as well from the pernicious doctrines they had imbibed, as from the superfluous ceremonies they had adopted, left it them once more pure and in the same condition, wherein he transmitted it to his own descendants^d. But if this were so, they were a second time corrupted and engaged, if not in idolatrous practices, yet in superstitious acts of reverence to the heavenly bodies, and in practices inconsistent with the true faith (C).

HOWEVER the splendor of their religion might be darkened with these spots, yet it was never so far obscured as to admit any degree of comparison between it and the worship of neighbouring nations (excepting the *Jews*); for the *Persians* continued zealous adorers of one all-wise and omnipotent God, whom they held to be infinite and omnipresent, so that they

^d Hist. Relig. vet. Persar. c. ii. & iii. Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 313.

“ hold in the morning, it should be a monitor to put them in mind
“ of their thanksgivings to God, that had given such good things
“ for mens service and use.

V. “ That whensoever they pray by day they should turn their
“ faces towards the sun, and whensoever they prayed by night
“ they should incline towards the moon; for that they are the two
“ great lights of heaven, and God’s two witnesses: most contrary
“ to *Lucifer*, who loveth darkness more than light.”

(C) That the *Persian* religion, as well as other religions, receded by degrees from its first principles and suffered by the introduction of some superstitions, cannot seem strange to any considerate person. The *Persians* themselves confess it, and acknowledge, that their famous law-giver *Zerdusht* came to restore their primitive doctrines, and to purge away those errors which time and the industry of *Zabian* heretics had introduced. In what these errors consisted, the superstitious ceremonies which attended them, and the pains it cost this restorer of magism to root these foolish superstitions out, will be delivered in the life of *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht*, which we shall give the reader at large in our history of the *Persians* from the *Oriental* writers, under the reign of that monarch in whose days he flourished; for to have inserted so long a digression here, must have rendered this chapter very prolix, and at the same time obliged us to frequent recapitulations in the subsequent history.

could

could not bear, that he should be represented by either molten or graven images, or that the creator and lord of the universe should be circumscribed within the narrow bounds of temples^c; on this account they overturned the statues and places of public worship among the *Greeks*, as unworthy of the deity, and not from any sacrilegious contempt of the gods of other countries. In the decline indeed of the antient *Persian* empire, the worship of *Venus* was introduced by one of their princes; but it was condemned by the *Magi*^f, who remained firm to this great article of their faith, *There is one God*, and took care to transmit it religiously to their posterity.

THE only objection, to which the antient and modern *Persians* have rendered themselves liable, flows from the respect which they have constantly paid to fire and to the sun: yet if this matter be seriously and impartially considered, it will be found, that there is nothing of idolatry in this respect of theirs, but that they only worship God in the fire, and not fire as a God. That they should have an extraordinary veneration for the element of fire, and make choice rather of it than of any of the rest, to be the symbol to them of the divine nature, will appear less extraordinary, if we consider, that a never-dying fire was kept on the altar of burnt-offerings at *Jerusalem*^e, that God revealed himself to *Moses* by a flame in a bush^h, and chose to testify his presence in the host of *Israel* by a pillar of fire, which went before them in the night, and which appeared only as a column of smoke in the dayⁱ. As to their veneration of the sun, it is founded in their belief, that he is the noblest creature of the Almighty visible to us, and that his throne is placed therein. Nor need we wonder, either at the mistakes of antient writers, or at the stories told us by some *Mohammedan* authors, on this head, since it was very difficult for them to get a true knowledge of the religious tenets and customs of this people, because they were forbidden by their legislator *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht*, as appears from the book *Sad-der*, to teach either their antient language, or its character, to strangers, or to instruct them in their religion^k. If any further regard had been had to the sun in antient times, it would certainly have descended with the other parts of their religion to the modern *Persians*; but that it never reached them, the learned and judicious doctor *Hyde*

An account of the nature of that respect shewn by them to fire and to the sun.

^c Hist. Relig. vet. Persar. p. 3. HERON. Clio. p. 25. ^f Hist. Relig. vet. Persar. p. 90. ^e 2 CHRON. vii. 1. LEVIT. x. 1. ^h EXOD. iii. 2. ACTS vii. 30. ⁱ EXOD. xiii. 21. NUMB. xiv. 14. NUM. ix. 12. PSALM. lxxviii. 14. 1 COR. x. 1. ^k Hist. Relig. vet. Pers. P. 5.

assures us ; for an intimate friend of his being by him requested to enquire concerning the worship of *Mithra*, (so the *Persians* call the sun) he accordingly asked some of the priests of the *Persians* settled in *India*, *At what seasons, and with what ceremonies, they adored the sun?* They answered, *That they never adored the sun, or paid any sort of divine honours to that luminary, to the moon, or to the planets, but only turned themselves towards the sun when praying, because they looked on it to come nearest to the nature of fire.* the same excellent author observes, that among the precepts of *Zoroaster*, his disciples are directed to pay daily to the sun certain *Niyâsh*, i. e. *salutations*, consisting only in words (and those too addressed to God) without any mention of *Prestish*, i. e. *worship*, by bowing of the body. Yet if any custom of this sort prevails, it ought not to be interpreted as a mark of idolatrous adoration ; for the *Persian Mohammedans*, who are zealous detesters of that impiety, and the *Armenians*, who dwell in *Persia*, are wont to pray in like manner, the latter making the sign of the cross, and bowing profoundly low at the sight of the rising sun ¹. To say the truth, adoration, that is, prostrating or bowing the body, was even among the *Hebrews* a civil, as well as a religious, rite, or to speak more properly, the same word, viz. השתחויה *Hishtabhavaah* was used to express this act of reverence, when applied to God or man. An eminent rabbin says, that this as an act of devotion was not to be performed out of the sanctuary, that is, out of the temple ² ; it is forbid by the 2d commandment to be paid to idols ; but as a civil rite, the *Jews* were at liberty thus to testify their respect to angels, and to persons of very high dignity. On the whole therefore, there can be no more reason to suspect these *Persians* of idolatry on this account, than any other of the *Oriental* nations, since the sun is no more than the *Kibla* of the *Persians*, as the temple of *Jerusalem* is to the *Jews* and that of *Mecca* to the *Mohammedans*, who in this respect are so scrupulous, that they have tables to determine the bearing of *Mecca* ³ from whatever place they are in (D).

As

¹ Hist. Relig. vet. Pers. p. 5. & 6. ² IARCHI sup. LEVIT. xxvi. 1. ³ Hist. Relig. vet. Pers. p. 95.

(D) It may seem strange, how so odd a notion as this of the peculiar sanctity of one point of the compass ever established itself in the world, and much more, that it is become an opinion so universally received as it is at present. If the inquisitive reader would have a more exact account of this matter, than it is proper in such a note as this to give him, he may have recourse to the works of the learn-

As to the notions which the *Persians* have of the sun, they are not, as we shall see hereafter, perfectly agreed in them; some believing the throne of God placed therein, and that it is the seat of paradise; others entertaining a different opinion, as to paradise, but praying nevertheless towards the sun, as a symbol of the deity on account of its purity. It is farther certain, that the *Persians* never called *Mithra* a god, or ascribed to it any name of the divinity; and so far from directing any petitions thereto, they constantly begin and end the ejaculations pronounced before the sun with the praises of the most high god, to whom alone their prayers are addressed. As to the fire, before whom the *Persians* worship, taking that word in an extended sense, they acknowledge nothing of divinity therein, but, esteeming it a symbol of the deity, they first prostrate themselves before it, and then standing up they pray to God. Thus among the ruins of the antient palace at *Persepolis* there are seen many marble statues of kings, standing praying to God before the figures of the sun and fire, which are also placed on the wall before them, only one figure is seen kneeling with the same symbols before it as the rest. As the fire in the temple was reputed sacred among the *Jews*, so the *Persians* might from them take this custom of praying before sacred fires; which is the more likely, since it was the manner of God's chosen people to prostrate themselves before the altar, and then, to offer up their petitions. It was also a custom among the *Persians*, to tender oaths before the fire upon the altar, in which also they agreed with the *Jews*, as they did farther in offering victims thereby, and in preserving it from being polluted by impure fuel, in which last case the *Persians* went so far as to punish offenders with death. Their kings also and principal persons were wont sometimes to feed the sacred fires with precious oils and rich aromatics, stiling these *Epulæ Ignis*, or *fire dainties*^P; but still all things done to or by fire were performed to the

o Hist. Relig. vet. Pers. c. v.

^P HXDE, c. xxii. p. 290.

ed Mr. John Gregory of Oxford (8), who, in treating of two texts of scripture which seem to have some relation to this point (9), hath shewn a consummate knowledge in various kinds of literature, as well as a genius perfectly well turned for such intricate and abstruse inquiries. For us it is sufficient, that the fact is as we have stated it, since, whether it be right or wrong, the *Persians* must be as much in the right, or as little in the wrong, as any other nation which hath fallen into this way of thinking.

(8) 4to, London, A D. 1684. p. 73.

(9) Zach. iii. 8. vi. 12.

however

honour of God, and terminated solely in him ; at least, if we may credit the concurrent testimonies of *Persic* writers yet remaining, and the constant asseverations of those who still profess this religion (E).

THESE

(E) When we consider the point in dispute, which is plainly this ; *Whether the antient Persians had rational or irrational notions of the deity or not ?* and what degree of evidence there is on each side, it may seem surprising, that it is yet made a matter of dispute among the learned. *Herodotus*, who elsewhere tells us strange stories of the religious ceremonies of the *Persians* on hear-say, speaking expressly on this head, says all that can be wished or desired in their favour ; for he owns, that the antient *Persians* had neither temples, altars, nor images, and therefore we ought rather to regard this than the other parts of his book, wherein he manifestly relates what other *Greek* writers, full of spleen against *Xerxes* and his successors, had written of their inhuman sacrifices, and other acts of religious cruelty (10). *Xenophon's* authority would be of great weight in the present case, if he had wrote decisively, and spoken things of his own knowledge ; but the high commendations he has given the *Persians*, and the mighty character he hath afforded the laws, hath begot a doubt in the minds of the learned, whether he did not mingle his own ideas with the accounts he gives us of the customs and manners of the *Persians* (11). *Plutarch*, in a passage hereafter more fully cited, speaks very respectfully of *Zoroaster*, and ascribes nothing to him unworthy of a very wise man. There were some, he tells us, of the antients who asserted two supreme beings, the one the author of all good, the other of all evil. Others who admitted but one God, the father of good, but who acknowledged there was a dæmon from whom all evil proceeded ; this, says he, was the doctrine of *Zoroaster*, who flourished four thousand years before the *Trojan* war (12). The same author then proceeds to a succinct account of the doctrine of the *Magi*, which we shall have occasion to insert in our text. *Dr. Hyde* has produced an authentic relation of the sentiments of the antient *Persians* on this subject, as collected from their successors the *Persees* settled in *India*, an abstract of which will likewise be inserted in our text (13), and the curious reader may peruse the whole of it in the treatise of the excellent author beforementioned. In the same place may be found the testimony of *Sharistan*, who wrote in *Arabic* an account of the religions of the east, and who, in speaking of the faith of the *Persians*, does them all the justice that can be (14) ; but what is of far greater consequence to us, than any authority of friends or enemies whatsoever, the book *Sad-der*, containing the canon of the *Persian* faith, is not only extant among the *Persees*, but even

(10) *Herodot. Clio.*

(11) *Vid. Cyropædia.*

(12) *De Isid.*

& *Osir.*

(13) *Relig. v. Persar. c. xxii. p. 292.*

(14)

Ibid.

THERE is yet another point in which the *Persians* are to be vindicated, before we can leave the learned reader satisfied, that they never were idolaters. It is this: they had amongst them, after the time of *Zoroaster's* reformation of their religion, certain caves, adorned not only with figures of the sun, but of the planets and other heavenly bodies, which symbolical representations were called *mithriac figures*, and were afterwards introduced into other nations, where they became objects of idolatrous worship; but they were far from being so among the *Persians*, who were a wise and well-instructed people; for with them they served only as mathematical symbols for preserving the true system of the universe; to which end, and to no other, they were used, and perhaps invented, by *Zoroaster* himself, as we shall hereafter have occasion to prove at large, when we come to speak of the life, doctrines, and writings of that famous man⁹.

HAVING thus shewn in general the nature of the *Persian* religion, and that it was far preferable to any of the systems received in other nations, either in the east or in the west, we shall proceed to shew what the *Persians* themselves have taught concerning the establishment of their religion, as well as what are the doctrines, as to essential points, universally received amongst them.

THE great fame of *Abraham*, which from a concurrence of various causes had diffused itself throughout the whole east, induced the *Persians*, as well as the *Zabeans*, to ascribe the system of doctrines received by them to that venerable patriarch, stiling their faith at all times *Kish-Abraham*. They likewise ascribe the books which they hold sacred to this father of the faithful, and as much believe him to be the author of their *Sofh* or *bible*, as we believe the gospel to have come to us from *Christ*, or the *Mohammedans*, that God revealed to *Mohammed* his *Koran*^r. In attributing books to *Abraham*, they agree with the *Jews* and with the *Mohammedans*, the latter ascribing to him no less than ten treatises, perhaps all with the like reason. The *Persians* say further, that *Abra-*

⁹ HYDE, c. iv. p. 118. Sect. v. of this chap. ^r HYDE, c. ii. p. 98.

amongst ourselves, and every page therein affords us instances of *Zoroaster's* wisdom, and of the rectitude of the religion he established, as to fundamental points, and especially as to the belief of one infinitely wise, eternal, self-existent being (15).

(15) Vid. *Sad-dar-liber-Magorum* ap. Hyde *Relig. vet. Persar.*

ham, while he resided amongst them, dwelt in the city of *Balch*, which they from thence stile the city of *Abraham*; but though it must be allowed that the old *Persian* religion agreed in many points with the religion of *Abraham*, and though it should be admitted, that his fame might even in his life-time be, with very advantageous circumstances, published throughout all *Persia*, yet it is so far from being evident, that it is scarce probable he went himself into that country, much less that he executed the office of a prophet there, and resided at *Balch*. On the contrary it is far more credible, that this notion took rise from the suggestion of *Zoroaster*, who had his learning and his divinity out of the books of *Moses* and other sacred books among the *Jews*, and that the city of *Balch* received the appellation of the city of *Abraham* from *Zoroaster*, on account of his making it the residence of the archimagus or high-priest of the religion of *Abraham*, and not from that patriarch's being supposed to live there at all in antient times^c.

THOUGH fire was held the symbol of the divinity among the *Persians*, yet the other elements were also highly honoured by them, insomuch, that the *Greeks* and other foreigners, who knew not their religious principles, called them *Cultores Elementorum* or worshippers of the elements; a flagrant calumny, since all the respect they paid them, arose from their conceiving them to be the first seeds of all things, wherefore they studied, by every method possible, to preserve each of them in its primitive purity. On this account they prevented, as much as they could, the air from being infected by ill smells; and, for their officiousness on this head, *Herodotus*, according to his usual custom, represents them as believing the air a deity. *They hold* (says he) *the whole expanse to be Jupiter*^d. That they might in like manner preserve the earth from impurities, they would not bury their dead therein, but suffered them to be devoured by birds and wild beasts, that finding a tomb in their bowels they might not infect the air; in fine, the preserving all the elements pure was by them esteemed an act of high piety, and as such meriting the divine favour, in this world and in the world to come; for in all things they were great affecters of cleanliness, and studious, in an especial manner, in avoiding whatever might pollute them. Fire and water, however, were in a peculiar manner the objects of their care, because they were most liable to be contaminated; and hence the *Greeks*,

^c Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. ii. p. 318.
^d HYDE, c. iii. D'HERBELOT, Art. *Balke*.

mistaking the degree of reverence they paid them, declared them, without scruple, worshippers of those elements, and tell us formal stories of the sacrifices offered to both. It is very true that kings often do extravagant things, and such as are contrary to the civil and religious laws of the countries they govern ; so that it is not impossible that some of the *Persian* princes might be guilty of what is laid to their charge, but it is not likely, because the *Persians* universally held, that whoever wilfully polluted either fire or water deserved death in this world, and everlasting punishment in that to come ; and that whoever threw the bones of dead creatures into waters were certainly damned. For these reasons the *Magi*, wherever they were, took care to have all the waters in their neighbourhood watched, assigning them keepers, whose sole office it was to look carefully to this matter, and to see that no filthy thing was thrown or dropped into them, and for this they had stated and well-settled salaries. For abhorring, as they did, the representing of the almighty lord of heaven and earth, by artificial images of stone or metal, they chose to preserve fire and water in their utmost purity, that they might serve for symbols of the divine nature, and put them in mind of the infinite purity of God. As they held the ministration of angels, so they believed that one of these celestial guards was appointed to watch over the waters in general ; this angel they called *Ardisûr* or *Arduisûr*, for whom a particular *Niyâish* or salutation was prescribed, the title of which in their antient books runs thus, *Hymn to Ardisur, for the benefits received from the sea, rivers, wells, and fountains*. In this hymn they praised him for taking care of all these places, and prayed, that he might continue so to do, returning God thanks for the various uses made of water, and the mighty advantages resulting to mankind from his wise disposition thereof throughout the earth ; they were of opinion, that in paradise such people were peculiarly blessed, as had been careful of defiling water, and had in this sense preserved a respect for that element during their lives, for which cause they recommended the care of this element, as well as fire, to their women, that is their private fires, and the water used in their houses ; for it does not appear, that they ever admitted women to minister in religious matters. except in the mysteries of *Venus*, which, as we observed before, was a heresy, and as such detested by the orthodox magians. In their love to purity and their esteem of water, the practice of the *Jews*, and the precepts in their law for corporal purification, may very well be urged in their defence, especially if we con-

sider, that in washing the hands, and putting on the girdle, solemn forms of prayer were enjoined the antient *Persians*, as indeed there were set ejaculations to be used in the performance of the most ordinary actions of human life ^u.

WITH respect to the use they made of fire in their national religion, the priests who attended it by no means deserved the appellation of *Igniarii Sacerdotes*, i. e. *fire-priests*, for they were truly *Sacerdotes Dei*, *priests of the almighty*, who though, like the *Jewish* priests they waited on, and took care to preserve the sacred fire from being extinguished, yet this was far from being their only duty; for these, as well as those, read every day public prayers, and did other sacerdotal offices, as we shall hereafter declare more largely. Yet such has been the hard fate of these people, that, because their principles were not known, and their ceremonies ill understood, they have been branded with the name of *Atesh-perešt*, i. e. *fire-worshippers*, so dangerous a thing it is to carry to any excess even innocent ceremonies. They never confessed their sins to any but to God, nor besought a remission of them from any but from him; yet they inclined to perform these public acts of devotion before the symbol of the deity, that is, before fire, or before the sun, as the witness of their actions; in like manner the *Jews* confessed their sins to God in the temple, the fire flaming on the altar near them, so that there was nothing of idolatry in this, though it might not be altogether free from superstition (F),

IN

^u HYDE, c. vi. p. 137.

(F) If we were to undertake a critical review of what modern authors have written about these people and their opinions, it would require a far larger treatise than this whole section; this is a bold assertion, but I will venture to give an instance of it, which I am positive will prove the truth of my observation. Mr. *Tavernier* has spent about fifteen pages in his account of these people, in which there are at least fifty capital mistakes, which any man may discover who is at all versed in oriental literature. In his section of the origin and prophets of this sect, he confounds *Zardusht* with *Abraham*, in such a manner, that it would cost a great deal of time to determine what part of the story belongs to the one, and what to the other. He tells us of a king, whom he calls *Neubrus*, probably *Nimrod*, and ascribes to him things that no body ever heard of before; nay the very name he has given the prophet is sufficient to shew, how much he was confused on this subject, and consequently how little credit is due to what he relates of the religion of the *Gaurs* or *Gubras*, as he calls them. Their prophet's

IN the most antient times, the *Persians* had no temples at all, but reared altars, whereon they preserved their sacred fires,

prophet's name, as set down by him, was *Ebrahim-zer-ateucht*; he tells us of books he received from heaven, that they contain the religious precepts of these people, and that he himself has seen a great book which was attributed to him. But I must desire the reader to take notice, that I do not arraign Mr. *Tavernier's* sincerity as to facts which lay within the compass of his judgment; on the contrary, we are persuaded that he wrote nothing which he did not take to be true, as appears by the following account of their worship of the fire, which is the title of one of his sections: "The *Gaurs* render no such honours to the fire as agree with this term of worship, they are not idolaters, they acknowledge one God, the creator of the heaven and of the earth, and him only they profess to worship." In the rest of his sections he speaks distinctly enough of what he saw; but he relates what he heard in such a manner, that a person, who knew as little of the matter as he, could not fail of being deceived (16). Sir *John Chardin*, whom we have often commended, and who, without all question, was one of the most intelligent men that ever obliged the public with an account of his travels, speaks very contemptibly of these people, and would have us believe there is no sort of learning amongst them, but a little astrology; he says, their priests talk confusedly of their religion, and that they were not positive themselves as to the place where their sacred fire was kept (17). But though this gentleman was not so happy as to meet with intelligent persons of this religion, others have; and the accounts they have written are clear and satisfactory, nay and supported by undeniable evidence. M. *Le Brun*, by the interposition of the *English* agent, had a conversation with one of their priests, from whom he learned many things exactly conformable to what we have delivered. It would therefore be needless to insert that conversation here, but it may not perhaps be amiss to give the answer of the priest to M. *Le Brun's* first question, what he thought of the creation of the world and the power of God? He said he believed God to be the being of beings, a spirit of light, above the comprehension of human understandings, infinite, in all places, almighty, from whom nothing could be hid, and against whose will nothing could be done. This conference happened in the month of *January* 1707 (18). As to the *pyrea* or *fire temples*, they were formerly frequent as parish churches in other countries; but since the destruction of the antient *Persians* these structures are by no means common. The *Persees* content themselves with saying their prayers before their common fires, and their priests officiate before them likewise. They have,

(16) *Tavern. lib. iv. c. viii. p. 480.*179. (18) *Le Brun, tom. ii. p. 387.*(17) *Chardin, tom. ii. p.*

however,

fires, on the tops of mountains, and other solitary places *. It was *Zoroaster*, who persuaded them, for the sake of preserving these fires more conveniently, to erect over each of them a *pyreum*, or *fire-temple*, but this had no relation to *Mithra* or the sun, towards whom they could better testify their respect in the open air ; neither did it subvert their antient principle, that the lord of the universe ought not to be inclosed within walls, for their *pyrea* did not circumscribe what they esteemed an image or semblance of the divinity, but only the symbol of his purity, and as it were a shadow of his nature. The overturning therefore of the *Greek* temples by *Xerxes*, and other acts of a like nature, were perfectly consistent with their reverence for fire, and their respect for the sun. Of this though many *Greek* and *Oriental* writers were entirely ignorant, and were consequently prone to misrepresent them, yet authors, of great candor and more extensive knowledge, have acknowledged as much, and testified to the honour of the *Persians*, that they worshipped only one God, without representing him by any image or picture whatsoever †.

THE *Persians* in early times acknowledged one eternal and omnipotent being, the creator and preserver of all things ; him they called *Yezad*, *Izad*, or *Izud*, also *Ormuzd*, *Hormuz*, or *Hormizda* ; joining this with the modern name they say *Hormizda Chodâ*, O Supreme God. They acknowledge also an evil created being, whom they stiled *Abâriman*, *Ahremman*, or *Ahriman*, and in verse *Ahrimanan*, which signifies amongst them *the devil*. To shew their detestation of this wicked being, his name in the antient *Persian* books was thus wrote, *uwwiwpqy* to intimate, that as he was the implacable and perpetual enemy of mankind, so they maintained an everlasting enmity against him and all his works. The modern *Persians* call the devil *Div* ‡.

* HEROD. Clio.

† Shahrîstan, &c. ap. HYDE, c. iii. p. 105.

‡ HYDE, c. xi. xiii.

however, fire-temples or fire-chapels still in some places, and the chief of them is supposed to be in the province of *Kirman*, where there are more *Gaurs* than in any other part of *Persia*. Antiently their temples were splendid, and were dedicated not only to the sun, but to the rest of the planets, in which, however, there was no more idolatry, than there is in our dedicating churches to this or that saint (19).

(19) Hyde, Relig. veter. Pers. c. xxix. p. 253.

SOME have asserted, that the antient *Persians* held a co-eternity of these two principles, but writers, better acquainted with the true tenets of this nation, agree, that *Ahariman* was created out of darkness, and that *Oromasdes* first subsisted alone, that by him the light and darkness were created, that in the composition of this world good and evil are mixed together, and so shall continue till the end of all things, when each shall be separated and reduced to its own sphere. *Plutarch*, who was a very ingenious and a very inquisitive man, hath given us a long account of the doctrines of *Zoroaster*, very conformable to what has been already said, and agreeing perfectly well with the religion of the antient patriarchs, except in a few strokes of fable, which were either inserted by the mistake of the reporter of that abstract, or were invented by *Zerduشت*, to account for those things which surpass human understanding^a. Some have endeavoured to account for the origin of the prince of darkness thus. *Oromasdes*, say they, said once within his mind, how shall my power appear if there be nothing to oppose me? this reflection called *Ahriman* into being, who thenceforward opposed all the designs of God, and thereby in spite of himself contributes to his glory. The souls of men, according to them, were at first unbodied spirits, but the Almighty, resolving to make use of them in warring against *Ahriman*, cloathed them with flesh, promising them that the light should never forsake them till *Ahriman* and all his servants were subdued; after which the resurrection of the dead is to follow, with the separation of the light from the darkness, and the coming of the kingdom of peace. To say the truth, the notions they have of the beginning of all things, the state of our first parents, the attempts made on them by the prince of darkness, the last judgment, the salvation of the good and the punishment of the bad, differ very little from what is delivered to us in the scripture on these heads. Only they have a long account of the war between God and the author of evil, which they say ended in a complete victory gained over the latter and his adherents, who were constrained to surrender at discretion. That the Almighty did not annihilate his enemies, because without opposition his attributes could not have appeared with such lustre as they now do. That the world had existed three thousand years before this decisive battle, the whole of its duration being fixed to twelve thousand. That after this defeat, God, by holding up three fingers, gave the evil-one leave to

^a PLUTARCH de Isid. & Osir.

choose which three thousand years of the nine thousand yet to come he would please to take, wherein to trouble and vex mankind ; whereupon he chose the middlemost. Before, say they, this power was given to *Ahriman*, man lived in a state of innocence, but that since his fall, war, and all other evils, have been introduced ; that these, however, shall in time pass away, and man live again for a certain space in peace and glory. They place the day of judgment at the end of twelve thousand years ; and as to the damned, they assert, that they shall be punished according to the heinousness of their crimes, two angels being appointed to be the inspectors of their sufferings : at last, however, even these are to be pardoned, but never to be admitted to the joys of the blessed, but to remain in a certain place by themselves, and to wear in their foreheads a black mark, as the badge of that state from whence through the mercy of God they were freed ^b (G).

THE point in which the *Persians* differ most from us is, as to the manner of God's creating the world, which, they

^b HYDE, c. ix.

(G) In the course of ages it is not to be wondered, that false notions crept into their religion in some places ; as among the *Magi* of *Cappadocia*, who not only worshipped with idolatrous circumstances their sacred fires, but also introduced images in their temples. But that heresy, which of all others threatened the religion of *Zoroaster* most was *Manicheism* ; for *Manes* that arch-heretic resided long in *Persia*, and there broached his absurd notion of two eternal self-existent beings, and, by mingling the doctrines of *Magiism* and christianity, made up a monstrous system of incredible doctrines, attended with very ridiculous practices (20). However, these notions were rooted out as will be hereafter shewn, by the authority of the civil magistrate, so that the present *Persians* have amongst them none of these whimsical chimeras, but retain the doctrine of their ancestors in all its purity, and are as religious as well as a most inoffensive people, tenacious of their own principles, but complaisant to other people, though very reserved, from whence proceed the many mistakes that have been made about them. When they do speak they never fail to express themselves in such a manner as fully purges all suspicion of their being idolaters ; but they cannot help shewing on such occasions an inveterate dislike against two persons celebrated by the greatest part of mankind as heroes and conquerors, but looked on by them as murderers and robbers. These are *Alexander the Great* and *Mohammed*, both capital enemies of their country and nation (21).

(20) *Hyde, R. P. P. c. xxi. p. 275.*
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(21) *Chardin, tom. ii. p.*

say, happened not in six days, but in six seasons, each season containing many days; the first of these they stile *Mid-yuzeram*, containing forty two days; in this, say they, the heavens were created with all things belonging to them. The second they stile *Mid-yusham*, containing sixty days, wherein the waters were created. The third is by them named *Pitishabim*, including seventy five days, in this the earth was made. The fourth they called *Iyaseram*, including thirty days, wherein were made the trees. The fifth goes under the name of *Midiyarim*, containing eighty days, in which all living creatures received being. The last they stile *Hamespitamidim*, comprehending seventy five days, wherein was made man.

It is now time for us to speak of the rites and ceremonies of the *Persees*, antient and modern, in the exercise of their religion, and every thing relating thereto. They have a regular clergy, and are very zealous in asserting an uninterrupted succession of persons instructed in their sacred mysteries, from the time of *Zerduſht* to this day. Their ordinary priests are obliged to live according to certain rules, much more severe than those given to the laity, as the reader will perceive at the bottom of the subsequent page. Their high-priests were under still stricter obligations, and all of them were bound to discharge their sacerdotal offices with mighty exactness and devotion^a. As to their public worship, it was, and is still, thus performed: in every *Pyreum*, or *fire temple*, there stood an altar, on which burnt the sacred fire, which was always kept alive by the priest. When the people assembled in order to their devotion, the priest put on a white habit, and a mitre, with a gauſe or cloth passing before his mouth, that he might not breathe on the holy element: thus he read certain prayers out of the *Liturgy*, which he held in one hand, speaking very softly, and in a whispering sort of tone, holding in his left hand certain small twigs of a sacred tree, which, as soon as the service was over, he threw into the fire. At these times all who were present put up their prayers to God, for such things as they stood in need of, and when prayers were finished, the priest and people withdrew silently, and with all other tokens of awful respect. All these rites are still observed. But to prevent, as far as possible, the people from falling into idolatry, the priest now informs them, when they are going from their devotions, of the reasons why they worship before the fire, and all the obligations they are under to treat it

^a LORD'S Religion of the Persees, c. viii. p. 41.
c. xxviii. LORD'S account of the *Persian* religion.

^d HYDE,

with reverence. This exhortation runs usually in these words :
 “ Forasmuch as fire was delivered to *Zerduſht* by the Al-
 “ mighty, as the symbol of his majesty, wherefore it was re-
 “ quired that we should esteem it holy, and respect it as an
 “ emanation from the fountain of light, and that we should
 “ love all things which resemble it, especially the sun and
 “ moon, the two great witnesses of God, the sight of which
 “ should put us in mind of his Omniscience ; therefore let
 “ us, without superstition, keep the command given us,
 “ ever more praising God for the great usefulness of this
 “ element, and beseeching him to make us always bear in
 “ mind the obligations we are under to do our duty towards
 “ him, which is as necessary to the health and happiness
 “ of the mind, as light and fire are to the ease and welfare
 of the body” * (H).

THEY

* BEAUCHAMP’S essays on important subjects, Sect. iii.

(H) Among the antient *Magi* there were three degrees of priests, ordinary priests, overseers of these, and an archimagus like our archbishop, or rather a metropolitan, who was acknowledged for the successor of *Zoroaster*, and held the supreme head of their church. These in the old *Persian* language were stiled *Magb*, i. e. *Magus*, *Mubad*, i. e. *superintendent*, and *Mubad Mubadan*, or *High-priest* (22). Lord, in his account of the religion of the *Persians*, calls them by other names, viz. *Darocs*, *Herboods*, and *Discecos*, the last he makes equivalent to *Mubad Mubadan*, and says there is never any more than one at a time, the chief of the clergy of the *Persees*. As to the duty of their priests, the same writer tells us, that it is comprised in the eleven rules following, viz. 1. The observing the rites prescribed in the liturgy of *Zoroaster*, because God is best pleased with that form of prayer which he has prescribed. 2. To keep his eyes from coveting that which is another’s, for God having given to every man what seems meet for him in his eyes, to desire that which is another’s, is not only shewing a dislike of God’s providence, but is likewise affronting him, by challenging that for our due which he hath denied us. 3. To have a care always to speak the truth, for all truth cometh from God, all lies from the devil ; all priests therefore should speak truth, because they are the servants of the God of truth, and as such are credited in what they say. 4. To keep close to his business, and not meddle with worldly matters, for it belongs to the layman to see the priest wants nothing that is necessary, and to the priest not to desire any thing which is superfluous. 5. To get the book of the law by heart, that he may be always able to instruct the poor layman, and that

(22) *Hyde, R. V. P. c. xxviii. p. 348.*

he

THEY keep yearly six festivals, each of five days continuance, in memory of the six seasons, wherein all things were created; after each of these feasts they keep a fast of five days in memory of God's resting five days, as they believe, at each of those seasons. As often as they eat either flesh, fowl, or fish, they carry a small part of it to the temple as an offering to God, beseeching him, that he would pardon them for taking away the lives of his creatures in order to their own subsistence. They have none of those out-of-the-way notions relating to cleanness and uncleanness in meats, which expose some religions to ridicule; but as they are a vere complaisant, as well as inoffensive people, they abstain from swines-flesh, and from the flesh of kine, that they may neither offend the *Mohammedans* nor the *Banians*, among whom they are obliged to live. They eat alone, for the sake of purity and cleanliness; they likewise drink every man out of his own cup^f.

WHEN their children are initiated into their religion they send for a priest, and this is usually done as soon as the child is born. The priest calculates its nativity; afterwards he asks what name is to be given it. This being agreed on by the father and its relations, the priest telleth it to its mother, who then says, my child is called so or so, with which the ceremony ends at that time. The child is afterwards carried to the

^f LORD's religion of the Perses, p. 40. HYDE, R. V. P. c. xxix.

he may see just cause to reverence his priest. 6. To keep himself pure and undefiled, because God loves the pure and undefiled, and this way only one man can excel another. 7. To be ready to forgive all injuries, shewing himself a pattern of meekness, that he may be thought one come from God, for we offend God every day, yet he giveth us things that are good, though we deserve that he should pour on us evil for evil. 8. To teach the common people to pray according to the law, to go and pray with them for public benefits when they desire it, and to perform constantly the known duties of his function. 9. To give licence for marriage to join the man and woman together, and to take care that parents do not marry their children without his approbation. 10. To spend the greatest part of his time in the temple, that he may be ready to assist all who come to him, because there-to God hath appointed him. 11. To believe no other law than that given by *Zerdusht*, to add nothing thereto, nor to take any thing from it, seeing to this end it was revealed (23).

(23) *Lord's religion of the Perses*, p. 32.

Pyreum, where the priest first pours some water into the rind of a holy tree, and thence into the mouth of the child, beseeching God to cleanse the tender infant from whatever seeds of corruption it may have received from its father, and from the impurities derived from its mother. At seven years of age the child is led to church to be confirmed there, the priest teaches him some prayers, and instructs him in the first principles of religion. These are repeated daily, till he is well acquainted with the articles of his faith; then he is permitted to pray for the first time before the holy fire, after which the priest gives him water to drink, and a pomegranate leaf to chew; then he causes the lad to wash his body with clean water, after which he puts on a linen cassock next his skin, which descends below his waist, and is girt with a girdle of camel's hair, woven by the priest's own hand. These ceremonies over, the priest blesses him, and bids him be a true *Persee* all the days of his life, to beware of falling into idolatry, or breaking any of the precepts given by *Zerdusht*^s (I). Of their marriages

^s *LORD's religion of the Persees*, p. 45. *HYDE*, R. V. P. c. xxxiv.

(I) As to the high-priest, he, over and above the duties enjoined the priests in general, is directed to observe the following thirteen precepts (24): 1. He must have a care of polluting himself in any manner, because God hath chosen him to be holy. 2. In order to this he must do all things for himself, to preserve himself from being contaminated by the uncleanness of others, as also to shew his humility in so high a station. 3. He is to take the layman's tithe, *i. e.* the tenth of all that he has, but not to his own use, for he is to consider himself as the almoner of God, who makes use of him only to dispense to the poor the tribute paid by the rich. 4. That this may appear to be fairly done, he must avoid all pomp and superfluity, and at the year's end must give away the last farthing, since his revenue is settled, and always paid with good will. 5. His house must be near the temple, and he must give a good example to his flock, by staying much at home, and by giving himself up to prayer. 6. As in his public, so in his private life, he must be extremely frugal and temperate in all things. 7. He must not only be acquainted with the law but with all the sciences, seeing he is to instruct all others of his religion, clergy and laity. 8. He must keep a low diet, because high eating or strong liquors disturb the faculties of the mind, and discompose that serenity of disposition which should be always found in the man of God. 9. He must fear only God, and hate nothing but sin. 10. As he is supreme in

marriages we are told by a very intelligent author, that they have five sorts : First, that of children in their minority. Secondly, that of widowers with a second wife. Thirdly, of such persons as marry by their own choice. Fourthly, the marriage of the dead, which is occasioned by an opinion they have entertained, that married people are peculiarly happy in the other world ; wherefore, when a young person dies in celibacy, they hire one to be married to him or her, which ceremony is performed a little after the burial. The last kind of marriage is where a person adopts either a son or a daughter, and then gives him or her in marriage, which is also founded on a religious opinion, that all men ought to leave heirs behind them, either natural or adopted. As to the ceremonies made use of on this occasion, they are very singular, but at the same time have nothing in them wild or irrational (K). The parties, designing to contract matrimony, are seated together on a bed, about midnight, opposite to them stand two priests, the one for the man, the other for the woman, holding rice in their hands, to intimate the fruitfulness which they wish the

all spiritual causes, he must reprove sinners without any regard to their rank, and they must hear him patiently, since he speaks not in his own cause but God's. 11. He must above all things study to distinguish truth from error. 12. Though, in consequence of his high office, he may for his consolation receive visions and other manifestations from God, yet he is not to publish them, for that would but confound the people who are to adhere to the written law. 13. He must preserve the everliving fire brought by *Zerdusht* from heaven, that it may endure through all ages, till the world shall be destroyed by that element (25).

(K) It is very possible, that the reader in the perusal of this section may incline to wish, that in some things we had delivered ourselves more copiously, and therefore it may not be amiss to inform him, that in treating of the *Persian* history, as delivered by oriental writers, we shall take occasion to retouch various points relating to the religion of the antient *Persians*, because much of their history depends upon them. As to inconsiderable customs, such as wearing this or that colour, this or that kind of cap ; these we have purposely omitted as deeming them not worthy of being mentioned in so great a work as this. Let us, however, note one thing, that their priests at confirmation sell the youth a girdle, which he is bound to keep all his life long, and to use it constantly, because when he lays it aside, he no longer enjoys the benefits of the priest's benediction. Dr. Hyde is of opinion, that the *English* saying, *ungirt, unblest*, has some allusion to this (26).

(25) *Lord's religion of the Perses*, p. 36.
Persar. c. xxxiii.

(26) *Relig. veter.*

new-married couple ; on each hand of the priests stand the relations of the bride and bridegroom. Things being in this situation, the bridegroom's priest lays his fore-finger on the woman's forehead, and says, *Wilt thou have this man to be thy wedded husband ?* the woman assenting, her priest lays his fore-finger on the man's forehead, and asks the like question, which being answered in the affirmative, the parties then join hands, the man promises that he will provide her a suitable maintenance, the woman acknowledges that all she has is his; the priests then scatter rice over them, wishing that they may be fruitful, and beseeching God that they may have many sons and daughters, that they may live in unity of mind, and arrive at a good old age, in possession of all the joys of wedlock. The ceremony over, the woman's parents pay the dowry, and a feast of eight days is kept for joy of the marriage ⁿ.

As to their burials two things are remarkable ; first, the place, secondly, the manner. First, as to the place, they have a round tower erected, on the top of which the bodies of the dead are laid to be devoured by the fowls of the air, some affirm, that they have separate towers for the good and for the bad ; others, that men, women, and children, are placed on several towers, the reason of thus exposing them we have elsewhere given, *viz.* the preserving the elements pure, for they conceive that by not interring the dead they avoid polluting the earth, and by leaving the corps unprotected from birds of prey, they provide in some measure against the infection of the air. However, this custom was antiently esteemed so barbarous by other nations, that one of the apologists for the christian faith, speaking of the good effects it had on mens minds in reforming them from brutal and wicked habits, mentions this expressly, that the *Persians*, since they had received the christian doctrines, no more exposed the bodies of their dead, but afforded them a decent burial. Before we part with this subject, it may not be amiss to observe what is practised among them, when a man is on his death-bed ; a priest is in such a case always sent for, and he, drawing near the bed, prayeth thus in the ear of the sick man : “ O Almighty Lord, thou hast commanded that we should not offend thee, this man hath offended ; thou hast ordained that we should do good, yet this man hath done evil ; thou hast required that we should duly and exactly worship thee, which, however, this man hath neglected. Now, O merciful God, at the hour of death forgive him his offences, his

ⁿ LORR's religion of the Perses, p. 48. ⁱ THEODORE. de curand. Græc. affectib. Serm. 9. de Leg. p. 128.

“ misdeeds, and his neglects, and receive him to thyself.” When he is dead the priest comes not near him; but the corpse is put on an iron bier and carried to the place of interment, the bearers being forbid to speak, as they go along, out of decency; and also because in the grave there is an unbroken silence. The dead body being placed on the tower, the priest standing at a distance performeth the funeral service, which he concludes thus: “ This our brother, while he lived, consisted of the four elements; now he is dead, let each take his own; earth to earth, air to air, water to water, fire to fire.” They suppose, that the spirit wanders for three days after its departure from the body, and is in that space pursued and tormented by the devil, till it is able to reach their sacred fire, to which he cannot come. They therefore pray morning, noon, and night, during these three days, for the soul of their deceased brother, beseeching God to blot out his sins, and to cancel all his offences. On the fourth day, supposing his fate to be decided, they make a great feast, which closes the ceremonies on this occasion *.

UPON so copious a subject as this, it would have been an easy task to have taken up twice as much room as has been here employed about it, but the desire we have of rendering the several parts of this work consistent with each other, and not to introduce tedious dissertations into a general history, induced us rather to run the hazard of being thought too brief, than, by a prolix account of so important a part of the *Persian* history, to tire the reader’s attention, and perplex what we intended to explain. The curious peruser, however, may from the pieces referred to in this account, collect at his leisure an exact system as well of the practical point as of the theoretical tenets of the *Persees*, which would certainly prove an entertaining, as well as instructive, piece, though inconsistent with the design, in the execution of which we are now engaged.

S E C T. IV.

The reigns of the kings of PERSIA.

AS we know but very little of the state of *Persia* before *Cyrus*’s time, we shall not pretend to give an account of the kings who preceded that prince. We have already shewn †, that *Elam* or *Persia* was governed in the earliest times by its own kings, and those very powerful.

* *Lord’s religion of the Persees*, p. 49. † See before p. 382, note (P).

Chedorlaomer, the first king of *Elam* mentioned in scripture, extended his conquests over many provinces of *Asia*; for *Bera* king of *Sodom*, *Birsha* king of *Gomorrhah*, *Shinab* king of *Admah*, *Shemeber* king of *Zebaiim*, and the king of *Bela* or *Zoar*, were his tributaries ^b. These five princes lived twelve years in subjection to *Chedorlaomer*; but in the 13th uniting their forces made an attempt towards the recovery of their former liberty. The king of *Elam* no sooner heard that they were up in arms, but entering into an alliance with *Amraphel* king of *Shinar*, *Arioch* king of *Ellasar*, and *Tidal* king of nations, he marched out against them, and having first reduced the *Rephaims*, the *Zuzims*, the *Emims*, the *Horites*, the *Amalekites* and the *Amorites* of *Hazezontamar*, at last he fell upon the revolters, put their army to the rout, killed the kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, and, having pillaged their cities, marched back towards *Elam* loaded with the spoils of the conquered nations. *Lot*, who, as *Josephus* ^c informs us, assisted the *Sodomites*, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner on this occasion, and had been carried into captivity, had he not been timely rescued by *Abraham*, who, pursuing the enemy with a small body of chosen men, came up with them at *Dan* the fifth day after their victory, put them to flight, and returned in triumph with his brother and all his family, redeemed from the insults of a victorious foe. By this overthrow *Chedorlaomer* lost the sovereignty of the *Pentapolis*, but retained his other conquests, which were very considerable. From the reign of this prince to that of *Cyrus* we know nothing to be relied on but what we have already hinted at, in the history of the *Medes*, viz. that the *Elamites* or *Persians* were a great and powerful nation, that they were in all likelihood subdued by the *Assyrians*, but afterwards recovered their ancient liberty, and were governed by princes of their own nation till the ninth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, when they were again brought under subjection by that great warrior, and his ally *Cyaxares* king of *Media*. While they lived in subjection to the *Assyrians*, *Medes*, and *Babylonians*, the throne was still filled with natives of *Persia*, though tributaries to those greater powers. The only royal family we find upon record, is that of *Achæmenes*, which must have been very conspicuous, since *Xerxes*, when at the height of his glory, was proud to derive from thence his pedigree, which he does in the following manner ^d.

^b GEN. xiv. 4. & JOSEPH. antiquit. l. i. c. 10.
antiquit. l. ii. c. 10.

^d HERODOT. l. vii.

^c JOSEPH.

<i>Achæmenes.</i>	<i>Teispes.</i>	<i>Hystaspes.</i>
<i>Cambyfes.</i>	<i>Ariaramnes.</i>	<i>Darius.</i>
<i>Cyrus.</i>	<i>Arfames.</i>	<i>Xerxes.</i>

Of this great family there were two branches ; from the first was descended *Cyrus the great*, whose issue male failed in his two sons *Cambyfes* and *Smerdis*. Some place the kings of this race in the following manner^c.

<i>Perses.</i>	<i>Cyrus.</i>	<i>Cambyfes.</i>
<i>Achæmenes.</i>	<i>Cambyfes.</i>	<i>Smerdis.</i>
<i>Darius.</i>	<i>Cyrus the Great.</i>	

They will have *Perses*, of whom, say they, *Persia* borrowed its name, to be the first of this family that reigned in *Persia*. We are told, that *Achæmenes* was nursed by an eagle^f ; and of this fabulous eagle the no less fabulous wolf of *Romulus* was perhaps a copy. *Darius* is mentioned by *Herodotus*^g, and supposed by some to have coined the famous *Darics* or *Stateres Darici*, which supposition is disproved by *Herodotus*^h, telling us, that the *Persians* had neither gold nor silver before the conquest of *Lydia*. *Cyrus* had two children, *Cambyfes* and *Atossa* ; *Atossa* married *Pharnaces* king of *Cappadocia*ⁱ, and *Cambyfes* *Mandane*, the so much celebrated daughter of *Astyages* king of *Media*, by whom he had *Cyrus the Great* (A). But as nothing occurs worthy of notice in the history of the *Persian* kings before *Cyrus*, we shall proceed, without dwelling on so barren a subject, to the reign of that great and glorious prince.

THE name of *Cyrus* is equally famous in sacred and profane history ; in the latter his valour and conquests have

^c REINCC. hist. jul. p. 37. ^f ÆLIAM. de animal. l. xii. c. 21. ^g HERODOT. l. i. ^h HERODOT. l. i. c. 71. ⁱ DIODOR. Sicul. in Fragm. l. xxxi.

(A) *Ovid* (1) mentions one *Orchamus* king of *Persia*, and makes him the 7th after *Belus*,

*Rexit Achæmenias urbes pater Orchamus, isque,
Septimus a prisco numeratur origine Belo.*

As this king is no where to be found but in *Ovid's* metamorphoses, what is said of him deserves no more credit than they do.

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<i>Achæmenes.</i>	<i>Teispes.</i>	<i>Hystaspes.</i>
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<i>Perfes.</i>	<i>Cyrus.</i>	<i>Cambyfes.</i>
<i>Achæmenes.</i>	<i>Cambyfes.</i>	<i>Smerdis.</i>
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(1) *Ovid. Metam. l. iv*

rendered his memory immortal, as has in the former his kind treatment of the captive *Hebrews*, whom he restored to their antient state, country, and temple, having been appointed for that by name ^k many years before he appeared in the world; an honour bestowed upon none but him, and that excellent prince *Josiah* ^l king of *Judah*. Prophane historians are at no small variance with each other touching the birth of this prince, his education, and accession to the crown. *Herodotus* and *Xenophon* are the only two original authors, as we may call them, whom we can quote and follow in what relates to the life and exploits of this prince; for other writers have copied after them, some adopting the accounts of the one, and some of the other. They are both very minute in their relations, and agree in some particulars, but widely differ in others. We shall in the first place hear *Herodotus*, the father of history, as *Tully* calls him; but whether his accounts be genuine, or rather interwoven, and seasoned to the *Greek* taste, with several fabulous and surprizing incidents, is what we shall examine afterwards.

Account of
the birth,
education,
&c. of
Cyrus, ac-
cording to
Herodo-
tus.

Astyages, the last king of the *Medes*, being warned by a dream, that the son, who was to be born of his daughter *Mandane*, should one day be lord of all *Asia*, resolved to marry her, not to a *Mede* worthy of her bed, but to a *Persian*; and accordingly chose one *Cambyfes*, sprung from an antient family, but of a peaceable disposition, and, as he thought, inferior in rank to a *Mede*, even of a middling condition. A year after they were married, *Astyages* was frightened by another dream portending a-new, according to the interpretation of the *Mages*, the empire of *Asia* to his grandson (B). Hereupon *Astyages* sends for his daughter then big with child, and upon her arrival in *Media* puts her under a guard, determined to destroy the child she should be delivered of; for the *Mages* had assured him, that the issue of his daughter was to fill his throne. *Mandane*, not long after her confinement, was brought to bed of a son, whom *Astyages*, mindful of the interpretation of the *Mages*, delivered to one *Harpagus*, enjoining him, as he tendered his own life, to take the new-born son of *Mandane*, to carry him to his house, and there dispatch him

^k ISA. xlv. 28. & xlv. 1.

^l 1 KINGS xiii. 2.

(B) His first dream was, that his daughter *Mandane* had voided so great a quantity of water as not only filled the metropolis of the kingdom, but overflowed all *Asia*. In the other he saw a vine shooting from the womb of his daughter, and extending its branches over all *Asia*.

with

with his own hands, in what manner he should think best. *Harpagus* promised to put the king's orders in execution, and having received from the guards the infant richly dressed, went home under great concern, as seeing himself employed in so cruel and inhuman an office. He acquainted his wife as soon as he came home with what had passed between *Astyages* and himself, and resolved not to execute the sentence with his own hands, but to transfer his charge to another. With this design he immediately sent for one of the king's herdsmen, who kept his cattle in pastures lying at the foot of certain mountains, on the north of *Ecbatan*, towards the *Caspian* sea. The herdsman's name was *Mitrادات*, and his wife's, in the language of the *Medes*, *Spaco*, which signifies a bitch, and answers her Greek name *Cyno*. *Mitrادات*, without delay, waited upon *Harpagus*, who commanded him, in the king's name, to take the infant and expose it in the most dangerous and abandoned part of the mountains, upon pain of dying in the most exquisite tortures that could be invented. He added, that the king had charged him to see his orders put in execution. The herdsman, not daring to make any remonstrance against the king's commands, returned with the child to his cottage, where he found his wife just delivered of a son. During her husband's absence, she had been in great trouble and perplexity, on account of the message from *Harpagus*, who had never before sent for him; and therefore he no sooner set his foot within the door, but she asked him in great surprize, why *Harpagus* had sent for him in such haste? He told her, he had been in the city, where he had heard and seen such things as grieved him beyond expression; that when he arrived, the house of *Harpagus* was all in tears, and that as he went in, he was struck with horror in seeing an infant, dressed in gold and the richest colours, panting and crying on the floor; that *Harpagus* had commanded him to carry away this child, and expose it on the mountains to the mercy of the wild beasts, upon pain of incurring the king's displeasure, and undergoing the severest punishments that could be inflicted; that at first he had supposed the unhappy infant to belong to some person of the family of *Harpagus*, but that he had been afterwards informed by the servant that attended him out of the city, and delivered the babe into his hands, that it was born of *Mandane* the king's daughter, and son to *Cambyses* of *Persia*, and that *Astyages* had commanded it should be put to death¹.

HAVING thus spoke, he disclosed the child to his wife, who no sooner saw it, but being ravished with the innocent

¹ HERODOT. l. i. c. 107. & seq.

smiles of the infant, she embraced her husband, and with many tears entreated him not to execute the orders he had received. But he, remonstrating the absolute necessity he was under of obeying or forfeiting his own life, since the spies of *Harpagus* would without fail keep a watchful eye over him, and see whether he performed what had been so strictly enjoined him, she suggested to him to take their own child that was still-born, to expose it instead of the other, and bring up the son of *Mandane* as their own ; for, by that means, said she, we shall sufficiently consult our own safety without injuring others ; the dead child will be honoured with a royal sepulchre, and the surviving infant be preserved from an untimely death ^m.

Mitradates approved of this expedient, and delivering the infant he was charged to destroy into his wife's hands, dressed the dead child in the rich apparel of the living, and carried it in the same basket, in which he had brought the other, to the most unfrequented part of the mountains. Three days after, he acquainted *Harpagus*, that, if he pleased, he could shew him the dead body of the infant, and he accordingly dispatched some of his friends, in whom he most confided, to see that the sentence had been put in execution, and to inter the royal infant. Thus was *Cyrus*, for so was the infant afterwards called, delivered from the snares of his grandfather, and educated by the herdsman's wife as her own ⁿ.

WHEN he attained to the age of ten years, as he was one day playing in the pastures with other children of his age, he was chosen king by his companions, and in virtue of that dignity having distinguished them into several orders and classes, the son of *Artembares*, a lord of eminent dignity among the *Medes*, who was one of his companions in the play, refused to obey his orders. Whereupon *Cyrus* commanded him to be immediately seized and whipt very severely. The boy with many tears complained to his father of what he had suffered from the herdsman's son, and the father, highly resenting the affront, hastened with his son to the king's palace, and shewing the prince in what a cruel and ignominious manner his son had been abused by the son of a slave, entreated him to avenge, by some very exemplary punishment, the indignity offered to him and his whole family. *Astyages* promised to give him full satisfaction, and commanding both the herdsman and his son to be brought before him, asked *Cyrus*, how he, who was the son of so mean a man, had dared to abuse the

^m HERODOT. ubi supra.

ⁿ HERODOT. ubi supra.

son of one of the chief lords in the kingdom? *Cyrus* replied, that he had done no more than he had a right to do, for the boys of the neighbourhood having made him their king, because they thought him the most worthy of that dignity, and performed what he, vested with that character, had commanded, the son of *Artembares* alone had slighted his orders, and for his disobedience suffered the punishment he deserved. As the boy was pleading his cause with an eloquence far superior to his years and education, *Astyages* took particular notice of his mein and features, and thinking that he resembled himself, began to reflect on the time that his grandson was exposed, which he found to agree with the age of the herdsman's supposed son. Being perplexed with this thought, he dismissed *Artembares*, assuring him, that his son should have no cause to complain, and commanded his guards to conduct *Cyrus* into the palace. Being then in private with the herdsman, he asked whose boy *Cyrus* was, and from whose hands he had him? *Mitradates* affirmed, that he was his own child, and that the boy's mother, who was still living, would come, if he pleased, to attest it. But *Astyages*, giving no credit to what he averred, commanded his guards to seize him, whereupon he discovered, without reserve, the whole matter, and implored the king's mercy •.

Astyages was not so much incensed against the herdsman, as against his favourite *Harpagus*, whom he ordered the guards to bring without delay to the palace. Upon his arrival, the king in a violent passion asked him in what manner he had put to death the son of his daughter *Mandane*. When *Harpagus* saw the herdsman, he thought he should but aggravate his crime, by attempting to elude the storm that threatened him, by any sort of falsehood, and therefore openly confessed what he had done; adding that he thought he had taken the most effectual means he could to put his orders in execution, and that he truly believed the child was dead, since the most trusty among his friends had assured him, that they had seen and interred the body ^p.

Astyages, dissembling his resentment, acquainted *Harpagus* with what the herdsman had confessed, adding, that the child was still alive, and that he was very well pleased his orders had not been executed; for he had been under great concern ever since he issued that cruel command, and had not been able to bear the reproaches of his daughter. He then ordered *Harpagus* to send his son to wait on the young *Cyrus*, and to come

• Idem, *ibid*.^p Idem, *ibid*.

himself that night to sup with him, since he intended to offer a sacrifice to the gods, in thanksgiving for the care they had taken of his grandson ^q.

Harpagus, overjoyed at the king's speech, returned home, and, acquainting his wife with what had passed, immediately sent his only son to attend *Cyrus*, as he had been commanded. His son, who was about 30 years old, no sooner entered the palace, but he was seized, barbarously murdered, and cut in pieces by order of *Astyages*, who gave directions that the mangled body, variously dressed and disguised, should be served up at supper. *Harpagus* and the rest of the guests repaired to the palace at the hour appointed; the others were splendidly entertained, but the table, where *Harpagus* supped, was served only with the flesh of his son. When he had done, the king asked him whether he had been pleased with his victuals; and *Harpagus* answering, that he had never tasted any thing more delicious, the officers appointed for that purpose brought in a basket containing the head, hands, and feet of his son, desiring him to uncover the basket, and take what he liked best. He did as they desired, and beheld the remains of his only child, without betraying any sort of concern or resentment at so shocking a sight; such was the command he had of his passions. The king enquired whether he knew with what kind of meat he had been entertained? *Harpagus* replied, he knew very well, and was always pleased with whatever his sovereign thought fit to ordain. Having thus replied, with a surprising temper, he collected the mangled parts of his innocent son, and went home, as our author conjectures, to inter them ^r.

Astyages, having thus vented his rage upon the unfortunate *Harpagus*, began to consider with himself what he should do with *Cyrus*; and having again consulted the *Mages*, their answer was, that if the boy lived, he must of necessity be king, *Astyages* then acquainted them, that he was still alive, adding, as a very material circumstance, that he had been chosen king by the boys of the neighbourhood where he lived, and performed all the parts of a real king with the utmost rigour and severity. Hereupon the *Mages* replied, that the prediction of his reign was already accomplished, in the choice which the boys had made of him for their king, and that he would never reign a second time; for dreams, said they, often end in things of small importance, and are fulfilled by trifling events.

^q *Idem*, *ibid*.

^r *Idem*, *ibid*.

They advised him therefore to divest himself of all fear, and send the boy to his parents in *Persia*^c.

Astyages, well pleased with this answer, called *Cyrus*, and owning how much he had been wanting in the affection, which he ought naturally to have had for him, by reason of an insignificant dream, desired him to get ready for a journey into *Persia*, where he would find his real father and mother, in circumstances very different from those of the poor herdsman *Mitradataes*, and his wife *Spaco*^e.

THUS *Astyages*, after many kind expressions, dismissed his young grandson attended by several lords of the first rank. Upon his arrival at his father's house, he was received by his parents with a tenderness and joy, which is more easy to conceive than express. As they had long given him over for dead they asked him in what manner his life had been preserved. He then acquainted them, that he had lived in an entire ignorance of his condition, and had been unacquainted with his true birth, believing himself the son of the king's herdsman, till those, who attended him on his journey into *Persia*, informed him of all that had passed. He related, how he had been educated by the herdsman's wife, and frequently repeating the name of *Cyno*, commended her on all occasions. And this name his parents made use of, as our author informs us, to persuade the *Persians*, that the preservation of their son was in a very particular manner owing to the immortal gods, since he had been nourished, as they industriously spread abroad and was commonly believed, by a bitch^u.

WHEN *Cyrus* attained to the age of manhood, and was become very popular in his own country, and famous in *Media* on account of his extraordinary parts, *Harpagus*, who had never forgot the inhuman murder of his son, began to court his friendship, with a design to join with him, who had been equally injured, in revenging so barbarous a treatment. At the same time he solicited the leading men among the *Medes*, who were highly dissatisfied with the tyrannical government of *Astyages*, to take up arms, and redeem themselves and their unhappy country from the calamities they groaned under, by deposing *Astyages*, and advancing his grandson *Cyrus* to the throne. They all to a man shewed themselves disposed to second his designs; whereupon he thought it high time to discover his intentions to *Cyrus*, who was to act the chief part in this revolution. And accordingly, he acquainted him with them by a letter, which, as all the roads leading to

^c Idem, *ibid.*^e Idem, *ibid.*^u Idem, *ibid.*

Persia were guarded by the king's troops, he conveyed to him in the belly of a hare; the hare he delivered to one of his most trusty domestics, dressed in the habit of a hunter, enjoining him to desire *Cyrus* not to open the letter in the presence of any person whatsoever ^w.

THE messenger executed his orders, and *Cyrus* opening the hare with his own hands, found a letter, reminding him of the care which the gods had had of his preservation, against the wicked designs and barbarous attempts of his grandfather, and encouraging him to stir up the *Persians* to a revolt, and at the head of their forces to invade *Media*, where all the chief commanders were ready to join him, and determined at all events to advance him to the throne, instead of his unnatural grandfather. He took care to put him in mind of what he had suffered on his account, and how barbarously he had been punished for not executing the king's bloody orders. *Cyrus*, having read the letter, began to consider what measures he should take to induce the *Persians* to revolt, and after various schemes, fixed upon the following as the most proper. He feigned a letter from *Astyages*, appointing him commander in chief of all the *Persian* forces; this he read in a general assembly of the nation, and in virtue of his new commission commanded them all to attend him, every man with a hatchet. He was obeyed, and being all met in pursuance to his orders, he enjoined them to clear in one day a spot of ground, containing 18 or 20 furlongs, over-grown with thorns and briars. This laborious piece of work being performed, not without some reluctance, he dismissed them with orders to attend him again the next day. In the mean time he caused all his father's flocks and herds to be killed and dressed, provided wine, and bought all the dainties *Persia* could supply him with. They all assembled the next day, expecting to be employed as they had been the day before. But, contrary to their expectation, *Cyrus* ordered them to sit down on the green turf, and entertained them with a great feast. When they had solaced themselves with dainties, which to that time they had been strangers to, the young prince asked them, whether they would choose to live always in that manner, or as they had done the day before? They all answered readily, that as they preferred mirth and pleasure to toil and labour, so they did the condition of the present day to that of the precedent. Upon this answer *Cyrus* acquainted them, that if they hearkened to his advice they should enjoy these and far greater plea-

^w Idem, ibid.

tures, without any kind of servile labour ; but, if they refused to follow him, they must undergo innumerable hardships, like those they had complained of the day before. He then disclosed to them his true design of delivering his country from the *Median* bondage, and encouraged his countrymen to join him in so great and glorious an enterprize, by telling them, that some divine power had brought him into the world, and miraculously saved his life, that he might be one day the author of their happiness. The *Persians*, who had lived for many years, with the utmost reluctance, in subjection to the *Medes*, declared him with one accord their leader, and protested, that they would stand by him in so good a cause, even at the expence of their lives.

IN the mean time, *Astyages* being informed of what was doing in *Persia*, dispatched a messenger to *Cyrus*, enjoining him to repair forthwith into *Media*; but *Cyrus* by the same messenger returned this resolute answer, *That he would come sooner than Astyages desired.* Whereupon the king drew together all his forces, and forgetful of his cruelty towards *Harpagus*, appointed him general of the army. The two nations came to a general engagement; but the chief officers among the *Medes* passing over to *Cyrus*, with the bodies under their command, the rest of the army was routed with great slaughter. When *Astyages* heard of this defeat, he flew into a violent passion, and vowing that *Cyrus* should not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory, he first caused the *Mages*, who had interpreted his dream, to be impaled, and then arming all the *Medes*, marched out himself at the head of them. Both armies came to a second engagement, in which the *Medes* were again defeated, and the king himself taken prisoner. *Astyages* in this state was reproached and insulted by the revengeful *Harpagus*, who among other things asked him, what he now thought of his tragical feast, when he compelled him to devour the flesh of his own son, for which inhuman and barbarous action he had now fallen from the throne to a prison. *Astyages* in return, fixing his eyes on *Harpagus*, asked him whether he had been instrumental in bringing about this revolution. He answered, that it was chiefly owing to him, since he had the first encouraged *Cyrus* to this undertaking. Then, replied *Astyages*, you are the weakest and most unjust of all men: the weakest, in giving the kingdom to another when you might have seized on it yourself, since you have been able to effect this change; the most unjust, in enslaving your country to revenge a private injury. For if you were determined to depose me and confer the kingdom on another, without taking the power into your own hands, you might

with more justice have advanced a *Mede* to that dignity than a *Persian*. Whereas the *Medes*, who were before lords of *Persia*, and no-ways concerned in the injury, are now by your means reduced to the condition of slaves, and the *Persians*, who were servants to the *Medes*, are now become their lords. In this manner, concludes our author, *Astyages* was deprived of the kingdom after he had reigned 35 years, and through his cruelty the *Medes* became subject to the *Persians*, after they had ruled over all those provinces of *Asia* that lie on the other side of the *Halys* for the space of 128 years, including the time of the *Scythian* dominion over that part of *Asia*. As for *Astyages*, *Cyrus* kept him prisoner in his palace till he died, without practising any farther severity upon him*.

THIS is the account which *Herodotus* gives us, and which every impartial and judicious reader must conclude to be an ar-rant romance, composed, perhaps, by some admirer of *Cyrus*, and adopted by our author as more agreeable to the depraved taste of his countrymen, who took more delight in surprising, tho' fabulous, events, than in the relation of plain historical truths.

WHAT the same author relates of the death of this great hero, deserves, in our opinion, no more credit, than what he has told us of his birth, education, and advancement to the crown. This prince, according to him †, invaded the *Massagetes*, and having in the first battle feigned a flight, left a great quantity of provisions, especially of wine, in the field. The barbarians did not fail to seize on the booty, and indulged themselves in drinking to such an excess, that they all fell asleep on the spot. In this condition *Cyrus* returned upon them, obtained an easy victory, and took a great many prisoners, among whom was *Spargapises* the son of queen *Tomyris*. This heroine, being informed of the defeat of her troops and captivity of her son, sent a herald to *Cyrus*, entreating him to release the young prince; which he refusing to do, *Spargapises*, preferring death to slavery, laid violent hands on himself. Whereupon his mother *Tomyris*, animated with an eager desire of revenge, gave the *Persians* battle a second time, which, says our author, was the most obstinate and bloody that ever was fought by the barbarians. Many fell on both sides; but at last the *Massagetes* carrying the day, the greatest part of the *Persian* army was cut in pieces, and *Cyrus* himself killed in the field, after having reigned 29 years. *Tomyris*, having found his body among the slain, caused his head to be cut off, and thrown into a vessel filled with human blood, insulting the memory of the dead prince with these

* HERODOT. ubi sup. † HERODOT. I. 1. c. 214.

words, *Glut thyself with the blood which thou hast so insatiably thirsted after.*

WHAT the same historian relates of his childish revenge upon the river *Gyndes* (C), while he was on his march to besiege *Babylon*, is utterly repugnant to the idea we have of that wise and experienced commander. For he tells us, that one of the sacred horses of *Cyrus* being drowned in that river, the prince, highly resenting such an affront, immediately caused the *Gyndes* to be cut by his army into 360 channels; a work which employed his army the whole summer, and obliged him to postpone the siege of *Babylon* to the spring ensuing. Who can imagine, that a commander of so great experience and such an extraordinary moderation, as *Cyrus* is, even by *Herodotus* himself, represented to have been, while he was marching to the conquest of *Babylon*, should so idly waste his time, and spend the ardour of his troops, in such an unprofitable piece of work?

WE shall now give what we look upon as the true history of *Cyrus*, being extracted out of *Xenophon*, whom we chuse to follow in what concerns that great conqueror and excellent prince, seeing his accounts are far more agreeable to holy writ, the standard of truth, than those of *Herodotus*. We are told, for instance, in scripture, that the *Babylonians* were reduced by the united forces of the *Medes* and *Persians*, and this is what we read in *Xenophon*: whereas *Herodotus* raises the *Persian* empire on the ruins of that of the *Medes*, which is repugnant to scripture. It is true, that most of the antients have chosen to follow *Herodotus* rather than *Xenophon*; but that we can easily account for. The relations of the former are interwoven with events far more strange and surprising, and consequently more diverting and acceptable to the reader; whence they were preferred to those of the latter, in which we find nothing calculated to raise admiration. This natural inclination in a writer to adopt such accounts as he thinks will prove most agreeable to his reader, has been greatly countenanced by *Plato*², who, in giving a character of *Xenophon's* *Cyropædia*, tells us, that he rather described in that work what a worthy and just prince ought to be, than gave us a true history of what that prince really was. From this passage *Diogenes Laertius* concludes³, that *Plato* looked on the institution of *Cyrus* as a fiction. *Tully* passes the same judgment on this performance, saying^b, that *Xenophon's* *Cyrus*

² *PLATO* de legib. l. iii.

³ *DIOG LAER.* in vit. philosoph.

^b *Epist.* i. ad *Quintum fratrem*.

(C) The river *Gyndes* rises on the hills of *Matiere*, and passing through *Dardania* falls into the *Tigris*.

was not intended for a true history, but to serve as a model of a just empire. Most of the modern critics have declared themselves of the same opinion; and we must own, that as *Xenophon* was both a great commander and a philosopher, he has woven into that history many of his own maxims of war and policy. But it does not follow from hence, that the ground-plot of the work, and the most material transactions he relates, may not be called a true history. That he intended it for such, is plain; for in the very beginning of the work he acquaints us, that he had taken great care and pains to inform himself of *Cyrus's* birth, education, and character; and that it is really such, its conformity with holy writ sufficiently shews. Wherefore bating his military and political descants and digressions, the remaining part, bare matters of fact, is to be looked upon as a true history. He was esteemed by the ancients as a writer of great judgment and penetration, and, having lived in the court of *Cyrus* the younger, had opportunities of being better informed of what he wrote concerning that great prince, than *Herodotus* could have; and as he confined himself to this subject alone, no doubt but he examined all matters relating to it, with more care and exactness than the other, who wrote of so many different subjects and nations. And these are the motives that have induced us to follow *Xenophon*, in what relates to *Cyrus*, rather than *Herodotus* or those who have copied after him (D).

*The true
history of
Cyrus.*

Cyrus was the son of *Cambyses* king of *Persia* and of *Mandane* the daughter of *Astyages* king of the *Medes* (E). He was born a year after his uncle *Cyaxares* the brother of *Mandane*. He lived the first twelve years of his life with his parents in *Persia*, where he was educated after the *Persian* manner, and inured to hardships and such exercises as might enable him to go through the toils and fatigues of war (F).

When

• See *DIOG. LAERT.* in vit. *Xenophon*.

(D) *Scaliger* thinks, that the *Cyropædia* contains nothing but fables and fictions, if we except two or three events, which are related also by *Herodotus*; and *Erasmus* will not even allow *Xenophon* to have given us an exact model of a just government, but rather to have drawn a cunning and deceitful prince: so fond are they of the surprizing incidents related by his antagonist *Herodotus*.

(E) Both *Herodotus* and *Xenophon* agree in this, viz. that the mother of *Cyrus* was *Mandane* daughter to *Astyages*; but *Ctesias* would have us believe, that *Cyrus* was no-ways related to *Astyages*, or *Astigas* as he is pleased to call him.

(F) The name of *Persia* at that time extended only to one province of that large empire, which was afterwards known by the name

When he was twelve years old his mother *Mandane* took him with her into *Media* to his grandfather *Astyages*, who, from the many things he had heard of that young prince, had a desire to see him. During the time of his residence at this court, the sweetness of his temper, his generous behaviour, and constant endeavour to oblige all, gained him the affections of the *Medes*, and such an interest among the leading men of that nation, as did afterwards much contribute to the erecting of the great empire he founded ^d.

WHEN *Cyrus* was about sixteen years of age, *Evil-merodach*, the son of *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, being abroad on a hunting-match a little before his marriage, to shew his bravery made an inroad into the territories of the *Medes*, which drew out *Astyages* with his forces to oppose the invader. On this occasion *Cyrus* attending his grandfather first entered the school of war, and behaved so well, that the victory, which the *Medes* gained over the *Babylonians*, was chiefly owing to his valour. The next year he returned to his father in *Persia*, where he remained till he was forty years of age, when he was recalled to the assistance of his uncle *Cyaxares* ^e.

Astyages king of the *Medes* was succeeded, as we have shewn in the history of that people, by his son *Cyaxares* brother to *Mandane* *Cyrus's* mother. This prince was scarce warm on his throne, when he was informed, that *Neriglissar* king of *Babylon* was preparing a powerful army to invade *Media*, that he had already engaged several princes on his side, and amongst others *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, and that he had dispatched ambassadors into *Cappadocia*, *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Paphlagonia*, *Cilicia*, and even to the *Indies*, to instil jealousies into the several princes of these countries, and to stir them up against the *Medes* and *Persians*, as aspiring to an universal monarchy. *Cyaxares* therefore called *Cyrus* out of *Persia* to his assistance, and, upon his arrival with a body of 30000 *Persians*, appointed him commander in chief both of the *Medes* and *Persians* ^f (G). HE

^d XENOPH. *Cyropæd.* l. i. p. 36.

^e Idem *ibid.* p. 44. 45, &c.

^f Idem, *ibid.* p. 58.

name of *Persia*. For the whole *Persian* nation could at that time raise but 120,000 men (2). But after the conquests of *Cyrus*, it took in that vast tract, which extended east and west from the *Indus* to the *Tigris*, and north and south from the *Caspian* sea to the ocean.

(G) This army consisted of 30,000 men, all infantry, for the *Per-*

(2) *Cyropæd.* l. i.

sians

HE had not been long in *Media* before *Cyaxares* had occasion to employ him. The king of *Armenia*, who had hitherto lived in subjection to the *Medes*, looking upon them as ready to be swallowed up, by the powerful alliance formed against them, thought fit to lay hold of that opportunity and shake off the yoke. Accordingly he refused to pay the usual tribute, and to send his quota of auxiliaries, which he was obliged to furnish in time of war. As this was a matter of dangerous consequence, and which might prompt other dependent states to do the same, *Cyrus* thought it necessary to crush this revolt with the utmost expedition, and therefore marching immediately with a chosen body of horse, and covering his design, as if he intended only to hunt on the hills of *Armenia*, he entered that country, before the inhabitants had any intelligence of his march, surprized the king and all his family; and having obliged him to pay the usual tribute, and send his quota of auxiliaries, restored him to his kingdom, and returned in triumph to his army in *Media*^s.

BOTH parties had now been employed three years together in forming their alliances, and making preparations for war. In the beginning of the fourth year the confederate armies on both sides took the field, and being come in sight of each other, the *Babylonians*, under *Neriglissar* their king, encamped and fortified themselves with strong intrenchments, while the *Medes* and *Persians*, under the command of *Cyrus*, covered themselves with the neighbouring hills and villages. In this posture they continued for some days, till at length the *Ba-*

^s *Idem. lib. 3. p. 62—76.*

stians had yet no cavalry; but they were all chosen men, and raised after a particular manner. First of all *Cyrus* chose out of the nobility 200 officers: each of these was ordered to choose four more of the same rank which made a thousand in all; and these were called *ὁμότιμοι* or *men of the same dignity*, and eminently distinguished themselves on all occasions. Every one of these was ordered to raise among the people ten pike men lightly armed, ten slingers, and ten bow-men; which amounted in the whole to 31,000 men (3). From the year in which *Cyrus*, arriving in *Media* at the head of these troops, was vested with the command of the confederate army, those begin their computation, who will have this prince to have reigned thirty years. For from this time he was looked upon by all foreign nations as king of *Persia* and *Media*, though the regal power was solely in *Cyaxares*, and *Cyrus* was only general of the united forces.

(3) *Idem. ibidem.*

bylonians

bylonians leaving their intrenchments, and drawing themselves up in battle array, *Cyrus* advanced to attack them. On the side of the *Affyrians*, the bow-men and slingers made their discharges before the enemy was within reach. But the *Persians*, animated by the presence and example of *Cyrus*, immediately closed in with the enemy, and broke through their first battalions. The *Babylonians*, notwithstanding all the *Babylonians de-* efforts used by *Cræsus* and their own king, were not able to stand so rude a shock, but immediately betook themselves to *feated.* a precipitous flight. At the same time the cavalry of the *Medes* fell upon the enemies horse, which was likewise put to the rout. *Cyrus* pursued them close to their intrenchments, but, not thinking himself in a condition to force them, sounded the retreat. In this battle *Neriglissar* king of the *Babylonians* was killed; whereupon *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, as being *Neriglissar killed.* in dignity next to him, took the command of the conquered army, and made as good a retreat as he could. But the next day *Cyrus* returned to the charge, drove the *Babylonians* from their camp, and with the assistance of the *Hyrca-* *nians*, who had revolted to him the night before, took a great many prisoners and the baggage of the whole army ^h. *Cyrus* reserved all the horses that were taken for himself, in order to form a body of cavalry for the *Persian* army, which hitherto they had wanted. The richest and most valuable part of the booty he set apart for *Cyaxares*; and as for the prisoners, he allowed them to return home to their respective countries, without imposing any other condition upon them, than that they should deliver up their arms, and engage no more in war against him and his allies ⁱ.

THE death of *Neriglissar* was a great loss to the *Babylonians*; for he was a prince of great courage, conduct and wisdom, the preparations he made for the war shewed his wisdom, and his dying in it his valour. But nothing made the *Babylonians* more sensible of the loss they had suffered, than the tyrannical government of his son and successor *Laborsoarchod*, who was in every thing quite the reverse of his father, being addicted to all manner of wickedness, cruelty, and injustice. Two acts of his cruelty towards two *Babylonian* lords, *Gobryas* and *Gadates*, are particularly mentioned, as having provoked them to join *Cyrus*, and to be very instrumental in the subversion of the *Babylonian* empire. The only son of the former he slew at a hunting match, to which he had invited him, for no other reason, but that he pierced

^h Idem, l. iv. p. 87—104.ⁱ Idem, *ibid.*

with his dart a wild beast which the king had missed. The other he caused to be made an eunuch, because one of his concubines had commended him as an handsome man. These acts of tyranny drove the two noblemen, with the provinces they governed, over to *Cyrus*, and hastened the conquest of *Babylon*. For *Cyrus*, encouraged hereby, determined to penetrate into the very heart of the enemy's country, and having taken possession of the provinces, castles, and strong holds, which the two injured princes had been trusted with, he got a footing in *Assyria*, which greatly contributed to the reduction of *Babylon* itself. The king took the field against *Gadates*, but being met by *Cyrus* he was put to flight, and obliged to retire with great slaughter to his metropolis. *Cyrus* having thus spent the summer in ravaging the enemy's country, and shewn himself twice before the walls of *Babylon*, in order to provoke the king to battle, marched back into *Media*, and on his march took three strong holds on the frontiers^k.

As soon as *Cyrus* was retired, *Laborsoarchod*, being now in no dread of the enemy, gave a loose to all the wicked inclinations that were predominant in him, insomuch that his own subjects, not being able to bear any longer his tyrannical government, conspired against him, and murdered him in the ninth month of his reign^l. *Nabonadius*, who had the chief hand in the murder, was placed on the throne, and had he been left to himself, the *Babylonians* would not have bettered their condition by the change. But his mother, who was a woman of extraordinary parts, took the main burden of public affairs upon herself, and, while her son followed his pleasures, did all that could be done by human prudence to preserve the tottering empire. She perfected the works which *Nebuchadnezzar* had begun for the defence of *Babylon*, raised strong fortifications on the side of the river, and caused a wonderful vault to be made under it, leading from the old palace to the new, twelve foot high and fifteen wide. This she did to maintain a communication between the two palaces, which were strong fortresses and separated by the river^m, that in case one of them should be distressed by the enemy, or either of them taken, there might be relief from, or a safe retreat to, the other.

^k Idem. l. v. p. 123—140. ^l BEROS. apud Joseph. contra APION. l. i. MELCHIR. apud EUSEB. Prepar. Evang. l. ix. ^m HERODOT. l. i. DIODOR. Sicul. l. ii. PHILOSTRAT. l. i. c. 18.

WHILE the queen was thus taking all possible precautions against the enemy, *Cyaxares* came to *Cyrus's* camp, and after several consultations they determined to alter their method; and, instead of contenting themselves only with ravaging the enemy's territories, they thought it was necessary to employ their troops in taking of towns and fortresses, that so they might make themselves masters of the country, and distress the city of *Babylon* by intercepting their provisionsⁿ. Accordingly they took many cities, and brought under subjection entire provinces, without meeting with any considerable resistance from the *Babylonians*. The progress *Cyrus* made in those conquests roused at last *Nabonadius*, who, taking along with him great part of his treasures, left *Babylon* and repaired to *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, by whose assistance and interest he concluded a formidable alliance with the *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and all the nations of the *Lesser Asia*. These various nations under the conduct of *Cræsus*, who was by the king of *Babylon* appointed chief commander of all his forces, assembled near the river *Pætolus*, and from thence advanced to *Thymbra*, which was the place appointed for the general rendezvous. *Cyrus* being informed of these vast preparations by one of his intimate friends, who by his order had fled over to the enemy as a deserter, put himself in a condition to oppose them; and having increased the number of his forces by new levies, he took leave of *Cyaxares*, who remained in *Media* with a third part of the troops, that the country might not be left intirely defenceless, and marched forward to meet the confederate forces in their own territories, in order to consume their forage, and disconcert their measures, by the quickness of his march and boldness of his undertaking. After a long march he came up with the enemy at *Thymbra*, a city of *Lydia*, not far from *Sardis*, the metropolis of that country. *Cyrus's* army was 196,000 strong, horse and foot; besides these troops he had 300 chariots armed with scythes, each chariot drawn by four horses abreast, covered with trappings that were proof against all sorts of missive weapons: he had likewise a great number of other chariots of a larger size, upon each of which he placed a tower about 18 or 20 feet high, and in each tower were lodged 20 archers. These chariots were drawn by 16 oxen yoked abreast. There was moreover a considerable number of camels, each mounted by two *Arabian* archers, the one looking towards the head, and the other towards the hinder part of the camel.

ⁿ CYROPOÆD. l. vi. p. 156, &c.

The army of *Cræsus* was twice as numerous as that of *Cyrus*, amounting in the whole to 420,000 men. Both armies were drawn up on an immense plain, which gave room for the extending of their wings to the right and left; and the design of *Cræsus*, upon which alone he founded his hopes of victory, was to surround and hem in the enemy's army. He placed the *Egyptians*, who alone made a body of 120,000 men, and were the main strength of the army, in the centre.

Battle of Thymbra. WHEN the two armies were within sight of each other, *Cræsus*, observing how much the front of his army exceeded that of *Cyrus*, made the centre halt, and the two wings advance with a design to inclose *Cyrus's* army, and begin the attack on both sides at the same time. When the two detached bodies of the *Lydian* forces were sufficiently extended, *Cræsus* gave the signal to the main body, which marched up to the front of the *Persian* army, while the two wings attacked them in flank, so that *Cyrus's* army was hem'd in on all sides, and, as our author expresses it, inclosed like a small square drawn within a great one^P.

Year of
the Flood,
2455.
Year be-
fore Christ
544.

THIS motion did not at all alarm *Cyrus*, who, giving his troops the signal to face about, attacked in flank the enemies forces that were marching to fall upon his rear, and put them into great disorder. In the same moment a squadron of camels was made to advance against the enemies other wing, consisting mostly of cavalry. The horses upon the approach of the camels were so frightened, that most of them threw their riders, and trod them under foot, which occasioned a great confusion. While they were thus in disorder, *Artageses*, an officer of great experience, at the head of a small body of horse charged them so briskly, that they could never afterwards rally, and at the same time the chariots armed with scythes being furiously driven against them, they were entirely routed. Both the enemy's wings being put to flight, *Cyrus* commanded *Abradates* his chief favourite to fall upon the centre with the chariots we have mentioned above. The first ranks, consisting mostly of *Lydians*, not being able to stand so violent a charge, immediately gave way; but the *Egyptians* being covered with their bucklers, and marching so close that the chariots had not room to penetrate their ranks, a great slaughter of the *Persians* ensued. *Abradates* himself was killed, his chariot overturned, and most part of his men cut in pieces, after having signalized themselves in a very extraordinary manner. Upon his death the *Egyptians*

^a Idem, l. vi. p. 167—172.

^P Idem, p. 173.

tians advancing boldly obliged the *Persian* infantry to give way, and drove them back quite to their engines. There they met with a new shower of arrows and javelins discharged upon them from the towers, and at the same time the *Persian* rear advancing sword in hand, obliged their archers and spearmen to return to the charge. In the mean time *Cyrus*, having put to flight both the horse and foot on the left of the *Egyptians*, pushed on to the centre, where he had the mortification to find his *Persians* again giving ground, and judging that the only way to stop the *Egyptians* who were pursuing them, would be to attack them in the rear, he did so; and at the same time the *Persian* cavalry coming up to his assistance, the fight was renewed with great slaughter on both sides; for the *Egyptians* facing about defended themselves with incredible bravery. *Cyrus* himself was in great danger; for his horse being killed under him, he fell in the midst of the enemies, but being saved by his *Persians*, who, alarmed at his danger, threw themselves headlong upon those that surrounded him, the battle became more bloody than ever. At length *Cyrus* admiring the valour of the *Egyptians*, and concerned to see such brave men perish, offered them honourable conditions, letting them know at the same time, that all their allies had abandoned them. They accepted the terms offered them, and, having agreed with *Cyrus* that they should not be obliged to carry arms against *Cræsus*, in whose service they had been engaged, surrendered themselves to the conqueror, and from that time served him with the utmost fidelity^a (H).

THE engagement lasted till night, when *Cræsus* retired with his troops to *Sardis*, and the other nations made the best of their way to their respective countries. *Cyrus* did not think fit to pursue them, but the next morning advanced

^a Idem. l. vii. p. 172---178.

(H) *Xenophon* observes here (4), that *Cyrus* gave them the cities of *Larissa* and *Cyllene* on the sea-coast, and other lands within the country, which were inhabited by their descendants in his time; and adds, that these places were called the cities of the *Egyptians*. This observation, and many others he makes in his *Cyropædia*, in order to prove the truth of the things he advances, shew plainly, that he wrote that piece as a true history of *Cyrus*, at least with respect to the substance of it, and greatest part of the transactions.

(4) *Cyropæd.* l. vii. p. 179.

towards *Sardis*. *Cræsus* hearing of his approach marched out with his *Lydians*, for the auxiliaries were already retired, to give him battle. Their principal strength consisted in cavalry, which *Cyrus* being sensible of, made his camels advance against them, whose smell the horses not being able to endure, they were immediately put in disorder. However, the *Lydians*, who at that time were one of the most warlike nations of *Asia*, dismounting, fought on foot, but, after having kept their ground very obstinately for some time, were forced to make their retreat to *Sardis*, where they were immediately closely besieged by *Cyrus* : (1).

*Sardis
taken.*

THE night after he invested the city he made himself master of the citadel, being conducted to it in the dead of the night by a *Persian* slave, who had been a servant to the governor of that place. At break of day he entered the city, where he found no resistance, the *Lydians* having dispersed at the news of the citadel's being taken. *Cyrus*'s first care was to save the town, which was the most wealthy of all *Asia*, from being plundered. With this view he acquainted the inhabitants, that their lives should be spared, and neither their wives nor children touched, provided they brought him all their gold and silver. This condition they readily complied with, and *Cræsus* himself, who was taken and brought to *Cyrus*, set them an example by delivering his immense treasures up to the conqueror. *Cyrus*, touched with compassion at the king's misfortune, and admiring his constancy in so great a change, treated him with great clemency, suffering him to enjoy both the title and authority of king, under the sole restriction of not having power to make war. From that time he took

HERODOT. l. i p. 79---84.

(1) While *Cyrus* lay encamped before *Sardis* he performed the exequies of *Abradates* and *Panthea* his wife. *Abradates* was prince of *Shushan* under the *Babylonians*, and had revolted to *Cyrus* about two years before, being induced thereunto by his wife, a woman of extraordinary beauty, whom *Cyrus* had taken prisoner in his first engagement with the *Babylonians*, and treated in a most obliging manner. This kind treatment drew over her husband to *Cyrus*, and he being killed in the engagement with the *Egyptians*, as we have mentioned above, *Panthea* out of grief flew herself upon his dead body, and *Cyrus* caused them both to be interred with great pomp, and a stately monument to be erected over them near the river *Pactolus*, where it was to be seen many ages after (5).

(5) *Idem*, l. v. & vii.

him with him in all his expeditions, either out of esteem for that prince, or out of policy, that he might be more secure of his person^c (K).

Cyrus

^c Idem, l. vii. p. 181---184.

(K) The taking of *Cræsus* is differently related by *Herodotus* and those who have copied after him (6). According to these, *Cræsus* being shut up in *Sardis* dispatched ambassadors to all his allies, intreating their assistance. But in the mean time *Cyrus* pressed the siege so vigorously, that he took the city, before any succours could arrive, and the king in it, whom he condemned to be burnt alive. And accordingly placed him on a great pile of wood, accompanied by fourteen young *Lydians*. The design of *Cyrus* in so doing was, according to *Herodotus*, to offer this sacrifice to some god as the first fruits of his victory, or to perform a vow, or perhaps to see, as he had heard of his piety towards the gods, whether any of them would save him from the fire. When *Cræsus* had ascended the pile, notwithstanding the weight of his misfortunes, he recollected the words of *Solon*, who had told him, that no man could be called happy before his death. Revolving these words in his mind, he cried out with a great sigh three times, *Solon, Solon, Solon*. Which when *Cyrus* heard, he commanded his interpreter to ask him, whose assistance he implored. Upon this *Cræsus* acquainted him, that *Solon*, an *Athenian* philosopher, having formerly visited him, and viewed his immense treasures, had despised all, and plainly told him, instead of applauding his happiness, that he could not pronounce any man happy so long as he lived, because no man could foresee what might happen to him before his death; of the truth of which being now thoroughly convinced by his present calamity, he called upon the name of *Solon*. This raised in *Cyrus* such a sense of the uncertainty of all human felicity, and compassion for *Cræsus*, that he commanded the fire to be presently extinguished, and the unfortunate king taken down. Accordingly all endeavours were used to execute his orders, but the fire could not be mastered. In this distress *Cræsus* being informed that *Cyrus* designed to save his life, but seeing his *Persians* attempted in vain to extinguish the flame, burst out into a flood of tears, and with a loud voice invoking *Apollo*, besought that god to deliver him from the present danger, if any of his offerings had ever been agreeable to him. He had scarce ended his prayer when clouds were seen gathering in the air, which before was serene, and a violent storm of rain ensuing quite extinguished the flame. *Cyrus* understanding by this miraculous event that *Cræsus* was a pious prince and greatly favoured by the gods, not only spared his life, but allowed him a very honourable maintenance, and made

(6) *Herodot. l. i p. 85.*

Cyrus after the conquest of *Lydia* continued in *Lesser Asia*, till he had subdued the several nations inhabiting that great continent, from the *Ægean* sea to the *Euphrates*. From thence he marched into *Syria* and *Arabia*, and having brought those nations likewise under subjection, he again entered *Assyria*, and marched towards *Babylon*, the only city in all the east that now held out against him. *Nabonadius*, or, as *Herodotus* calls him, *Labynitus*, hearing that he was advancing to his metropolis, marched out to give him battle, but being without much ado put to flight, he retreated to *Babylon*, where he was immediately blocked up and closely besieged by *Cyrus*. The siege of this important place was no easy enterprize. The walls were of a prodigious height, the number of men to defend them very great, and the city stored with all sorts of provisions for twenty years. However, these difficulties did not discourage *Cyrus* from prosecuting his design. But despairing to take the place by storm, he caused a line of circumvallation to be drawn quite round the city with a large and deep ditch, reckoning, that if all communication with the country were cut off, the more people there were within the city, the sooner they would be obliged to surrender. That his troops might not be over-fatigued, he divided his army into twelve bodies, and appointed each body its month for guarding the trenches. The besieged, thinking themselves out of all danger by reason of their high walls and magazines, insulted *Cyrus* from the ramparts, and looked upon all the trouble he gave himself as so much unprofitable labour^c.

Cyrus having spent two entire years before *Babylon*, without gaining any considerable advantage over the city, at last resolved upon the following stratagem, which put him in

^c HERODOT. l. i. p. 177. Cyropæd. l. vii. p. 186.--188.

use of him ever after as one of his chief counsellors, and at his death recommended him to his son *Cambyses*, as the person whose advice he would have him chiefly to follow.

The same writer tells us, that upon the taking of the city of *Sardis*, a certain *Persian*, not knowing *Cræsus*, advanced to kill him. As he, not caring to survive that disaster, did not attempt to avoid the blow, his son, who was born dumb, seeing the soldier ready to strike, was moved with such fear and tenderness for the life of his father, that in that instant he cried out, *Soldier, spare the life of Cræsus*. These were the first words he ever uttered, but from that time he continued to speak readily till his death (7).

(7) *Herodot. ibid.*

possession of the place. He was informed, that a great annual solemnity was to be kept in *Babylon*, and that the *Babylonians* on that occasion were accustomed to spend the whole night in drinking and debauchery. This he thought a proper time to surprise them in, and accordingly sent a strong detachment to the head of the canal leading to the great lake, which we have elsewhere described ^u, with orders, at an appointed time, to break down the great bank, which was between the lake and the canal, and to turn the whole current into the lake. At the same time he posted one body of troops at the place where the river entered into the city, and another where it came out, ordering them to march into the city by the bed of the river, as soon as they should find it fordable. Towards the evening he opened the head of the trenches on both sides of the river above the city, that the water might discharge itself into them. By this means, and the breaking down of the great dam, the river was soon drained. Then the two fore-mentioned bodies of troops according to their orders entered the channel, the one commanded by *Gobryas*, and the other by *Gadates*, and finding the gates all left open, by reason of the general disorder of that riotous night, they penetrated into the very heart of the city without any opposition, and meeting at the palace, according to their agreement, surprised the guards, and cut them in pieces. Those who were within the palace opening the gates to know the cause of this confusion, the *Persians* rushed in, took the palace and killed the king, who sword in hand came up to meet them. The king being killed, and those who were about him put to flight, the rest voluntarily submitted, and *Cyrus* without any further resistance became master of the place, and concluded his conquests after a war of 21 years ^w. The taking of *Babylon* put an end to the *Babylonian* empire, and fulfilled the predictions, which the prophets *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Daniel* had uttered against that proud metropolis, and of which we have already given a particular account ^x.

THE king of *Babylon* being killed, *Darius* the *Mede* is said in scripture to have taken the kingdom ^y. By *Darius* the *Mede* is meant *Cyaxares*, king of the *Medes* and uncle to *Cyrus*, as we have fully proved in the history of *Media*. For *Cyrus*, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire with him in partnership; nay, so far did he carry his complaisance, that he let him enjoy the first rank. *Cyrus*, having settled his affairs at *Babylon*, returned into *Persia* to pay a visit to

Babylon taken.
Year of the Flood, 2461.
Year before Christ 538.

^u See before, p. 332. ^w *Cyropæd.* p. 189--192. ^x See before, p. 353. ^y *Dan.* v. 31. ix. 1. xi. 1.

his father and mother, who were still alive * ; and after a short stay there, went back to *Babylon* together with *Cyaxares*. On their arrival they concerted together the settling of the whole empire, and having divided it into 120 provinces, the government of these was given to such as had distinguished themselves during the war.

THE civil government being thus settled, *Cyrus* ordered all his forces to join him at *Babylon*. On a general review he found, they consisted of 120,000 horse, 2000 chariots armed with scythes, and 600,000 foot. Of these having distributed into garisons such a number as he judged necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into *Syria*, where he settled the affairs of that province, and then reduced the other nations as far as the *Red-sea* and the confines of *Æthiopia* *. In this interval of time *Daniel* was by order of *Darius*, who remained at *Babylon*, cast into the lions den, as we have related in the history of *Media*.

Year of
the Flood,
2463.
Year be-
fore Christ
536.

ABOUT two years after the reduction of *Babylon*, *Cyaxares* dying, and also *Cambyfes* king of *Persia*, *Cyrus* returned to *Babylon* and took upon him the whole government of the empire †, which he held for the space of seven years (K). IN the first of these seven years expired the 70 years of the *Babylonish* captivity, when *Cyrus* published the famous edict, whereby the *Jews* were allowed to return to *Jerusalem*. There is no doubt, but this edict was obtained by *Daniel*, who was in great credit and authority at court. That he might the more effectually induce the king to grant him that favour, he shewed him the prophecies of *Isaiah* ‡, naming

* *Cyropæd.* *ibid.*

† *Idem*, l. viii. p. 233.

‡ *Idem* *ibid.*

§ *Isa.* xlv. 28. xlv. 1.

(K) The reign of *Cyrus* is reckoned, from his first coming out of *Persia* to the assistance of his uncle *Cyaxares* at the head of the *Persian* army, to have lasted thirty years ; from the taking of *Babylon* nine years, and from his being sole monarch of the whole empire, after the death of *Cyaxares* in *Media* and *Cambyfes* in *Persia*, seven years. *Tully* (8) reckons by the first account, *Ptolemy* (9) by the second, and *Xenophon* (10) by the third. The first of these seven years is the first year of *Cyrus* mentioned by *Ezra* (11), wherein an end was put to the captivity of *Judah*, and liberty granted them to return to their country, the seventy years of captivity being then expired.

(8) *Cic. de divinat.* l. 2.
ropæd. l. viii.

(9) *Ptolem. in Canone.*
(11) *Ezra*, i. 1.

(10) *Cy-*

him 120 years before his birth, as one appointed by God to be a great conqueror, and king over many nations, and the restorer of his people, by ordering their temple to be rebuilt, and *Jerusalem* and *Judæa* to be repossessed by their antient inhabitants.

Cyrus having issued out his decree for the restoring of the *Jews* to their country, and the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerusalem*, the captive *Hebrews* assembled out of the several provinces of the *Babylonian* empire, to the number of 42360 persons with their servants, who amounted to 7337 more, and set out for *Judæa* *. And thus was the state of *Judah* and *Jerusalem* again restored, after they had lain desolate 70 years (L). *Cyrus* restored at the same time to the *Jews* all the vessels of the temple, which *Nabuchodonosor* had brought from *Jerusalem*, and lodged in the temple of his God *Baal*.

AFTER the return of the *Jews*, the *Samaritans*, their declared enemies, did all that lay in their power to prevent the building of the temple ; and though they could not alter *Cyrus's* decree, yet they prevailed by bribes with the ministers to obstruct the execution of it ; so that for several years the building went on but very slowly.

AND it seems to have been out of grief to see the pious intentions of *Cyrus* thus disappointed, that in the third year

* *Ezra* ii. 64, 65. 1 *Esd.* v. 41, 42.

(L) It may not be improper in this place to insert the famous edict of *Cyrus* in favour of the *Israelites* ; an edict, for which it may be presumed that God endowed him with so many heroic virtues, and blest him with a constant series of prosperity and victories.

In the first year of Cyrus king of the Persians, that the word of the Lord might be accomplished, that he had promised by the mouth of Jeremy, the Lord raised up the spirit of Cyrus the king of the Persians ; and he made a proclamation through all his kingdom, and also by writing, saying ; Thus saith Cyrus king of the Persians, the Lord of Israel, the most high Lord, hath made me king of the whole world, and commanded me to build him an house at Jerusalem in Jewry. If therefore there be any of you that are of his people, let the Lord, even his Lord, be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem that is in Judæa, and build the house of the Lord of Israel ; for he is the Lord that dwelleth in Jerusalem. Whosoever then dwell in the places about, let them help him (those I say that are his neighbours with gold, and with silver, with gifts, with horses, and with cattle, and other things which have been set forth by vow for the temple of the Lord at Jerusalem (12).

(12) 1 *Esd.* ii. 1. 7.

of that prince *Daniel* gave himself up to mourning and fasting for three weeks together ^c.

BUT to return to *Cyrus*. This prince, being equally beloved by his own natural subjects and those of the conquered nations, peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his labours and victories. His new erected empire was bounded on the east by the river *Indus*, on the north by the *Caspian* and *Euxine* seas, on the west by the *Ægean*, and on the south by *Æthiopia* and the sea of *Arabia*. He kept his residence in the heart of these countries, spending the seven cold months at *Babylon* by reason of the warmth of that climate; three months at *Susa* in the spring, and two months at *Ecbatan* during the heat of the summer ^d.

HAVING spent seven years in this state of tranquility, and established his empire with such wisdom, that upon the strength of this foundation alone it stood above 200 years, notwithstanding the rash and impolitic proceedings of his successors, he died in the 70th year of his age ^e, equally regretted by all the nations of his vast-spreading dominions. He had reigned, from his first taking upon him the command of the *Persian* and *Median* armies, thirty years ^f; from the reduction of *Babylon* nine ^g; and from his being sole monarch of the east, after the death of his uncle *Cyaxares*, or *Darius the Mede*, seven years ^h. Authors are strangely at variance with each other as to the manner of his death. *Xenophon's* account, who makes him die in his bed, as fortunately as he lived, amidst his friends and in his own country, seems to us by far the most probable. For all authors agree, that he was buried at *Pasargada* in *Persia*, where *Xenophon* says he died, and his monument was to be seen there in the time of *Alexander the Great*. Had he been slain in *Scythia*, as *Herodotus* and *Justin* relate, and his body mangled as they would have us believe, how could it ever have been rescued out of the hands of those enraged barbarians, and buried at *Pasargada*? Besides, it is by no means probable, that such a wise man, as *Cyrus* is represented to have been, and so far advanced in years, would have engaged in so rash an undertaking, as the *Scythian* expedition is described to have been by those who relate it. Neither can it be conceived, how after so great an overthrow the *Persian* empire could have subsisted, especially in the hands of such a successor as *Cambyses* was. For *Herodotus* tells us, that

Cyrus dies.
Year of
the Flood,
2470.
Year be-
fore Christ
529.

^c Dan. x. 1. 3.

^d *Cyropæd.* l. viii. p. 233.

^e *CICERO*

de divin. l. 1.

^f *CIC.* ubi supra.

^g *PROL.* in Can.

^h *Cy-*

ropæd. l. viii. p. 233.

he was killed, and his whole army, consisting of 200,000 men, cut in pieces (M).

ON his death-bed he appointed his son *Cambyfes* to succeed him, who accordingly took possession of that vast empire. To his other son *Smerdis* he left several considerable governments. *Cambyfes*, known in scripture by the name of *Ahasuerus*ⁱ, *Cambyfes*. was scarce well settled on the throne when he resolved upon a war with the *Egyptians*. The occasion of this war, as related by *Herodotus*, seems fabulous^k. 'Tis most likely, that *Amasis*, who was then king of *Egypt*, and had submitted to *Cyrus*, upon the death of that great conqueror refused to pay his successor the same homage and tribute. But be that as it will, *Cambyfes* in order to carry on the war with success made vast preparations both by sea and land. The *Cypriots* and *Phœnicians* furnished him with ships; and for his land-forces, he added to his own troops great numbers of auxiliaries, especially of *Greeks*, *Ionians*, and *Æolians*, who were the main strength of his army. But the greatest help he had in this war was from *Phanes* of *Halicarnassus*, who, being commander of some *Greek* auxiliaries in the service of *Amasis*,

ⁱ EZRA iv. 6. ^k HERODOT. l. iii. cap. 1. and this hist. Vol. II. p. 56, & seq.

(M) *Diodorus Siculus* (13) tells us, that he was taken prisoner by *Tomyris* queen of the *Massagetes*, and by her orders crucified. *Ctesias* (14) says, that in a battle against the *Derbicans*, a people bordering upon *Hyrcania*, he was wounded in the thigh by a certain *Indian*, of which wound he died three days after. *John Melela* of *Antioch*, out of a forged book ascribed to *Pythagoras*, acquaints us, that he was slain in a sea fight by the *Samians*.

Some writers tell us (15), that after the reduction of *Babylon* *Cyrus*, having a victorious army at his devotion and *Cyaxares* being returned from *Babylon* into *Media*, revolted from *Cyaxares*, in conjunction with the *Persians* under him, who were incited thereunto by *Harpagus* a *Mede*, and *Artabaxus*, who had assisted *Cyrus* in subduing *Asia minor*, and had been injured by *Darius*. *Harpagus* was sent by *Cyaxares* with an army against *Cyrus*; but in the heat of the battle revolted with great part of the army to *Cyrus*. *Cyaxares* raised a new army, and was again defeated near *Pasargada* in *Persia*, and taken prisoner. By this victory, say they, the monarchy was translated from the *Medes* to the *Persians*. But this account we have already rejected, as not agreeing so well with holy writ as that which we read in *Xenophon*.

(13) *Diodor. Sic. l. ii.* (14) *Ctesias, l. xi.* (15) *Suidas in Aristarchos.*

took some disgust, and going over to *Cambyfes* made such discoveries to him of the nature of the country, the strength of the enemy, and the state of affairs in *Egypt*, as greatly contributed to the success of this expedition. 'Twas particularly by his advice, that *Cambyfes* contracted with an *Arabian* king, whose territories lay between the confines of *Palestine* and *Egypt*, to furnish his army with water during his march through the deserts that parted those two countries. The *Arabian* fulfilled his agreement by sending many camels loaded with skins full of water, without which *Cambyfes* could never have marched his army that way ¹.

BEING thus prepared, he invaded *Egypt* in the fourth year of his reign. On his arrival upon the borders of that kingdom, he was informed, that *Amasis* was just dead, and that his son *Psammenitus*, who had succeeded him, was drawing together a powerful army to prevent his penetrating into the kingdom. Before *Cambyfes* could open a passage into the country, it was necessary for him to take *Pelusium*, which was the key of *Egypt* on that side. But as that was a strong place, and in a condition to hold out a long time, *Cambyfes* had recourse to the following stratagem, probably suggested to him by *Phanes*. Being informed, that the whole garison consisted of *Egyptians*, he placed in the front of his army a great number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other animals that were looked upon as sacred by that nation, and then attacked the city. The soldiers of the garison not daring to throw a dart, or shoot an arrow that way, through fear of killing some of those animals, *Cambyfes* possessed himself of the place without opposition ².

Cambyfes had scarce taken possession of this important place, when *Psammenitus* at the head of a powerful army advanced to stop his farther progress; whereupon a bloody battle ensued between the two armies. But before they engaged, the *Greeks* and *Carians* who served under *Psammenitus*, to shew their resentment against *Phanes*, for introducing the *Persians* into *Egypt*, brought his children into the camp, killed them in the sight of their father, and in the presence of the two armies drank their blood. The *Persians* enraged at so cruel a sight, fell upon the *Egyptian* army with such fury that they soon put them to flight, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. Those who saved themselves by flight retired to

¹ HERODOT. l. iii. c. 4---9.

² POLYEN. l. vii. "

Memphis (N). *Cambyfes* pursued them close, and arriving at *Memphis*, sent a herald into the city, in a vessel of *Mitylene*, by the river *Nile* on which *Memphis* stood, to summon the inhabitants to a surrender. But the people transported with rage fell upon the herald, and tore him and all that were with him to pieces. But *Cambyfes*, after a short siege having stormed the place, fully revenged their death, causing ten *Egyptians* of the first rank to be publicly executed for every one of those they had slain, and the eldest son of *Psammenitus* was one of the number. As for the king himself who was taken prisoner, *Cambyfes* was inclined to treat him kindly ; for he not only spared his life, but appointed him an honourable maintenance: But he, not at all affected with this kind usage, did all that lay in his power to raise new troubles in hopes of recovering his crown ; whereupon he was condemned to drink bull's blood, and thus ended his life after a reign of six months, and with him died the antient splendor and liberty of *Egypt*, for all that country immediately submitted to the conquerorⁿ.

ON the news of this success the *Libyans*, *Cyreneans*, and *Barceans* sent ambassadors with presents to *Cambyfes*, declaring themselves ready to submit to him, and receive his forces into their strong holds. From *Memphis* he marched to the

▪ HERODOT. l. iii. c. 13---15.

(N) On occasion of this battle *Herodotus* (16) takes notice of an extraordinary circumstance, whereof he himself was an eye-witness. The bones of the *Persians* and *Egyptians* were in his time still to be seen in the place where the battle was fought, but separated from each other. The skulls of the *Egyptians*, says he, were so hard that they could hardly be broken by the violent blow of a large stone ; whereas those of the *Persians* were so soft and weak, that they were broke with the least blow of a pebble. This difference, as our author tells us, was owing to the *Egyptian* custom of shaving the heads of their children early ; by which means the bones were rendered thicker and stronger through the heat of the sun, and the head preserved from baldness, there being fewer people bald in *Egypt* as *Herodotus* observes, than in any other country. As the heads of the *Egyptians* were strengthened by this method, so those of the *Persians* were softened by the contrary custom. For they were not exposed to the sun, but always covered with caps and turbans. Our author adds, that he observed the same thing at *Papremis* in those who, together with *Achæmenes* the son of *Darius*, were defeated by *Inarus* king of *Libya*.

(16) *Herodot. l. iii. c. 12.*

city

city of *Sais*, the burying-place of the *Egyptian* kings. Here he caused the body of *Amasis* to be inhumanly taken out of its tomb, and, after exposing it to a thousand indignities, ordered it to be thrown into the fire and burnt. The wrath, which this prince vented upon the dead body of *Amasis*, shews the irreconcilable hatred he bore him. Whatever was the cause of that aversion, he seems to have been by it chiefly prompted to invade *Egypt* •.

THE next year, which was the sixth of his reign, he resolved upon three different expeditions ; the first against the *Carthaginians*, the second against the *Hammonians*, and the third against the *Ethiopians*. But he was forced to drop the first project, by reason the *Phœnicians*, without whose help he could not carry on that war, refused to assist him against the *Carthaginians*, who were descended from them, *Carthage* being originally a *Tyrian* colony. But his heart being set on the other two expeditions, he sent ambassadors into *Æthiopia*, who under that character were to act as spies, and give him intelligence of the state and strength of the country. But the *Ethiopians*, being well apprised of the errand on which they were come, treated them with great contempt. However, the *Ethiopian* king, in return for the presents they brought him from *Cambyfes*, sent him back his own bow, advising him to make war upon the *Ethiopians*, when the *Persians* could as easily bend that bow as they could. Before he delivered the bow to the *Persian* ambassadors, he addressed them with this speech. “ ’Tis not from any consideration of my
 “ friendship that the king of *Persia* sent you with these pre-
 “ sents ; neither have you spoken truth, but are come into
 “ my kingdom as spies. If your master were an honest man,
 “ he would desire no more than his own, and not attempt to
 “ enslave a people who had never done him any injury. How-
 “ ever, give him this bow from me, and let him know, that
 “ the king of *Æthiopia* advises the king of *Persia* to make
 “ war upon the *Ethiopians*, when the *Persians* shall be able
 “ thus easily to bend so strong a bow, and in the mean time to
 “ thank the gods, that they have never inspired the *Ethiopians*
 “ with a desire of extending their dominions beyond their
 “ own country.”

Cambyfes, being informed by his ambassadors of all that had passed, flew into a violent passion, and ordered his army immediately to begin their march, without considering, that they were furnished neither with provisions, nor any other ne-

• Idem, *ibid.* c. xvi. † Idem, *ibid.* c. xx—xxiv.

cessaries for such an expedition. He left the *Greek* auxiliaries behind him to keep the new conquered countries in awe during his absence, and with the whole body of his land-forces began his march. When he arrived at *Thebes* in the upper *Egypt*, he detached 50,000 men against the *Hammonians*, ordering them to ravage the whole country, and burn the oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, while he with the rest of his army should march against the *Ethiopians*. But before he had marched a fifth part of the way, his provisions were consumed, and the army reduced to the necessity of eating thier beasts of burden. *Cambyfes* notwithstanding these difficulties, pursued his rash attempt, and the soldiers fed upon herbs and grafs, so long as they found any in their way. But when they arrived in the sandy deserts, they were brought to such extremities as to be obliged to devour one another, every tenth man, upon whom the lot fell, being doomed to serve as food for his companions, a food, says *Seneca*, more to be dreaded than famine itself ⁹. The king still persisted in his mad design, till at last being apprehensive of the danger his own person was in, he gave over the enterprize, and retreated to *Thebes*, after having lost great part of his army in this wild attempt ^r.

As for that part of the army which was sent against the *Hammonians*, they marched from *Thebes*, and by the help of their guides arrived at the city of *Oasis*, inhabited by *Samians*, and seven days march distant from *Thebes*. No body doubts, as our author informs us ^r, but they arrived at that place. But what was their fate afterwards is uncertain, for they never returned either to *Egypt* or their own country. The *Hammonians* informed *Herodotus*, that they marched from *Oasis*. and that after they had entered the sandy desert which lies beyond that city, a violent wind began to blow from the south, at the time of their dinner, and raised the sands to such a degree, that the whole army was overwhelmed and buried alive.

Cambyfes on his return to *Thebes* caused all the temples, which in that superstitious city were very rich and numerous, to be pillaged and burnt down to the ground. We may judge of the richness of those temples from the remains saved from the flames, which amounted to the sum of 300 talents of gold, and two thousand three hundred talents of silver. He likewise carried away the famous circle of gold that encompassed the tomb of king *Ozymandyas*, being 365 cubits in circumference, and on which were represented all the motions of the several constellations ^t.

⁹ *SENeca* de Ira. l. iii. c. 20. ^r *HERODOT.* ubi supra. c. 25, 26. ^t *Idem*, ibid. ¹ *DIONOR.* Sicil. l. i. p. 43—46.

FROM *Thebes* *Cambyfes* marched back to *Memphis*, where he discharged the *Greek* mercenaries and sent them to their respective countries. On his entry into this city, finding the citizens all in mirth and jollity because their god *Apis* had then appeared among them, he was highly provoked, as supposing that they rejoiced because of his unsuccessful expedition. He therefore called the magistrates to learn of them the cause of that public mirth. They gave him a true account of the whole matter; but he, not believing what they said, caused them all to be put to death. He sent afterwards for the priests, who made him the same answer, telling him, that it had been always their custom when their god appeared amongst them to celebrate his appearance, with the greatest demonstrations of joy they could express. To this he replied, that if their god was so kind and familiar as to shew himself to them, he would be acquainted with him, and therefore commanded the deity to be brought forthwith before him.

THE chief god of the *Egyptians* was *Osiris*, at *Memphis* called *Apis*. This god they worshipped in the shape of a bull, and always kept in his temple a bull to which they paid divine honours in his stead. He was to be the calf of a cow incapable of bearing another, and impregnated, as the *Egyptians* believed, by thunder. We have spoke elsewhere ^u of the marks which were to distinguish him from all others. When he died, another with the same marks was sought for and put in his room. When this calf was brought to *Cambyfes*, who expected to see some deity, he flew into a violent passion, and drawing his dagger wounded the *Apis* in the thigh, and reproaching the priests for their stupidity in worshipping a brute, ordered them severely to be whipped, and all the *Egyptians* at *Memphis*, that should be found celebrating the feast of *Apis* to be slain. The *Apis* after he had languished some time died of his wound in the temple, and was buried by the priests, who carefully concealed his death from *Cambyfes* ^w

THE *Egyptians* say that after this sacrilegious action, which was looked upon by them as the greatest instance of impiety that ever was committed amongst them, *Cambyfes* was immediately seized with lunacy and grew mad. But his actions shewed that he was so long before, of which he gave several instances. We find the following upon record.

He had a brother by the same father and mother, called by *Xenophon* *Tanaoxares*, *Smerdis* by *Herodotus*, and by *Justin* *Mengis*. He attended *Cambyfes* on his *Egyptian* expedition; but being the only person in the army that could bend the

^u Vol. I. p. 448.

^w HæRONOT. ubi sup. c. 30.

bow, which the king of *Æthiopia* had sent, within two fingers breadth, *Cambyfes* from hence conceived such a jealousy of him, that, being no longer able to bear him in the army, he sent him back into *Persia*. After his departure *Cambyfes* dreamed, that a messenger arriving from *Persia* told him, that *Smerdis* was seated on the throne, and touched the heavens with his head. Whereupon, suspecting that his brother aspired to the crown, he dispatched *Prexaspes*, one of his confidents, into *Persia*, with orders to put him to death, which he accordingly executed ¹.

THIS murder was followed by another still more criminal. *Cambyfes* had with him in the camp his youngest sister, by name *Meroe*. As this princess was very beautiful, he fell violently in love with her, and was desirous to marry her. But being convinced of the novelty of his design, he summoned all the royal judges of the *Persian* nation, whose office it was to interpret the laws, to know whether there was any law allowing a brother to marry his sister. The judges, being unwilling to authorize such an incestuous marriage, and at the same time dreading the effects of the king's violent temper should they contradict him, returned this crafty answer: That they truly knew of no law allowing a man to marry his own sister, but had a law which gave the king of *Persia* liberty to do whatever he pleased. Upon this answer he solemnly married her, and thereby gave the first example of that incest, which was afterwards practised by most of his successors, and by some of them carried so far as to marry their own daughters. This sister he took with him in all his expeditions, and gave her name to an island in the *Nile* between *Egypt* and *Æthiopia*, which he conquered on his wild expedition against the *Ethiopians*. The occasion and manner of her death is reported in the following manner. As *Cambyfes* was one day diverting himself in seeing a young dog and the whelp of a lion fighting, the dog being over-matched another of the same litter breaking loose came to his assistance, by which means the lion was mastered. Whilst the king was mightily pleased with this adventure, *Meroe*, who sat by him, began to weep, and being obliged to tell her husband the cause of her grief, she confessed, that this accident put her in mind of the fate of her brother *Smerdis*, whom nobody had been good-natured enough to assist. There needed no more than this to excite the rage of that brutal prince, who, notwithstanding her being with child gave her such a blow

¹ Idem, ibid. c. 30.

with his foot on the belly, that she miscarried, and soon after died ^m (N).

HE caused also several of the chief lords of his court to be buried alive, and daily sacrificed some of them to his wild fury. He one day asked *Prexaspes*, who was his chief favourite, what the *Persians* said of him, and what character they gave him in their private conversations. *Prexaspes* answered, that they highly applauded his actions in general, but thought him too much addicted to wine. I understand you, replied the king, they pretend, that wine deprives me of my understanding, but whether this charge be true or not you shall be judge. Upon which he began to drink to a far greater excess than he had ever done before. Then ordering the son of *Prexaspes*, who was his cup-bearer, to stand upright at the farther end of the room with his left hand upon his head, and then turning to *Prexaspes*, if I shoot, said he, this arrow through the heart of thy son, the *Persians* you must own have slandered me, but if I miss, I shall willingly allow them to have spoke the truth. He had no sooner uttered these words, than drawing his bow he shot the arrow through the body of the young man. Then commanding him to be opened, and finding the arrow had pierced his heart, he asked the father with great joy, and in an insulting manner, whether he had ever seen a man shoot with a more steady hand, and whether or no the *Persians* had injured his character, by saying that wine deprived him of his reason? The unfortunate father, being under great apprehensions for his own life, answered, that a god could not have shot more dextrously ⁿ (O)

^m Idem, c. 31, 32.

ⁿ Idem, l. iii. c. 34, 35.

(N) The *Egyptians*, as our author informs us (17), relate the matter in a different way. They say, that as *Cambyfes* and his sister were at table, she took a lettuce, and pulling the leaves asunder, asked her husband, whether an entire lettuce was not more beautiful than one pulled in pieces. He answered, it was; whereupon *Aleroc* reply'd, that he had represented the broken lettuce by dismembering the house of *Cyrus*. Upon these words *Cambyfes* struck her with his foot, which, as she was big with child, occasioned her death.

(O) *Seneca* (18), who copied this story from *Herodotus*, after shewing his detestation of such a barbarous and cruel action, condemns still more the monstrous flattery of the father with these memorable words; *Sceleratius telum illud laudatum est quam missum.*

(17) *Idem*, c. 32

(18) *Seneca, de Ira*, l. iii. c. 14.

WHILE

WHILE he was proceeding in this furious manner, *Cræsus* king of *Lydia* thought fit to lay before him the bad consequences that might attend so tyrannical a government, which provoked him to such a degree, that he ordered him to be put to death. But the officers, who received his orders, suspended the execution of the sentence and concealed *Cræsus*, thinking that, if *Cambyfes* should inquire for him and repent of his rash resolution, they should be well rewarded for saving his life; but if they found, that *Cambyfes* neither altered his mind, nor desired to see him, they might still put him to death pursuant to their orders. The very next day he asked for *Cræsus*, which the officers hearing acquainted him, that the king of *Lydia* was still alive. *Cambyfes* was transported with joy when he heard that his orders had not been put in execution, but at the same time commanded all those who had saved him to be immediately put to death, because they had not obeyed his orders.

Cambyfes in the beginning of the 8th year of his reign left *Egypt* in order to return to *Persia*. On his coming into *Syria* he met an herald sent from *Susa* to the army, to acquaint them, that *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* was proclaimed king, and command them all to acknowledge and obey him. This event was brought about in the following manner. *Cambyfes*, at his departure from *Susa* on the *Egyptian* expedition, had left the administration of affairs during his absence in the hands of *Patizithes* one of the chief of the *Mages*. This *Patizithes* had a brother who very much resembled *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, and was, perhaps, on that account, called by the same name. As soon as he was fully assured of the death of that prince, which had been carefully concealed from most others, and at the same time informed, that *Cambyfes* indulged his tyrannical temper to such a degree that he was grown insupportable, he placed his own brother on the throne, giving out that he was the true *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, and immediately dispatched heralds into all the parts of the empire to give notice of *Smerdis*'s accession to the crown, and require all the provinces to pay him their obedience. The herald who was dispatched to *Egypt*, finding *Cambyfes* with his army at *Ecbatan* in *Syria*, placed himself in the midst of the army, and openly proclaimed the orders of *Patizithes*. *Cambyfes* caused him to be seized, and having strictly examined him in the presence of *Prexaspes*, who had received orders to kill his brother, he found that the true *Smerdis* was certainly dead, and that he

• Idem, ibid. c. 36.

who had usurped the throne, was *Smerdis* the *Mage*. The mention of that name greatly affected *Cambyfes*, and revived in his memory the dream, in which he had seen a messenger who came to acquaint him, that *Smerdis* was seated on the throne. Reflecting how unjustly he had murdered his brother, he burst out into a flood of tears, and immediately ordered his army to march, with a design to suppress the growing rebellion. But as he was mounting his horse, his sword slipped out of the scabbard, and wounded him in the thigh. Being thus wounded he asked the name of the city, and being informed that the place was called *Ecbatan*, he said in the presence of all, fate has decreed that *Cambyfes* the son of *Cyrus* shall die in this place. For while he was in *Egypt*, having consulted the oracle of *Butus*, which was very famous in that country, he was told, that he should die at *Ecbatan*, which he understanding of *Ecbatan* in *Media* resolved to save his life by avoiding that place; but what he thought to avoid in *Media* he found in *Syria*. And therefore being informed that the place, where he received the wound, was called *Ecbatan*, taking it for certain that he must die there, he assembled the chief *Persian* lords that served in the army, and having represented to them the true state of the case, he earnestly exhorted them never to submit to the impostor, or suffer the sovereignty to pass again from the *Persians* to the *Medes*, of which nation *Smerdis* the *Mage* was, but to use their utmost endeavours to place on the throne one of their own blood. But the *Persians*, suspecting all this was said by him out of hatred to his brother, had no regard to it, and *Cambyfes* dying a few days after of his wound which mortified, they quietly submitted to the person whom they found on the throne, supposing him to be the true *Smerdis*. To this delusion *Prexaspes* greatly contributed, by saying, that he had not killed *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* with his own hand^p.

Cambyfes reigned seven years and five months. When he came first to the crown, the *Samaritans* begged of him that he would put a stop to the building of the temple at *Jerusalem*. and their application was not in vain; for though he had so much respect for the memory of his father, as not openly to revoke his decree, yet in a great measure he frustrated the design of it, by laying the *Jews* under such difficulties that they could not pursue the work^q.

Smerdis This prince is called in scripture^r *Artaxerxes*, by *Herodotus* *Smerdis*, by *Æschylus* *Mardys*, by *Ctesias* *Spendadates*,

^p Idem, l. iii. c. 64—66.
11, 23.

^q Ezra iv. 4, 6.

^r Ezra iv. 7, 8,

and by *Justin Oropastes*. As soon as he had taken upon him the sovereignty, he granted to all his subjects an exemption from taxes and all military service for three years, and treated them with such beneficence, that all the nations of *Asia*, the *Persians* only excepted, expressed great sorrow on the revolution that happened a few months after. And further to secure himself on the throne, he married *Atossa* the daughter of *Cyrus*, thinking that in case of a discovery he might hold the empire by her title. She had been before married to her brother, *Cambyfes*, who, upon the above-mentioned decision of the royal judges, having married one of his sisters, took to wife also the other. And the *Mage* pretending to be her brother married her upon the same footing. But the precautions he made use of, to prevent his being discovered, only increased the suspicion that he was not the true *Smerdis*. He had married all his predecessors wives, and among the rest *Phedyma* the daughter of *Otanes*, a *Persian* nobleman of the first rank. *Otanes* to be fully satisfied in this matter sent a trusty messenger to his daughter, to know of her, whether the king was really *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, or some other man. *Phedyma* returned answer, that, as she had never seen *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, she could not satisfy his curiosity. *Otanes* by a second message desired her to enquire of *Atossa*, who could not but know her own brother, whether this were he or not. But his daughter let him know, that she was not allowed to speak with *Atossa*, or see any other of the women, because the king, whoever he was, had from the very beginning of his reign lodged his wives in distinct and separate apartments. This answer greatly increased the suspicion of *Otanes*, who thereupon sent a third message to his daughter, directing her, when she should be next invited to his bed, to take the opportunity, while he was asleep, of feeling whether he had ears or no; for *Cyrus* having formerly caused the ears of *Smerdis* the *Mage* to be cut off, for a crime he had been guilty of, he told her, that, if the king had ears, she might be sure that he was *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, but if otherwise, he could be no other than *Smerdis* the *Mage*, and therefore unworthy of possessing the crown or her person. *Phedyma* answered, that the danger was very great, because if the king had no ears and should surprise her endeavouring to find out such a truth, he would not fail putting her to death: nevertheless, in obedience to the commands of her father, she would make the attempt, and take upon her to satisfy his doubt. And accordingly the first time she went to the king, as soon as she perceived him fast asleep, she took the opportunity of making the trial, and finding he had no ears, early next morning

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ing acquainted her father therewith, whereby the imposture was discovered. *Otanes* upon this information imparted the whole affair to *Gobryas* and *Aspathines*, *Persians* of great distinction, and whose honour he could rely on. These three agreed among themselves, that each of them should name one of his most trusty friends to be admitted into the secret. Pursuant to this resolution *Otanes* named *Intaphernes*, *Gobryas* *Megabyzus*, and *Aspathines* *Hydarnes*. In the mean time *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, arriving at *Susa* from *Persia* where his father was governor, they all agreed to make him privy to all their resolutions, which they did accordingly. *Darius* at their first meeting told them, that he thought no man in *Persia* but himself had known that *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* was really dead, and the crown usurped by a *Mage*, and therefore he was come with a design to kill the usurper, without imparting his design to any one, that the glory of such an action might be entirely his own. But since others were apprised of the imposture, he was of opinion, that the usurper should be dispatched with all expedition, delays being in such cases very dangerous, and the best concerted designs easily disappointed. *Otanes* on the other hand was for putting off the execution of their design till some better opportunity offered, and not attempting the enterprize till they had increased their number. But *Darius* remonstrating the danger there was of being discovered and betrayed if they let the present opportunity slip, or imparted their design to others, and openly protesting, that if they did not make the attempt that very day, he would prevent any one from accusing him by disclosing the whole matter to the *Mage*, it was unanimously agreed, that they should not separate under any pretence whatsoever, but immediately, upon the breaking up of their meeting, go to the palace, and either put the usurper to death, or die in the attempt *.

WHILE they were concerting their measures, the two *Mages* in order to remove all suspicion engaged *Prexaspes* in their interest, and with great promises prevailed upon him to give his word, and oblige himself by oath, never to discover the fraud they had put upon the *Persians*. *Prexaspes*, as we have related above, knew, that *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* was not living, having by the command of *Cambyses* put him to death with his own hand. The *Mages* having engaged *Prexaspes* to be silent, acquainted him farther, that having determined to assemble all the *Persians* under the walls of the pa-

* *Idem*, l. iii. c. 74, 75.

lace, they desired he would ascend a certain tower, and from thence publicly declare, that the king upon the throne was truly *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*. *Prexaspes* having taken upon him this office, the *Mages* summoned the *Persians* together, and commanded him to mount the tower, and from thence harangue the people. *Prexaspes* began his discourse with the genealogy of *Cyrus*, and then put the *Persians* in mind of the great favours the nation had received from that prince. After having extolled *Cyrus* and his family, to the great astonishment of all, he sincerely declared all that had passed, and told the people, that the apprehensions of the danger he must inevitably run by publishing the imposture had constrained him to conceal it so long; but now, not being able to act any longer such a dishonourable part, he acknowledged, that he had been compelled by *Cambyfes* to put his brother to death with his own hand, and that the person who possessed the throne was *Smerdis* the *Mage*. He then begged pardon of the gods and men for the crime he had committed by compulsion and against his will, and fulminating many imprecations against the *Persians*, if they should neglect to recover the sovereignty and punish the usurper, he threw himself headlong from the top of the tower, and died on the spot. 'Tis easy to imagine what confusion the news of this accident occasioned in the palace^c.

IN the mean time the conspirators, not knowing what had happened, were going to the palace determined to execute their design. On their way they were informed of what *Prexaspes* had said and done, which obliging them to retire and confer together, *Otanes* earnestly desired them anew to defer the enterprize. But *Darius* still insisting upon the immediate execution, and rejecting all proposals of delay (P), they fell in with his opinion and went directly to the palace. The guards respecting their dignity, and not suspecting persons of their rank and figure, permitted them to pass without asking them any questions. But as they came near the king's

^c Idem, c. 74, 75.

(P) *Herodotus* (19) tells us, that as they were contending seven hawks appeared pursuing two vultures in the air, and tearing them to pieces; which when the seven *Persians* observed, they accepted the omen, all to a man fell in with *Darius*, and marched strait to the palace.

(19) *Herodot.* l. iii. c. 76.

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the Mage
murdered.

apartment, the eunuchs, who attended there to receive messages, refused them admittance, and threatened the guards for permitting them to pass. Upon this the seven *Persians*, encouraging each other, drew their swords, killed all that opposed their passage, and penetrated to the very room where the two *Mages* were consulting about the late affair of *Prexaspes*. They no sooner heard this tumult and uproar, but the one taking up a bow and the other a javelin, the weapons that came first to hand in that confusion, they engaged the conspirators. He, who had the bow soon found that weapon of no use in so close an action; but the other with his javelin wounded *Aspathines* in the thigh, and struck out the eye of *Intaphernes*. One of the brothers being killed, the other retired into a room, adjoining to the place where they fought, with a design to shut himself in; but was so closely pursued by *Darius* and *Gobryas* that they broke into the room with him. *Gobryas* having seized him held him fast in his arms, but as it was quite dark in that place, *Darius* stood still, not knowing how to direct his blow, and fearing to strike lest he should kill his friend instead of the enemy; which *Gobryas* perceiving desired him to strike, though he should kill them both. Upon this *Darius* resolved to put all to the venture, and by good fortune killed the usurper. Having thus dispatched the two brothers, they cut off their heads, and leaving their two wounded companions to secure the palace, the other five, carrying the heads of the two *Mages*, with their hands all smeared with blood, marched out of the palace, exposed the heads to the eyes of the people, and declared the whole imposture. The *Persians*, being informed of what had passed, were so enraged against the impostors, that they fell upon the whole sect, and killed every *Mage* they met; and if night coming on had not put an end to the slaughter, not one of that order had been left alive. The day on which this happened was ever afterwards celebrated by the *Persians* with the greatest solemnity, and called by the name of *Magophonia*, or the slaughter of the *Mages*. On that festival the *Mages* durst not for many years after appear abroad, but were obliged to shut themselves up in their houses.

Smerdis reigned only eight months, during which time a stop was put to the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerusalem*. For as soon as he was seated on the throne, the *Samaritans* acquainted him, that the *Jews* were rebuilding their city and temple, that they had always been a rebellious and stubborn people, and that if he allowed them to finish that work they

^c Idem, c. 76—79.

would without doubt withdraw their obedience from the king, whereby he would lose all the provinces on that side of the *Euphrates*. For the truth of what they said concerning the ungovernable temper of the *Jews*, they referred him to the records of his predecessors, which they desired him to inquire into touching this matter. And accordingly *Smerdis*, upon these remonstrances, having caused the records to be carefully examined, and finding with what difficulty the *Jews* had been reduced by *Nebuchadnezzar*, issued an edict, forbidding them to proceed any farther in the work they had begun, and charged the *Samaritans* to see it put in execution. Hereupon the work was laid aside till the second year of *Darius Hystaspes*, that is for the space of near two years ^u (Q).

BUT to return to the conspirators ; when the tumult and disorders, which attend such events, were appeased, they met to consult among themselves what form of government they should introduce. *Otanes* was for a republic, *Megabyzus* spoke for an oligarchy, and *Darius* declared for monarchy. The opinion of the last was, after a long debate, embraced by all except *Otanes* ; who, finding his sentiments over-ruled, told them, that since they were resolved to set up a king he would not be their competitor for a dignity which he abhorred ; and that being determined not to govern as a king he would not be governed by one, and therefore was willing to give up his right to the crown, on condition that neither he nor his posterity should be subject to the royal power. The other six granted him his demand ; whereupon he immediately retired, and his descendants alone retained their liberty, which they enjoyed even in our author's days, being then no farther subject to the king than it suited their conveniency, and only obliged to conform to the customs and manner of the country ^w.

UPON his departure the other six began to deliberate in what manner they should proceed to the election of a new

^u Ezra iv. 7—24.

^w HERODOT. l. iii. c. 83.

(Q) That *Cambyfes* was the *Abasuerus* and *Smerdis* the *Artaxerxes* of scripture, is plain from their obstructing the work of the temple. For they are said in the sacred history to have reigned between *Cyrus* and *Darius* by whose decree the temple was finished. But none reigning between *Cyrus* and *Darius* except *Cambyfes* and *Smerdis*, we must conclude that none but *Cambyfes* and *Smerdis* could be the *Abasuerus* and *Artaxerxes*, who are said in *Ezra* (20) to have put a stop to this work.

(20) *Ezra* iv. 5, 6, 7.

king. But in the first place they unanimously agreed, that whosoever of them should be chosen, he should every year present *Otanes* and his posterity with a *Median* vest, a mark of great distinction among the *Persians*, because he had been the chief author of the enterprize. In the next place they determined, that the seven should have full liberty to enter into all the apartments of the palace without being introduced; and that the king should not be allowed to marry a woman out of any other family than of the seven conspirators. Then taking the future election into consideration, they thought fit to refer it to the gods; and accordingly they all agreed to meet the next morning by the rising of the sun on horse-back, at an appointed place in the suburbs of the city, and that he, whose horse first neighed, should be king; for the sun being the chief deity of the *Persians*, they imagined by this method to refer the election to him. *Oebares*, who had the charge of *Darius's* horses, hearing of this agreement, led a mare over-night to the place appointed, and brought to her his master's horse. The next morning the six *Persians* repairing to the place pursuant to their agreement, *Darius's* horse remembering the mare immediately neighed, and his competitors dismounting adored him as king^{*}.

THE *Persian* empire being thus restored by the valour of these seven lords, they were raised by the new king to the highest dignities, and honoured with most ample privileges; in all public affairs they were the first to deliver their opinions; and ever afterwards the *Persian* kings of this race had seven chief counsellors privileged in the same manner, and by whose advice all the public affairs of the kingdom were transacted. Under this character we find them often mentioned in scripture[†].

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Darius was the son of *Hystaspes*, a noble *Persian* of the royal family of *Achæmenes*, who had attended *Cyrus* in all his wars, and was at that time governor of the province of *Persia*. *Darius* is called in the writings of the modern *Persians* *Gushtasph*, and his father *Lobrasph*, and are famous among the *Persians* to this day. *Darius*, the better to establish himself on the throne, married the two daughters of *Cyrus*, *Atossa* and *Artystona*. The former had been wife to her brother *Cambyses*, and also to the *Mage*, but *Artystona* had not been married before, and proved the most favoured and beloved of all his wives; for to these he added *Parmys* the daughter of the true *Smerdis*, and *Phedyma* the daughter of *Otanes*, who detected the *Mage*. Having thus confirmed his

^{*} HERODOT. α 84-87.


[†] Ezra vii. 14. ERH. i. 14, &c,
power,

power, he divided the whole empire into twenty satrapies or governments, and appointed a governor over each division, ordering them to pay an annual tribute. *Persia* alone was excepted from all manner of taxes; the *Ethiopians* and inhabitants of *Colchis* were enjoined to make only some presents, and the *Arabians* to furnish yearly such a quantity of frankincense as was equal in weight to a thousand talents. By this establishment *Darius* received the yearly tribute of 14560 *Euboic* talents, besides several other sums of small consequence.

Darius in the very beginning of his reign put to death *Intaphernes*, one of the seven conspirators, on the following occasion. *Intaphernes* went to the palace to confer with *Darius*; but attempting to enter, pursuant to the agreement above mentioned, in vertue of which they were to have free access to the king at all hours, except when he was alone with some of his wives, he was stopt by the door-keeper and a messenger, under colour that the king was in company with one of his wives. *Intaphernes* not believing them drew his scymetar, and having cut off both their noses and ears, fastened their heads in a bridle, and so left them. In this condition they went in, and shewing themselves to the king, acquainted him with the cause of the ill usage they had received. *Darius* apprehending that this attempt might have been concerted by the six, sent for them, one after another, and asked whether they approved the action. But finding that *Intaphernes* alone was guilty, he caused him to be seized with his children and family, lest his relations, whom he suspected, should raise a rebellion. While they were under confinement, the wife of *Intaphernes* made such loud complaints and lamentations at the gates of the palace, that *Darius* touched with compassion granted her the life of any one among her relations, leaving her the choice of the person. She after some deliberation chose her brother. Which *Darius* hearing, asked her, why she had so little regard for her husband and children, as to save the life of her brother rather than theirs. The woman readily answered, that she could get another husband, and have by him other children if she should be deprived of those she had, but could never have another brother, her father and mother being already dead. The king was so well pleased with this answer, that he not only pardoned her brother, but saved also her eldest son. The others were all put to death with *Intaphernes*, without any regard to his late deserts ^z.

^z Idem. c. 117.

IN the beginning of the second year of *Darius*, the *Jews* resumed the work of the temple, being exhorted thereto by the prophet *Haggai* ^a; which the *Samaritans* understanding applied themselves to *Tatnai*, whom *Darius* had appointed governor of *Syria* and *Palestine*, acquainting him, that the *Jews* were not authorised to pursue that work, which if perfected would encourage them to shake off the *Persian* yoke. Upon these remonstrances *Tatnai* accompanied by *Shethar-boznai*, who seems to have been governor of *Samaria*, went up to *Jerusalem*, and, after viewing the work, inquired of the elders by what authority they had resumed it. The elders produced the decree of *Cyrus*; whereupon the governor, who was a man of great justice and probity, wrote to the king, fairly stating the case, and desiring that search might be made into the archives for the decree of *Cyrus*, which the *Jews* produced to justify themselves in what they were doing. The king, upon the receipt of this letter, ordered the archives of *Babylon* and *Ecbatan* to be carefully examined, and the decree being found in those of the latter, for *Cyrus* was at *Ecbatan* in *Media* when he granted it, the king commanded it to be strictly observed in every particular; and having sent it to *Tatnai* and *Shethar-boznai* enjoined them to see it fully and effectually put in execution, decreeing, that whosoever should attempt to alter the edict, or prevent its being put in execution, should have his house pulled down, and a gibbet being made of the timber of it, he should be hanged thereon. On the publication of this decree at *Jerusalem*, the work of the temple went on very successfully, and the state of the *Jews* in *Judæa* and *Jerusalem* was entirely restored (R) ^b.

Year of the Flood, 2482. Year before Christ 517.  ABOUT the beginning of the fifth year of *Darius*, the *Babylonians*, not being able to live any longer in subjection to the *Persians*, who not only loaded them with heavy taxes, but had removed the imperial seat from *Babylon*, formerly the mistress of the east, to *Susa*, and thereby greatly diminished the splendor of that city, attempted to retrieve their

^a Haggai, i. 1.

^b Ezra. vi.

(R) From the 19th year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, according to the *Jewish* account (which was the 17th according to the *Babylonian* computation) when *Jerusalem* was destroyed, to the 4th year of *Darius Hystaspes*, when the *Jews* were thoroughly restored, just seventy years passed according to the canon. So that sacred and prophane chronology exactly agree in this particular.

antient grandeur, by setting up for themselves against the Babylon *Persians*, as they had done in former times against the *revolts*. *Assyrians*. With this view, taking advantage of the troubles that had happened, first on the death of *Cambyfes*, and afterwards on the murder of the usurper *Smerdis*, they had privately stored their city with all manner of provisions for many years, and at last broke out into an open rebellion, which drew *Darius* with all his forces to besiege the city. The *Babylonians*, seeing themselves shut up by so numerous and powerful an army, turned all their thoughts to the supporting of a long siege, which they imagined would tire out the enemy's troops. To prevent the consumption of their provisions they took the most desperate and barbarous resolution that ever was put in execution by any nation. They agreed among themselves to get rid of all unnecessary mouths, and therefore drawing together all the women, old men, and children, they strangled them without distinction, whether wives, fathers, mothers, or sisters, every one being allowed to save only the wife he liked best, and a maid-servant to do the work of the house ^c.

Darius, having lain before *Babylon* a year and eight months, and being no less tired than his army with so tedious a siege, endeavoured by various stratagems and artifices to take the place, among others he made use of that which had succeeded so well with *Cyrus*. But all his efforts were rendered ineffectual by the unwearied vigilance of the *Babylonians*. When he was ready to break up the siege and return to *Persia*, *Zopyrus*, one of his chief commanders, put him in possession of the town by the following contrivance. He cut off his nose and ears, and having mangled his body in a most cruel manner with stripes, fled to the *Babylonians* thus disfigured, feigning to have been so treated by *Darius* for advising him to raise the siege. The *Babylonians*, seeing a man of that distinction so barbarously used, believed all he said against *Darius*, and, assuring themselves of his fidelity, gave him the command of some forces. With these he sallied out, and having surrounded ten thousand *Persians*, which *Darius* by agreement had posted near the walls, he cut them all in pieces on the spot. A few days after in another sally he killed two thousand more; which so pleased the *Babylonians*, that he was appointed commander in chief of all their forces. Being vested with this command, he made a third sally, and put four thousand more *Persians* to the sword. Upon this success *Zopyrus* acquired such credit, that the guard of the

Babylon
taken.

city was entirely committed to his care. Not long after *Darius*, pursuant to the agreement they had made, advanced with the whole body of his army, and surrounded the city. The *Babylonians* mounting the walls made a vigorous defence; but in the mean time *Zopyrus*, opening the gates of *Belus* and *Cissia*, introduced the *Persians*, and delivered the city up to *Darius*, who without this stratagem could never have mastered it. Thus *Babylon* was taken a second time, and *Darius*, being put in possession of it, beat down the walls from 200 cubits high to 50; and of these walls only *Strabo*^d is to be understood to speak, where he tells us, that the walls of *Babylon* were only fifty cubits high. As for the inhabitants, after having impaled about three thousand of the most guilty and active in the revolt, he pardoned the rest. And because the *Babylonians* had destroyed their women, he took care to furnish them with wives, enjoining the neighbouring provinces to send 50000 women to *Babylon*, without which supply the place must soon have become depopulated. As for *Zopyrus*, he was deservedly rewarded by *Darius* with the highest honours he could heap upon him during the whole course of his life. That prince frequently used to say, that he would willingly lose twenty *Babylons*, rather than see *Zopyrus* so disfigured. Besides many other ample rewards, he bestowed upon him the revenues of *Babylon* for life, free from all charges and taxes, and could never after behold him without shedding many tears^e.

The Scy-
thian ex-
pedition.

AFTER the reduction of *Babylon*, *Darius* undertook an expedition against the *Scythians*, inhabiting those countries which lie between the *Danube* and the *Tanais*. His pretence for this war was, to revenge the calamities which they had brought upon *Asia*, when they invaded that country about 120 years before, and held it in subjection for the space of 28 years, as we have related in the history of *Media*. This he gave out as the motive inducing him to a war, to which his ambition alone and desire of extending his conquests prompted him. Having made vast preparations for this expedition, and levied an army of 700,000 men, he marched to the *Thracian Bosphorus*, and having there passed over on a bridge of boats, he reduced all *Thrace*; from *Thrace* he advanced to the *Ister* or *Danube*, where he had appointed his fleet to join him. Here he marched his army over another bridge of boats, and entered *Scythia*. The *Scythians*, after having conferred together about the measures they

^d STRAB. l. vi.

^e HERODOT. *ibid.*

should

should take to oppose so powerful an enemy, determined not to venture an engagement in the open field, but to withdraw themselves from the frontiers in proportion as the *Persians* advanced, laying waste the country and filling up the wells and springs. Pursuant to this resolution they met *Darius* on the frontiers, and finding him disposed to give them battle, they retired, drawing him from country to country, till his army was quite tired with such tedious and fatiguing marches. At last he began to be sensible of the danger he was in of perishing with all his forces, and having resolved to give over that rash enterprize and retire home, he lighted in the night a great number of fires, and leaving the old men and sick behind him in the camp, he marched off with all possible expedition in order to reach the *Danube*. The *Scythians*, perceiving the next morning that the enemy was decamped, detached a considerable body to the *Danube*, who, as they were well acquainted with the roads, arrived at that river before *Darius*. The *Scythians* had sent expresses before-hand to persuade the *Ionians*, whom *Darius* had left to guard the bridge, to break it down, and retire to their own country. Now they pressed them to it more earnestly, representing to them, that as the time prescribed by *Darius* was expired, they were at liberty to return home without breaking their word, or being wanting to their duty ; for *Darius* had given them leave to break down the bridge, and withdraw to their own country, if he did not return at a prefixed time, which was already elapsed. Hereupon the *Ionians* began to consult among themselves, whether or no they should comply with the request of the *Scythians*. *Miltiades*, prince of the *Chersonesus* of *Thrace*, having the public interest more at heart than his own private advantage, was for embracing so favourable an opportunity of shaking off the *Persian* yoke, breaking down the bridge, and thereby cutting off *Darius's* retreat. All the other commanders fell in with him, except *Histiæus* prince of *Miletus*, who represented to the *Ionian* chiefs, that their power was linked with that of *Darius*, since it was under his protection that each of them was lord in his own city, and that the cities of *Ionia* would not fail to depose them and recover their liberty, if the *Persian* power should sink or decline. This speech made a deep impression upon the *Ionian* generals, and private interest prevailing over the public good, they determined to wait for *Darius*, but in order to deceive the *Scythians* and prevent them from using any violence, they declared, that their design was to retire pursuant to their request ;

quest; and the better to impose upon the enemy, they began to break down the bridge, encouraging the *Scythians* to return back, meet *Darius*, and defeat him. They readily complied with the *Ionians* request, but missed *Darius* who arrived safe at the bridge, repassed the *Danube*, and returned into *Thrace*. Here he left *Megabyzus*, one of his chief generals, with part of his army to complete the conquest of that country. With the rest of his troops he repassed the *Bosphorus*, and took up his quarters at *Sardis*, where he spent the winter and the greatest part of the year following to refresh his army, which had suffered extremely in that rash and unsuccessful expedition^f.

Megabyzus, having brought all *Thrace* under subjection, dispatched seven *Persian* noblemen, that served under him, to *Amyntas* king of *Macedon*, enjoining him to acknowledge *Darius* for his Master by the delivery of earth and water. *Amyntas* not only complied with their request, but received them into his house and having prepared a sumptuous feast entertained them with great magnificence. At the end of the entertainment, the *Persians*, being heated with wine, desired *Amyntas* to bring in his concubines, wives, and daughters. Though this was contrary to the custom of the country, the king, fearing to displease them, did as they required. But the *Persians* not observing a due decency on that occasion, the king's son, by name *Alexander*, being no longer able to see his mother and sisters treated in such a manner, contrived to send them out of the room as if they were to return immediately, and at the same time had the precaution to get his father out of the company. In the mean time he caused a like number of young men to be dressed like women, and armed with poinards under their garments. These he brought into the room instead of the others, and when the *Persians* began to use them as they had treated the women, they drew their poinards, fell upon the *Persians*, and killed both the noblemen and their attendants. Great search was made by *Megabyzus* for these noblemen, but *Alexander* having with large presents bribed *Bubares*, who was sent to inquire after them, their death was concealed, and the whole matter stifled^g.

THE *Scythians*, to be revenged on *Darius* for invading their country, having passed the *Danube* laid waste all that part of *Thrace* which had submitted to the *Persians*, as far as the *Hellepont*, and loaded with booty returned home without meeting with any opposition.

^f HERODOT. l. iv. c. 102.--144.

^g Idem, l. v. c. 17---21.

Darius,

Darius, having sufficiently refreshed his troops after the *Conquers Scythian* expedition, began to think of extending his dominions eastwards, and in order to facilitate his design resolved in the first place to make a discovery of those countries. With this view he caused a fleet to be built and equipped at *Caspatus*, a city on the river *Indus*. The command of this fleet he gave to *Scylax*, a *Grecian* of *Caryandia* a city of *Caria*, who was well versed in maritime affairs. His orders were to sail down the current, and make the best discoveries he could of the countries lying on either side of the river, till he arrived at the southern ocean; from thence he was to steer his course westward, and that way return back to *Persia*. *Scylax* having exactly observed his instructions, and sailed down the river *Indus*, entered the *Red-sea* by the straits of *Babelmandel*, and on the 30th month from his first setting out landed in *Egypt* at the same place, from whence *Necho* king of *Egypt* formerly sent out the *Phœnicians*, who were in his service, to sail round the coast of *Africa*. From hence *Scylax* returned to *Susa*, where he gave *Darius* a full account of his observations. *Darius* hereupon entered *India* at the head of a numerous army, and reducing that large country, made it the 20th province of the *Persian* empire. Our author gives us no account of this important war; he only says, that *Darius* received from the provinces he conquered in this expedition an annual tribute of 360 talents of gold, according to the number of the days of the *Persian* year at that time ^a (S).

Darius, after his return to *Susa* from the *Scythian* expedition, had appointed his brother *Artaphernes* governor of *Sardis*, and given *Otanes* the government of *Thrace* and the adjacent countries along the sea-coast, in the room of *Megabyzus*. In the mean time a sedition happening in *Naxos*, the chief island of the *Cyclades* in the *Ægean* sea, now called the *Archipelago*, the principal inhabitants, being over-powered by the populace, were banished the island. In their distress they had recourse to *Aristagoras*, beseeching him to restore them to their country. *Aristagoras* at that time resided at *Miletus*, and governed that city as deputy to *Histiæus* (T), to whom he

^a HERODOT. l. iv. c. 44--94.

(S) This payment was made according to the standard of the *Æuboic* talent, the same with the *Attic*, and therefore, according to the lowest computation, amounted to one million and ninety five thousand pound sterling.

(T) *Darius*, on his return to *Sardis* after his unhappy expedition against the *Scythians*, being informed, that he owed his own safety

he was both nephew and son-in-law. When *Aristagoras* understood their case he resolved to improve the opportunity, and attempt to make himself master of *Naxos*. With this view he promised to give the exiles all the assistance he could. But not being powerful enough to accomplish his design himself, he communicated the matter to *Artaphernes* the king's brother, governor of *Sardis*, representing to him, that this was a fair opportunity of reducing *Naxos*; that if he were once master of that island, all the rest of the *Cyclades* might be easily brought under subjection; that the isle of *Eubœa* lying very near the other would be an easy conquest, and from thence the king would have a free passage into *Greece*. *Ar-*

and that of his whole army to *Histiæus*, who had prevailed upon the *Ionians* not to destroy the bridge on the *Danube*, sent for that prince, and desired him freely to ask what favour he pleased for the eminent service he had done him. *Histiæus* desired the king to grant him the *Edonian Myrcinus*, a territory upon the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, with the liberty of building a city there. His request being granted he returned to *Miletus*, and having there equipped a fleet he sailed for *Thrace*, took possession of the territory granted him, and began the intended city. *Megabyzus*, who was then governor of *Thrace* for *Darius*, being apprized how prejudicial that project might prove to the king's affairs, on his return to *Sardis* represented to *Darius*, that this new city stood upon a navigable river; that the country round about it afforded abundance of timber for the building of ships; that it was inhabited by several nations both *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, which could furnish great numbers of men fit both for the sea and land service; that if once these nations should be governed by such a skilful and enterprizing prince as *Histiæus*, they might soon become so powerful both by sea and land, that the king of *Persia* would not be able to keep them in subjection, especially since they might be supplied with gold and silver from the mines, with which that country abounded, to carry on any enterprise. *Darius*, being by these remonstrances made sensible of the mistake he had committed, dispatched a messenger to *Histiæus*, enjoining him to repair to *Sardis* in order to deliver his advice concerning matters of the utmost consequence. Having thus drawn him to *Sardis*, he took him with him to *Susa*, pretending, that he wanted such an able counsellor and faithful friend to be always about him, and telling him, that he should be able to find him something in *Persia*, which would make him ample amends both for *Myrcinus* and *Miletus*. *Histiæus*, finding himself under a necessity of complying, attended *Darius* to *Susa*, and left *Aristagoras* governor of *Miletus* in his absence. To this *Aristagoras* the banished *Naxians* applied for relief (21).

(21) *Herodot. l. v. c. 1.*

Artaphernes was so well pleased with these proposals, that instead of the hundred ships, which *Aristagoras* demanded, he promised him two hundred, provided the king approved of the enterprise. And accordingly having obtained the king's consent he sent the next spring to *Miletus* the number of ships which he had promised, under the command of *Megabates* a noble *Persian* of the *Achæmenian* family. But his commission being to obey the orders of *Aristagoras*, and the haughty *Persian* not brooking to be under the command of an *Ionian*, a dissension arose between the two generals, which was carried so far, that *Megabates*, to be revenged on *Aristagoras*, gave the *Naxians* secret intelligence of the design that was carrying on against them. Hereupon they made such preparations for their defence, that the *Persians*, after having spent four months in besieging the chief town of the island, and consumed all their provisions, were obliged to retire. The project having thus miscarried, *Megabates*, threw all the blame upon *Aristagoras*, and his false accusations being more favourably heard than the just defence of the other, *Artaphernes* condemned him to defray all the charges of the expedition, giving him to understand, that they would be exacted with the utmost rigour. As he was not able to pay so large a sum, he foresaw that this must end not only in the loss of his government, but his utter ruin. This desperate situation made him entertain thoughts of revolting from the king, as the only expedient, whereby he could extricate himself from his present difficulties. No sooner had he formed this design, but a messenger arrived from *Histiæus* who confirmed him in it (U). *Histiæus*, after several years continuance at the *Persian* court, being weary of the manners of that nation, and desirous to return to his country, thought this the most likely means to accomplish his desire. For he flattered himself, that if any disturbances should arise in *Ionian*, he could prevail with *Darius* to send him thither to appease them, as in effect it happened. *Aristagoras*, finding his own inclinations backed by the orders of

(U) *Histiæus* being desirous to impart his design to *Aristagoras*, and finding no other means, by reason all the passages leading into *Ionian* were guarded, shaved the hair of one of his servants in whose fidelity he most confided, and having imprinted the message on his head, kept him at *Susa* till his hair was grown again. He then dispatched him to *Miletus* without any other instructions, than that upon his arrival he should desire *Aristagoras* to cut off his hair and look upon his head (22).

(22) *Herodot. ibid. c. 36.*

Histiæus, imparted his design to the leading men of *Ionia*, whom he found ready to come into his measures, and therefore, being now determined to revolt, applied himself wholly to make all manner of preparations for so great an undertaking¹.

THE next year *Aristagoras* to engage the *Ionians* more resolutely to stand by him, re-instated them in their liberty and all their former privileges. He began with *Miletus*, where he divested himself of his power, and gave it up into the hands of the people. He then undertook a journey through all *Ionia*, where by his example and credit he prevailed upon all the other petty princes, or, as the *Greeks* then called them, tyrants, to do the same. Having thus united them all into one common league, of which he himself was declared the head, he openly revolted from the king, and made great preparations both by sea and land for carrying on a war. To strengthen himself the more against the *Persians*, in the beginning of the following year he went to *Lacedæmon* to engage that city in his interest. But not being able to prevail upon *Cleomenes* (W), who was at that time king of *Lacedæmon*, to send him

¹ Idem, l. v. c. 35, 36.

(W) *Cleomenes* having appointed him a time and place for an interview, *Aristagoras* represented to him, that the *Lacedæmonians* and *Ionians* were countrymen; that *Sparta* being the most powerful city of *Greece*, it would be much to their honour to concur with him in the design he had formed of restoring the *Ionians* to their antient liberty; that the *Persians*, their common enemy, were not a warlike People, but extremely rich, and consequently would become an easy prey to the *Lacedæmonians*; that, considering the present spirit and disposition of the *Ionians*, it would not be difficult for them to carry their victorious arms even to *Susa* the metropolis of the *Persian* empire, and the place of the king's residence. At the same time he shewed him a description of all the nations and cities, through which they were to pass, engraved on a plate of brass, which he had brought along with him. *Cleomenes* desired three days time to consider of the matter, which being expired, he asked *Aristagoras* in how many days one may travel from the coast of *Ionia* to the city where the king resided. *Aristagoras*, though an artful man and far superior in all respects to *Cleomenes*, yet made a slip, as our author observes, in his answer to this demand; for as he designed to draw the *Spartans* into *Asia*, he ought to have lessened the distance from the coasts of *Ionia* to *Susa*; whereas he told him plainly, 'twas a journey of three months, which *Cleomenes* no sooner heard than, interrupting him from proceeding in his discourse concerning the way, he commanded him to depart *Sparta* before sunset,

him any succours, he proceeded to *Athens*, where he met with a much more favourable reception. For he had the good fortune to arrive there at a time, when the *Athenians* were disposed to close with any measures against the *Persians*, being highly exasperated against them on the following occasion. *Hippias*, the son of *Pisistratus* tyrant of *Athens*, having been banished about ten years before, and tried in vain several other ways to bring about his restoration, at length applied himself to *Artaphernes* at *Sardis*; and having insinuated himself into his favour, did all that lay in his power to stir him up against them. The *Athenians* having intelligence of this, sent ambassadors to *Sardis*, desiring *Artaphernes* not to give ear to what any of their out-laws should insinuate to their disadvantage. The answer of *Artaphernes* to this embassy was, that if they desired to live in peace, they must recall *Hippias*. This haughty message incensed the *Athenians* to a great degree against the *Persians*, and *Aristagoras* arriving there just at this juncture, easily obtained whatever he desired. The *Athenians* ordered a fleet of twenty ships to be immediately equipped and sent to the assistance of the *Ionians*.

THE *Ionians* having at last drawn together all their troops, and being reinforced with the twenty *Athenian* ships and five more from *Eretria*, a city in the island of *Eubœa*, they set sail for *Ephesus*, and having left their ships there, they marched by land to the city of *Sardis*, which they easily made themselves masters of. As most of the houses were built with reeds, an *Ionian* soldier having accidentally set one of them

set, for advising the *Spartans* to take a march into *Asia*, not to be performed in less than three months after their landing. *Cleomenes* then withdrew; but *Aristagoras*, taking an olive-branch in his hand after the manner of suppliants, followed him home to his house, and endeavoured to prevail upon him by arguments of another nature, that is, by presents; but before he made any offer he desired him to bid his daughter *Gorgo*, a child about eight or nine years old, to withdraw; but *Cleomenes* telling him that he might speak freely without apprehending any thing from so young a child, *Aristagoras* began with the promise of ten talents in case *Cleomenes* would comply with his request, and receiving a denial, proceeded gradually in his offers till he came to the sum of fifty talents, and then the girl cried out, *Fly, father, fly, else this stranger will corrupt you.* *Cleomenes* was so well pleased with the child's admonition, that he immediately retired into another apartment, and ordered *Aristagoras* that instant to depart his dominions (23).

on fire, and the flame spreading, the whole city was reduced to ashes ; but the citadel, whither *Artaphernes* had retired, was preserved. After this accident, the *Persians* and *Lydians* drawing together their forces, and other troops coming full march to their assistance, the *Ionians*, who had not been able to force the citadel, judged it was high time for them to withdraw ; and accordingly marched back with all possible expedition in order to reembark at *Ephesus*. But before they reached that place they were overtaken by the enemy, and defeated with great slaughter. The *Athenians*, who escaped, immediately hoist sail and returned home ; nor could they ever afterwards be prevailed upon to concern themselves in this war. However, their having engaged thus far gave rise to that war, which was carried on afterwards for several generations by the two nations, and ended at last in the utter destruction of the *Persian* empire. For *Darius*, being informed of the burning of *Sardis*, and hearing that the *Athenians* had been concerned in that undertaking, determined from that time to make war upon *Greece*, and that he might never forget his resolution, he commanded one of his officers to cry every day to him with a loud voice, while he was at dinner, three times, *Remember the Athenians*. In the burning of *Sardis* the temple of *Cybele*, the chief goddess of that country, accidentally taking fire, was entirely consumed. This accident served afterwards as a pretence to the *Persians* for burning all the temples of *Greece*^k. But the true motive which led them to this we shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

THE *Ionians*, though deserted by the *Athenians*, and considerably weakened by their late overthrow, did not lose courage, but pursued their point with great resolution. Their fleet sailed to the *Hellepont* and the *Propontis*, where they reduced the city of *Byzantium*, and most of the other *Greek* cities on those coasts. As they were sailing back they made a descent in *Caria*, and obliged the inhabitants to join them in this war. The people of *Cyprus* likewise entered into the same confederacy, and openly revolted from the *Persians*. The *Persian* generals in those quarters, finding that the revolt began to be universal, drew together what troops they had in *Cilicia* and the neighbouring provinces, and at the same time enjoined the *Phœnicians* to assist them with their whole naval power. The *Ionians*, as they were sailing to *Cyprus*, fell in with the *Phœnician* fleet, attacked, and dispersed them. But at the same time the *Persian* troops, that

^k Idem, ibid. c. 99---105.

were landed in *Cyprus*, having gained a complete victory over the rebels, and killed in the engagement *Onesilus*, the son of *Cherfis*, author of their revolt, the *Ionians* reaped no advantage from their victory by sea; for the whole island of *Cyprus* was again brought under subjection¹.

AFTER the reduction of *Cyprus*, *Daurises*, *Hymeas*, and *Otanes*, three *Persian* generals, and all sons-in-law to *Darius*, having divided their forces into three bodies, marched three different ways against the revolted cities. *Daurises* held his course to the *Hellepont*, and from thence, after possessing himself of the revolted cities, marched against the *Carians*, whom he overthrew in two successive battles; but in a third being drawn into an ambuscade he was slain with several other *Persians* of distinction, and his whole army cut in pieces. *Hymeas*, after having taken the city of *Cius* in *Mysia*, reduced all the *Ilian* coast, but falling sick at *Troas* soon after died. *Artaphernes* and *Otanes*, with the rest of the *Persian* generals, finding that *Miletus* was the centre of the *Ionian* confederacy, resolved to march thither with all their forces, concluding, that, if they could carry that city, all the others would submit of their own accord. Pursuant to this resolution they entered *Ionia* and *Æolia*, where their main strength lay, and took the city of *Clazomenæ* in *Ionia*, and *Cyme* in *Æolia*, which was such a blow to the whole confederacy, that *Aristagoras*, not finding himself in a condition after that loss to make head against the enemy, resolved to abandon *Miletus*, and consult his own safety by retiring to some more distant place. Accordingly he embarked, with such as were willing to follow him, and set sail for the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, where he seized on the territory of *Myrcinus*, which had been formerly given by *Darius* to *Histiæus*. But as he was besieging a place situated beyond those limits, he was killed by the *Thracians*, and all his army cut in pieces. On his departure from *Miletus*, he left the government in the hands of *Pythagoras* an eminent citizen, who being informed, that *Artaphernes* and *Otanes* designed to bend all their force against *Miletus*, summoned a general assembly of the *Ionians*. In this meeting it was agreed, that they should not attempt to bring an army into the field, but only to fortify and store their city with all manner of provisions for a siege, and to draw all their forces together to engage the *Persians* at sea, thinking themselves, by reason of their skill in maritime affairs, most likely to have the advantage in a naval engagement. The place appointed for their general rendezvous

¹ Idem, l. vi. c. 1--5.

was *Lada*, a small island over-against *Miletus*, where accordingly they met with a fleet of 353 sail. At the sight of this fleet the *Persians*, though double their number, avoided engaging, till by their emissaries they had secretly corrupted the greatest part of the confederates, and engaged them to desert the common cause. When they came to an engagement, the *Samians*, *Lesbians*, and several others, hoisting sail returned to their respective countries. As the remaining fleet of the confederates did not consist of above 100 ships, they were quickly over-powered by the *Persians*, and almost entirely destroyed. The city of *Miletus* was immediately besieged both by sea and land, and soon taken by the conquerors, who razed it to the ground the sixth year after the revolt of *Aristagoras*. All the other towns that had revolted returned, either by force or of their own accord, to their duty. Those that stood out were treated as they had been threatened before-hand ; the handsomest of their youths were made eunuchs, and their young women sent into *Persia* ; their cities and temples were reduced to ashes. Such were the calamities the *Ionians* drew upon themselves, by seconding the ambitious views of two enterprizing men, *Aristagoras* and *Histiæus* ^m.

THE latter had his share in the general calamity ; for being taken by the *Persians* and carried to *Sardis*, he was immediately crucified by order of *Artaphernes*, who hastened his execution without consulting *Darius*, lest his affection for him should incline him to pardon one, who, if he were again let loose, would not fail to create new disturbances. It afterwards appeared, that *Artaphernes*'s conjecture was well grounded ; for when *Histiæus*'s head was brought to *Darius*, he expressed great displeasure against the authors of his death, and caused his head to be honourably interred, as the remains of a person, to whom he professed infinite obligations. He was the most bold, restless, and enterprizing genius of his age ; with him all means were good and lawful, that served to promote the end he had in view, acknowledging no other rule of his actions than his own interest and ambition, to which he sacrificed the good of his country and the lives of his nearest relations. But we shall have occasion to bring him again upon the scene, in the history of *Ionian* and the *Greek* colonies in *Asia*.

His expedition against Greece.

THE *Phœnician* fleet having reduced all the islands on the coasts of *Asia*, *Darius* recalled all his other generals, and appointed *Mardenius* the son of *Gobryas*, a young *Persian* noble-

^m Idem, l. vi. 31--33.

man, who had lately married one of his daughters, to be commander in chief of all the forces quartered on the coasts of *Asia*, ordering him to invade *Greece*, and revenge on the *Athenians* and *Eretrians* the burning of *Sardis*. *Mardonius*, having rendezvoused his forces at the *Hellepont*, marched, pursuant to his orders, through *Thrace* into *Macedonia*, ordering his fleet first to reduce *Thasus*, and then to coast along the shore as he marched by land, that they might be at hand to act in concert with each other. On his arrival in *Macedonia* all the country, terrified at such a mighty army, submitted. But the fleet, in doubling the cape of mount *Athos* in order to gain the coast of *Macedonia*, was entirely dispersed by a violent storm, which destroyed upwards of 300 ships and 20,000 men. His land army met at the same time with a misfortune no less fatal; for being encamped in a place not sufficiently secured and fortified, the *Bryges*, a people of *Thrace*, attacking him in the night, broke into the camp, slew a great number of his men, and wounded *Mardonius* himself, who, being disabled by these losses to prosecute his design either by sea or land, marched back into *Asia*, without reaping any advantage for his master, or glory for himself in this expedition^a.

Darius hearing of the ill success of *Mardonius*, and ascribing it to his want of experience, thought fit to recall him, and appoint two other generals in his room, *Datis* a *Mede*, and *Artaphernes* his own nephew, being the son of *Artaphernes* the king's brother, and late governor of *Sardis*. But before he would make any further attempts upon *Greece*, he judged it expedient first to sound the *Greeks*, and try how those different states stood affected to, or were averse from, the *Persian* government. With this view he sent heralds to all their cities to demand earth and water in token of submission. On the arrival of these heralds many of the *Greek* cities, dreading the power of the *Persians*, complied with their demand; as did also the inhabitants of *Ægina*, a small island over-against, and not far from, *Athens*. But at *Athens* and *Sparta* they did not meet with so favourable a reception, being in one place thrown into a deep ditch, and in the other into a well, and bid fetch earth and water from thence. This they did in the heat of their passion, but when they came to a cooler temper they were ashamed of what they had done, looking upon it as a violation of the law of nations, and accordingly sent ambassadors to the king of *Persia* at *Susa*, to offer him what satisfaction he pleased for the affront they had

^a Idem, l. vi. c. 43--45.

put upon his heralds. But *Darius*, declaring himself fully satisfied with that embassy, sent the ambassadors back to their respective countries, though those of *Sparta* voluntarily offered themselves as victims, to expiate the crime which their countrymen had been guilty of °.

Darius, being entirely bent upon the reduction of *Greece*, hastened the departure of his generals *Datis* and *Artaphernes*. Their instructions were to plunder the cities of *Eretria* and *Athens*, to burn down to the ground all their houses and temples, to make all the inhabitants of both places slaves and send them to *Darius*; for which purpose they went provided with a great number of chains and fetters. The two generals, having appointed their fleet to meet at *Samos*, set sail from thence with 600 ships and 500,000 men ^p, steering their course to *Naxos*, which island they easily made themselves masters of, and having burnt the chief city and all the temples both of this and the other islands in those seas, they stood directly for *Eretria*, a town in *Eubœa*, which they took after a siege of seven days by the treachery of *Euphorbus* and *Philagrus*, two chief citizens. Having taken *Eretria*, pillaged the city, set fire to the temples in revenge for those that had been burnt at *Sardis*, and enslaved the inhabitants pursuant to their orders, they sailed to *Attica*. *Hippias* the son of *Pisistratus*, who, as we have said above, had fled to the *Persians*, conducted them, after they had landed, to the plains of *Marathon*. Hence they sent heralds to *Athens*, acquainting the citizens with the fate of *Eretria*, in hopes that this news would frighten them into an immediate surrender. The *Athenians* had sent to *Lacedæmon* to desire succours against the common enemy, which the *Lacedæmonians* granted, but they could not set out till some days after, by reason of an antient and superstitious custom, which obtained at *Sparta*, and did not allow them to begin a march before the full moon. Not one of their other allies offered to assist them, such a terror had the *Persian* armies struck into the cities of *Greece*. The inhabitants of *Platœa* alone furnished them with a thousand men. In this extremity the *Athenians* were obliged to arm their slaves, which was contrary to their practice on all other occasions.

THE *Persian* army commanded by *Datis* consisted of 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, that of the *Athenians* amounted in the whole but to 10,000 men. It was commanded by ten generals, one of which was *Miltiades*, whom we

• Idem, l. vii. c. 133.

^p PLUTARCH in Moral. p. 829.

shall

shall have occasion to mention often in the history of *Greece*. These ten generals were to have the command of the army, each for one day in his turn. When the army was assembled a dispute arose among them, whether they should venture an engagement in the field, or only fortify and defend the city. They were all for the latter opinion, except *Miltiades*, who declared, that the only way to raise the courage of their own troops, and strike a terror into the enemy, was, to advance boldly and attack them with intrepidity. *Aristides*, convinced by the speech of *Miltiades*, embraced his opinion, and brought over to it some of the other commanders. *Callimachus* likewise, who had been very sanguine at first against such a rash enterprize, fell in at last with *Miltiades*, and a resolution was taken to engage the enemy in the open field. All the commanders, who were for venturing a battle, when their turn came to command the army, yielded that honour to *Miltiades*, all sentiments of jealousy giving way to the public good; but though he accepted the power, yet he would not hazard an engagement before his own day. As soon as that came, he endeavoured by the advantage of the ground to make up what he wanted in strength and number. He drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, that the enemy might not surround them, or fall upon his rear. He covered his flanks with large trees which he caused to be cut down for that purpose, and to render the *Persian* cavalry useless. The *Athenian* forces were so drawn up that they were equal in front to the *Persians*; but because they had not a sufficient number of men in the centre, that part was extremely weak, the main strength of the army consisting in the wings. All things being thus disposed, and the sacrifice, according to the custom of the *Greeks*, performed, *Miltiades*, without waiting the motions of the *Persians*, commanded the signal for the battle to be given, when the *Athenians* fell upon the enemy, with such courage and resolution as can hardly be expressed. The *Persians* seeing the *Athenians* advance imputed their resolution to folly and despair, being not only few in number, but entirely destitute of horse, and without stirring prepared themselves to receive them. After a long and obstinate fight, the *Persians* and *Sacæ* broke the centre of the *Athenians*, having made their greatest efforts against that part. The centre was commanded by *Aristides* and *Themistocles*, who with great intrepidity made head against the whole *Persian* army, till, being born down by their numbers and quite over-powered, they were obliged to give ground. But the *Athenians* and *Platæans*, who were in the two wings, having defeated the wings of the enemy, came up to the relief of their centre, just as

*The battle
of Mara-
thon.*

Year of
the Flood,
2508.
Year be-
fore Christ
491.



they were betaking themselves to a precipitous flight, after having maintained a running fight for some hours. At their arrival the scale was quickly turned, for attacking the enemy in flank they soon put them in disorder, and obliged them with great slaughter to fly to their fleet, whither they pursued them, took seven of their ships, and burnt a great many more. In this action several *Athenians* of great distinction were slain, and amongst others *Callimachus* and *Stasileus*, two of the chief commanders, with only 200 private men, whereas the *Persians* left 6000 dead in the field of battle, and besides a great many were killed in the flight, burnt in their ships, and drowned in the sea, as they attempted to save themselves on board their vessels. *Hippias* was killed in the battle, that ungrateful citizen, who, in order to recover the unjust dominion usurped by his father *Pisistratus*, had put himself at the head of those who were come with a design to reduce to ashes that city to which he owed his birth¹. Immediately after the battle, an *Athenian* soldier, stained all over with blood, hastened to *Athens* to acquaint his fellow-citizens with the good success of their army at *Marathon*. When he arrived at the public palace where the Magistrates were assembled, he was so spent, that, having uttered these words, *Rejoice, rejoice, the victory is ours*, he fell down dead at their feet². The *Persians* were so sure of the victory, that they had brought marble along with them to *Marathon* in order to erect a trophy there. This marble the *Athenians* seized, and caused a statue to be formed of it by the famous *Phidias* in honour of the goddess *Nemesis*, whose province it was to punish unjust actions³ (X).

AFTER

¹ Idem, l. vi. p. 102—120. ² PLUTARCH. de glor. Athen. p. 347. ³ PAUS. l. i. p. 62.

(X) *Justin* tells us (24) that the *Persians* lost on this occasion, what by the sword, what by shipwreck, 200,000 men; but we choose to follow *Herodotus*, who flourished very near those times, and acquaints us, that in the battle were killed 6300 *Persians* and 192 *Athenians*. The whole *Persian* army, according to *Valerius Maximus* (25), consisted of 300,000 men. *Plutarch* seems to insinuate the same (26). *Justin* (27) and *Orosius* say, that they were in all 600,000 men. *Emilius Probus* (28) tells us, that they were 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse. Of the *Athenians* there were
10,000

(24) *Justin*. l. ii. c. 9. (25) *Val. Max.* l. v. c. 3. (26) *Plutarch* in *Paral.* (27) *Justin* ubi supra. (28) *Emil. Prob.* in *Militia*.

AFTER this defeat the *Persian* fleet, instead of sailing by the islands in order to return to *Asia*, doubled the cape of *Sunium* with a design to surprise *Athens* before the return of the army. But the *Athenian* troops, being apprised of their design, decamped from the plains of *Marathon*, and marched with such expedition, that they arrived at *Athens* before the enemy's fleet, and by that means disappointed their measures ^c.

Datis and *Artaphernes* arriving in *Asia*, that they might seem to have reaped some advantage from this expedition, sent the *Eretrian* captives to *Susa*. *Darius* had expressed great indignation against the *Eretrians* before the reduction of their city, and charged them with the guilt of beginning the war; but finding they were now his prisoners and entirely in his power, he could not find in his heart to do them any harm, but gave them a village in the country of *Cissia* to inhabit, which was but a day's journey distant from *Susa* ^d. Here *Apollonius Tyaneus* ^e found their descendants a great many ages after.

As soon as the day of the full moon was over, the *Lacedæmonians* began their march with two thousand men, and arrived in three days on the confines of *Attica*, having marched in so short a time 1200 *Stades* ^f; such was their eagerness to be present at the battle: but a silly and ridiculous superstition

^c HERODOT. ubi supra. ^d HERODOT. l. vi. c. 29. ^e PHILOSTRAT. l. i. c. 17. ^f ISOCR. in Paneg. p. 113.

10,000, and 1000 *Plateans*, say *Justin* and *Orosius*; but *Probus* assures us, that the *Athenians* with their auxiliaries were in all but 10,000. This ever memorable victory was gained, if we believe *Plutarch* (29), upon the 6th day of *Boedromion* the third month in the *Attic* calender, after the summer solstice, *Pbænippus* being at that time prætor at *Athens*, that is, in the third year of the 72d olympiad four years before the death of *Darius*, as we read in *Sæverus Sulpitius* (30), and ten years before *Xerxes* passed over into *Greece*, as *Thucydides* informs us (31). Most authors tell us that *Hippias* was slain in this battle; but *Suidas* says, that he escaped and died afterwards in the island of *Lemnos*. *Themistocles*, who became afterwards so famous, on this occasion first entered the school of war. We cannot omit in this place the glorious behaviour of one *Cynegyrus* an *Athenian* soldier, who having first his right and then his left hand cut off, while he was endeavouring to prevent one of the enemies ships from putting off, took hold of it at last with his teeth.

(29) *Plut. de glor. Athen. p. 349.* (30) *Sæver. Sulp. l. ii. sacr. hist.* (31) *Thucyd. l. i.*

pre-

prevented their having a share in the most glorious action recorded in history; for the battle was fought a day before they arrived. However, they proceeded to *Marathon*, where they found the fields covered with dead bodies, and having congratulated the *Athenians* on the happy success of the battle, they returned home †.

Darius, upon the news of the unsuccessful return of his army, was so far from being discouraged by such a disaster, that he added the defeat at *Marathon* to the burning of *Sardis*, as a new motive spurring him on to pursue the war with more vigour. He therefore resolved to head the army in person, and issued orders to all his subjects in the several provinces of the empire to attend him in this expedition. But after he had spent three years in making the necessary preparations, a new war broke out, occasioned by the revolt of *Egypt*. This gave him no small uneasiness; however, as he was wholly bent on his expedition against *Greece*, he resolved not to lay that aside, but at the same time to send part of his forces to reduce *Egypt*, and with the rest to march in person against his old enemies the *Greeks* (Y). But when he had prepared all things for these two expeditions, a great contest arose between his sons concerning the succession. According to an antient custom among the *Persians* the king was obliged, before he set out on any expedition, to name his successor; a custom wisely established to prevent the many inconveniences that attend an unsettled succession. *Darius* thought himself the

† *Idem*, *ibid*.

(Y) *Diodorus Siculus* (32) seems to insinuate, that *Darius* marched into *Egypt* to reduce the rebels, and that he succeeded in the enterprise. That historian relates, that upon *Darius's* desiring to have his statue placed before that of *Sesostris*, the chief priest of the *Egyptians* told him, that he had not equalled the glory of that conqueror, and that the king, no ways offended at the *Egyptian* priest's freedom, reply'd, that he would endeavour to surpass it. He adds further, that *Darius* had several conferences with the *Egyptian* priests upon matters of religion and government, and that having learned of them with what gentleness their antient kings used to treat their subjects, he endeavoured, after his return into *Persia*, to form himself upon their model. But *Herodotus*, more worthy of belief in this particular than *Diodorus*, only observes, that *Darius* resolved to make war at the same time upon *Egypt* and *Greece*, and to invade *Greece* in person, while part of his troops were employed in the reduction of *Egypt*.

(32) *Diodor. Sicul. l. i. p. 54 & 85.*

more obliged to comply with this custom as he was already advanced in years, and two of his sons seemed to have a just claim to the crown upon his demise. *Darius* had three sons by the daughter of *Gobryas* his first wife, all born before he came to the crown, and four more by *Atossa* the daughter of *Cyrus*, all born after his accession to the throne. Of the first *Artabazanes* was the eldest, of the latter *Xerxes*; and these two were competitors for the succession. *Artabazanes*, or, as *Justin* calls him, *Artamenes*, urged, that he was the eldest son, and therefore, according to the custom of all nations, ought to be preferred in the succession to the younger. On the other hand, *Xerxes* alledged that he was the son of *Atossa* daughter of *Cyrus*, who had founded the *Persian* monarchy, and claimed the kingdom in the right of his mother, it being more agreeable to justice, said he, that the crown of *Cyrus* should devolve upon one, who was a descendant of *Cyrus*, than upon one that was not. *Darius* had not yet declared in favour of either, when *Damaratus*, king of *Sparta*, being driven out by his subjects, arrived at *Susa*, and hearing of this dispute, secretly suggested to *Xerxes* another argument to support his pretensions; namely, that he was born after his father was invested with the royal dignity, whereas *Artabazanes* was only the son of *Darius* a private man; to him therefore the crown belonged as the king's eldest son, and not to *Artabazanes* the eldest son of *Darius*. He further supported his argument by the example of the *Lacedemonians*, who excluded from the crown the children that were born before their fathers accession, if they had any to succeed born after their advancement to the throne. These reasons appeared so just to *Darius*, that he declared *Xerxes* heir apparent to his crown. Our author is of opinion, that *Xerxes* was named to the succession, not so much by the strength of this plea, as by the influence his mother *Atossa* had over the inclinations of *Darius*, who in this matter was intirely governed by her authority * (Z).

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* Idem, l. vii c. 2, & 3.

(Z) *Justin* and *Plutarch* (33) place this dispute after the decease of *Darius*, and both take notice of the prudent conduct of the two brothers on so nice an occasion. *Artabazanes*, according to them, was absent when the king died, and *Xerxes* immediately took all the ensigns of royalty, exercising all the functions of the regal dignity.

(33) *Justin*. l. ii. c. 10. *Plutarch*. de frat. amo. p. 448.

THE succession being thus settled, and all things ready both for the *Egyptian* and *Grecian* expedition, *Darius* died in the second year of the revolt of *Egypt*, after having reigned 36 years. This prince was endowed with many excellent qualities; his wisdom, clemency, and justice are greatly commended by the antients. He had the honour to have his name recorded in holy writ ^a, as a favourer of God's people, a restorer of the temple, and a promoter of the true worship at *Jerusalem*. His kindness towards the *Israelites* was rewarded with a numerous issue, a long reign, and great prosperity. For though the *Scythian* and *Greek* expeditions proved unsuccessful, yet he was very fortunate in all his other undertakings, having not only restored and entirely settled the empire of *Cyrus*, which had been very much shaken by the unpolitic government of *Cambyfes* and usurpation of *Smerdis*, but also added many great and rich provinces to that prince's conquests, namely, *India*, *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and the isles of the *Ionian* sea (A).

Xerxes, Year of the Flood, 2514. Year before Christ 485. *Xerxes* succeeding his father employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations for the reduction of *Egypt*, which his father had begun. He confirmed, upon his first accession to the crown, all the privileges granted by his father to the *Jews*, and particularly that which assigned them the tribute of *Samaria*, for furnishing them victims to be offered in the temple ^b.

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^a Ezra iv. Haggai and Zechar.

^b Joseph. antiquit. l. xi. c. 5.

ty. But upon his brother's returning home, he quitted the diadem and tiara, went out to meet him, and shewed him all imaginable civility. They agreed to make their uncle *Artabanes* the arbitrator of their difference, and to acquiesce, without any farther appeal, to his decision. During the whole time this dispute lasted, all the demonstrations of an entire and fraternal affection passed between the two competitors. And when it was decided, as the one did not insult, so the other did not repine or express any dissatisfaction at the sentence, but immediately prostrating himself before him, acknowledged him for his master, and placed him upon the throne with his own hand. He continued all his life firmly attached to his interest, and at last died in his service in the battle of *Salamis*.

(A) The *Jews* (34) have a tradition, that the prophets *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, and *Malachi*, died in the last year of *Darius*, and that on their death the spirit of prophecy ceased among the *Jews*,

(34) *Abraham Zacutus* in *Juchasin*. *David Ganz* in *Zemachus*. *David. Seder, Olam, Zuta, &c.*

IN the second year of his reign he marched against the *Egyptians*, and having reduced the rebels, and brought the country to a worse condition of slavery than what they had felt under his predecessors, he appointed his brother *Achæmenes* governor of that province, and returned to *Susa*. Puffed up with this success against the *Egyptians*, he determined to invade *Greece*. But before he engaged in an enterprize of that importance, he thought fit to assemble his council, and take the advice of the most illustrious persons of his court. When they were assembled, he laid before them the design he had of invading *Greece*, and acquainted them with the motives that prompted him to that expedition (B). *Mardonius*, the same person who had been so unsuccessful in the reign of *Darius*, hoping that the command of the army would be be-

which was the *sealing up of vision and prophecy* spoke of by *Daniel* (35). And misled by the same tradition they tell us, that the kingdom of *Persia* ended the same year; for they confound this *Darius* with the other who was conquered by *Alexander*, and will have the *Persian* empire to have lasted only 52 years, which they reckon thus: *Darius* the *Mede* reigned one year, *Cyrus* three, *Cambyses*, according to them the *Abasuerus* who married *Esther*, 32 years. This last *Darius* they take to be the same with *Artaxerxes*, who sent *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* to *Jerusalem*, to restore the *Jews* to their antient state. For they tell us, that *Artaxerxes* was a name common to the *Persian* kings, as that of *Pharaoh* was to those of *Egypt*. This shews how little they were acquainted with the *Persian* history; and their countryman *Josephus* seems to have been as much in the dark, with respect to *Persia*, as they were.

(B) These were, the desire of following the footsteps of his predecessors, who had distinguished their names and reigns by noble enterprizes; the obligation he was under to be revenged on the *Athenians*, who without any provocation had fallen upon *Sardis*, and burnt down the sacred groves and temples; the eager desire he had to wipe off the dishonour his country had received at *Marathon*; and lastly, the prospect of many great advantages that would accrue to him from this war, which would be attended by the conquest of *Europe*, the most rich and fertile country in the universe. He added, that this war had been resolved on by his father *Darius*, and that he meant only to execute his designs. He concluded his speech with promising ample rewards to such as should distinguish themselves in this expedition, and desiring them to deliver their opinions in the matter with freedom (36).

(35) *Dan.* ix. 24.(36) *Hecdot.* l. vii. c. 5, 6.

flowed upon him, not only approved of the king's determination, but extolled him above all the kings that had preceded him, and endeavoured to set forth the indispensable necessity they all lay under of revenging the dishonour done to the *Persian* name at *Sardis* and *Marathon*. The rest of the council, perceiving that the flattering discourse of *Mardonius* pleased the king, durst not venture to contradict it, but all kept silence for some time. At last *Artabanus*, the king's uncle, a prince venerable both for his age and prudence, addressing *Xerxes*, used all his endeavours to divert him from his present resolution, and at the same time reproached *Mardonius* with want of sincerity, and shewed how much he was to blame for desiring rashly to engage the nation in a war, which nothing but his own ambitious and self-interested views could tempt him to advise. He concluded with these words: "If
 " a war be resolved upon, let the king remain in *Persia*, and
 " our children be deposited in his hands. Then go on with
 " your expedition attended by the best forces you can choose,
 " and in what numbers you think fit. If the issue be favour-
 " able, I am willing to forfeit my own life and the lives of
 " my children. But on the contrary, if the event be such as
 " I have foretold, then let your children suffer death, and
 " you also, if ever you return". *Artabanus* expressed his sentiments in very respectful and inoffensive terms; but nevertheless *Xerxes* was extremely offended, and replied with indignation, that if *Artabanus* were not his uncle he should suffer that moment the due punishment for such an audacious behaviour, and commanded him to stay at home among the women, whom he too much resembled, while he marched at the head of his troops where his duty and glory called him. However, when the first emotion of his anger was past, he owned, that he had been to blame for treating his uncle with such harsh language; and was not ashamed to repair his fault, by openly confessing, that the heat of his youth and want of experience had made him trespass against the regard that was due to a prince so worthy of respect as *Artabanus* c. At the same time he declared, that he was ready to follow his advice, and lay aside the design of invading *Greece*, notwithstanding a phantom had appeared to him the night before in his sleep, and warmly exhorted him to undertake the war (C). All
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c. Idem, l. vii. c. 6, 7.

(C) *Herodotus* tells us, that *Xerxes*, reflecting in the night-time on the opinion of *Artabanus*, was very much perplexed, and concluded

the *Persians*, who composed the council, were overjoy'd to hear the king speak in that manner, and prostrating themselves before him, strove to outdo each other in extolling the prudence of his conduct. But he did not long continue in that mind; nay *Artabanus* himself, the only man who had openly disapproved the expedition, whether frightened by a dream, or dreading the king's displeasure, became a most sanguine and zealous promoter of the war ^d.

Xerxes, being now resolved to attack *Greece*, that he might omit nothing which could contribute to the success of his undertaking, entered into an alliance with the *Carthaginians*, who were at that time the most powerful people of the

^d Idem, *ibid.* c. 8, 9, &c.

cluded at last, that a war with *Greece* could not turn to his advantage. Having thus altered his resolution he fell asleep, and saw in a dream a man of an uncommon stature and beauty standing by him, and uttering these words: Have you then changed your design of leading an army into *Greece*, after having ordered the *Persians* to assemble their forces? You have not done well to alter your resolution, nor will you find any man of your opinion. Resume therefore without delay the enterprize you determined to undertake. The *Phantom*, having pronounced these words, disappeared; and the next morning *Xerxes*, neglecting his dream, summoned the council, and acquainted them, that he had altered his mind with regard to the *Grecian* expedition, and wished them joy of the advantages of peace which they were to reap at home. But the night following the same *Phantom* appeared again to *Xerxes*, telling him, that if he did not undertake without delay a war against *Greece*, he should become little and contemptible in as short a time as he had been raised to greatness and power. The king, terrified with this second dream, sent for *Artabanus*, acquainted him with what had happened, and entreated him to put on the royal robes, to sit on the throne, and pass the night in his bed. *Artabanus* at first begged to be excused as not deserving the honour of sitting in the king's throne; but being pressed by *Xerxes*, who was persuaded, that if the dream was from the gods *Artabanus* would see the same vision, he at last complied with his desire and cloathed himself with the royal robes. As he slept in the king's bed, the same *Phantom* appeared to him, threatening him with the greatest calamities, if he continued to oppose the king's intentions. This so terrified *Artabanus*, that he came over to the king's first opinion, believing, that there was something divine in these repeated visions, and the war against *Greece* was resolved on (37).

(37) *Idem*, l. vii. c. 8, 9, &c.

west, whereby it was agreed, that while the *Persians* invaded *Greece*, the *Carthaginians* should fall upon the *Greek* colonies in *Sicily* and *Italy*, that thereby they might be diverted from helping each other. The *Carthaginians* appointed *Hamilcar* their general, who not only raised what forces he could in *Afric*, but with the money sent him by *Xerxes* hired a great many mercenaries in *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Italy*; so that his army consisted of 300,000 men, besides a proportionable number of ships for transporting his forces and the necessary provisions*. And thus *Xerxes*, agreeable to the prophecy of *Daniel*†, having by his strength through his riches stirred up all the nations of the then known world against the realm of *Greece*; that is, all the west under the command of *Hamilcar*, and all the east under his own banners, set out from *Susa* to enter upon this war in the fifth year of his reign, after having spent three years in making vast preparations throughout all the provinces of his wide-spreading empire. From *Susa* he marched to *Sardis*, which was the place appointed for the general rendezvous of all his land-forces, while his navy advanced along the coasts of *Asia Minor* towards the *Hellepont*.

Two things *Xerxes* commanded to be done before he came to the sea-side; the one was a passage to be cut through mount *Athos*. This mountain reaches a great way into the sea in the form of a peninsula, and is joined to the land by an isthmus twelve furlongs over. The sea in this place is very tempestuous, and the *Persian* fleet had formerly suffered shipwreck in doubling this promontory. To prevent the like disaster *Xerxes* caused a passage to be cut through the mountain broad enough to let two galleys, with three banks of oars each, pass in front. By this means he severed from the continent the cities of *Dion*, *Olophyxus*, *Acrothoon*, *Thysus*, and *Clione*. Our author observes, that *Xerxes* undertook this enterprize only out of ostentation, and to perpetuate the memory of his name, since he might, with far less trouble, have caused his fleet to be conveyed over the *Isthmus*, as was the practice in those days * (D).

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* DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi. p. 1.
ubi sup. c. 34. & seq.

† Dan. xi. 2.

* HERODOT.

(D) This prince, believing that the very elements were under his command, wrote to mount *Athos* in the following terms; *Athos, thou proud and aspiring mountain, that liftest up thy head to the very skies, I advise thee not to be so audacious as to put rocks and stones, that*
cannot

HE likewise commanded a bridge of boats to be laid over the *Hellepont*, for the passing of his forces from *Asia* into *Europe*. The sea, which separates *Sestos* and *Abydos*, where the bridge was built, is seven furlongs over. The work was carried on with great expedition by the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians*, who had no sooner finished it, but a violent storm arising broke it in pieces, and dispersed or dashed against the shore the vessels of which it was composed; which when *Xerxes* heard, he fell into such a violent transport of anger, that he commanded 300 stripes to be inflicted on the sea, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it, enjoining those who

cannot be cut, in the way of my workmen. If thou makest that opposition, I will cut thee intirely down, and throw thee headlong into the sea (38). Our modern travellers tell us, that they can perceive no traces of this great work, and most of them are of *Juvenal's* opinion expressed in these words; *Perforatus Athos, & quicquid Græcia mendax audet in historia*. The directors of this enterprize were *Bubaris* the son of *Megabyxus*, and *Artacheus* the son of *Arbæus*, both *Persians*. It was carried on in the following manner: All the forces on board the fleet were employed in the undertaking; they first drew a line before the city of *Sana*, situated at the foot of mount *Athos* towards the land, and then divided the ground among themselves, each nation having their portion allotted them. When the trench was considerably sunk, those who were at the bottom continued to dig, delivering the earth to their companions standing on ladders, who handed it to such as stood higher, till it was conveyed to those that waited to receive it at the edge of the canal, and by them carried to another place. Our author observes (39), that by digging perpendicularly, and making the bottom of equal breadth with the top, all the workmen except the *Phœnicians* had double the labour, by reason the earth fell down continually in great quantities from the upper parts. But the *Phœnicians* opened the ground, which was assigned to them, twice as large as others had done, and sloped the ground gradually till they came to the bottom. In a large meadow adjoining to this place there was a court of justice and a market, furnished with corn and other necessities brought from *Asia*. This work does not seem to us so very surprising and incredible, as some would make it, when we consider the number of hands and the time that were employed in perfecting it. For *Herodotus* tells us, that three whole years were spent in the undertaking, and an incredible number of workmen obliged to labour day and night in their turns. Besides, the canal was not cut through, as *Juvenal* seems to insinuate, but, behind mount *Athos*, where the *Isthmus* was but a mile and a half over, and broad enough only to let two galleys pass in front.

(38) *Plutarch. de ira cobib. p. 455.*(39) *Idem, ibid. c. 34.*

were

were trusted with the execution of his orders to pronounce these words: *Thou salt and bitter element, thy master has condemned thee to this punishment for offending him without cause, and is resolved to pass over thee in spite of thy billows and insolent resistance.* The extravagant folly and madness of this prince did not stop here; he commanded the heads of those who had the direction of the work to be struck off^s.

IN their room he appointed more experienced architects to build two other bridges, one for the army, and the other for the beasts of burden and the baggage. When the whole work was compleated, and the vessels, which formed the bridges, secured against the violence of the winds and the current of the water, *Xerxes* departed from *Sardis*, where the army had wintered, and directed his march to *Abydos*. When he arrived at that city, he desired to see all his forces together, and to that end ascending a stately edifice of white stone, which the *Abydenians* had built on purpose to receive him in a manner suitable to his greatness, he had a free prospect of the coast, seeing at one view both his fleet and land-forces. The sea was covered with his ships, and the large plains of *Abydos*, with his troops quite down to the shore. While he was thus surveying with his own eyes the vast extent of his power, and deeming himself the most happy of mortals, his joy being all on a sudden turned into grief, he burst out into a flood of tears, which *Artabanus* perceiving asked him, what had made him in a few moments pass from an excess of joy to so great a grief? The king replied, that considering the shortness of human life he could not restrain his tears; for of all these numbers of men not one, said he, will be alive a hundred years hence. *Artabanus*, who neglected no opportunity of instilling into the young prince's mind sentiments of kindness towards his people, finding him touched with a sense of tenderness and humanity, endeavoured to make him sensible of the obligation that is incumbent upon princes to alleviate the sorrows and sweeten the bitterness, which the lives of their subjects are liable to, since it is not in their power to prolong them. In the same conversation *Xerxes* asked his uncle, whether, if he had not seen the vision which made him change his mind, he would still persist in the same opinion and dissuade him from making war upon *Greece*. *Artabanus* sincerely owned, that he still had his fears, and was very uneasy concerning two things, the sea

^s Idem, c. 33—36.

and the land ; the sea, because there were no ports capable of receiving and sheltering such a fleet, if a storm should arise ; the land, because no country could maintain so numerous an army. The king was very sensible of the strength of his reasoning, but, as it was now too late to go back, he made answer ; that in great enterprizes men ought not to enter into so nice a discussion of all the inconveniencies that may attend them ; that bold and daring undertakings, though subject to many evils and dangers, are preferable to inaction, however safe ; that great successes are no otherwise to be obtained than by venturing boldly ; and that if his predecessors had observed such scrupulous and timorous rules of politics, the *Persian* empire would never have attained to so high a degree of glory and grandeur ^b.

ALL things being now in readiness, and a day appointed, for the passing over of the army, as soon as the first rays of the sun began to appear, all sorts of perfumes were burnt upon the bridge, and the way strewed with myrtle. At the same time *Xerxes* pouring a libation into the sea out of a golden cup, and addressing the sun, implored the assistance of that deity, begging, that he might meet with no impediment, so great as to hinder him from carrying his conquering arms to the utmost limits of *Europe*. This done he threw the cup into the *Hellepont*, with a golden bowl and a *Persian* scymetar, and the foot and horse began to pass over that bridge, which was next to the *Euxine*, while the carriages and beasts of burden passed over the other, which was placed nearer the *Ægean* sea. The bridges were boarded and covered over with earth, having rails on each side, that the horses and cattle might not be frightened at the sight of the sea. The army spent seven days and seven nights in passing over, though they marched day and night without intermission, and were by frequent blows obliged to quicken their pace. At the same time the fleet made to the coasts of *Europe*. After the whole army was passed, *Xerxes* advanced with his land-forces through the *Thracian Chersonesus* to *Doriscus*, a city at the mouth of the river *Hebrus* in *Thrace* ; but the fleet steered a quite different course, standing to the westward for the promontory of *Sarpedon*, where they were commanded to attend farther orders. *Xerxes*, having encamped in the large plains of *Doriscus*, and judging them convenient for reviewing and numbering his troops, dispatched orders to his admirals to bring the fleet to the adjacent shore, that he might

^b Idem, *ibid.* c. 45. & seq.

take an account both of his sea and land-forces. His land-army upon the muster was found to consist of one million and seven hundred thousand foot, and fourscore thousand horse, which together with twenty thousand men that conducted the camels and took care of the baggage, amounted to one million eight hundred thousand men. His fleet consisted of twelve hundred and seven large ships, and three thousand galleys and transports; on board of all these vessels there were found to be five hundred seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. So that the whole number of sea and land-forces, which *Xerxes* led out of *Asia* to invade *Greece*, amounted to two millions three hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. Our author tells us, that on his passing the *Hellepont* to enter *Europe*, an inhabitant of that country cried out; O *Jupiter*, why art thou come to destroy *Greece*, in the shape of a *Persian* and under the name of *Xerxes*, with all mankind following thee; whereas thy own power is sufficient to do this without their assistance? After he had entered *Europe*, the nations on this side the *Hellepont*, that submitted to him, added to his land-forces, three hundred thousand more, and two hundred and twenty ships to his fleet, on board of which were twenty four thousand men. So that the whole number of his forces, when he arrived at *Thermopylæ*, was two millions six hundred and forty one thousand six hundred and ten men, without including servants, eunuchs, women, sutlers, and other people of that sort, who were computed to equal the number of the forces: so that the whole multitude of persons, that followed *Xerxes* in this expedition, amounted to five millions two hundred eighty three thousand two hundred and twenty † (E). Among these millions of men there was

† HERODOT. l. vii. c. 56—99—148—187.

(E) This is the computation of *Herodotus*, and with him agree *Plutarch* (40) and *Isocrates* (41); but *Diodorus Siculus* (42), *Pliny* (43), *Ælian* (44), and others fall far short of this number, making the army, which *Xerxes* led against *Greece*, not much more numerous than that with which his father invaded *Scythia*. These probably mistook the one for the other. *Herodotus* is the most ancient author that has written of this war, and lived in the very age wherein it happened; wherefore we have preferred his account to that of others, the rather, because we find it to be the general opinion of all the antients, whether *Greeks* or *Latins*, that this was the greatest army that ever was brought into the field; and the ac-

(40) *Plutarch. in Themist.* (41) *Isocr. in Panathen.* (42) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xi.* (43) *Plin. l. xxxiii c. 10.* (44) *Ælian var. histor. l. xii. c. 3.*

was not one that could vie with *Xerxes* either in comeliness or stature, or that seemed more worthy of that great empire. But this is a poor commendation when it is not accompanied with other qualifications. Accordingly *Justin*, after he has mentioned the number of his troops, emphatically concludes, *but this vast body wanted a head*. Besides the subordinate generals of each nation, who commanded the troops of their respective countries, the whole army was under the command of six *Persian* generals, viz. *Mardonius* the son of *Gobryas*, *Triataechmes* the son of *Artabanus*, *Smerdones* the son of *Otanes*, (the two latter were cousins to *Xerxes*), *Masistes* the son of *Darius* by *Atossa*, *Gergys* the son of *Ariazus*, and *Megabyzus* the son of the celebrated *Zopyrus*. The ten thousand *Persians*, who were called the immortal band, obeyed no other commander but *Hydarnes*. The fleet was commanded by four *Persian* admirals, and likewise the cavalry had their particular generals and commanders.

Xerxes, having thus numbered his sea and land-forces at *Doriscus*, marched from thence through *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Thessaly* towards *Attica*, ordering his fleet to follow him along the coast, and to regulate their motions according to the motions of the army. Wherever he came he found provisions prepared before-hand, pursuant to the orders he had sent; and each city was obliged to entertain him, which cost im-

count of *Herodotus* best agrees with the verses engraved on the monument of those *Greeks* that were slain at *Thermopylae*, where it is said, that they fought against three millions, as we read the inscription in *Herodotus*, or against two, as we find it in *Diodorus Siculus* (45). *Josephus* (46) tells us, that his countrymen too bore a part in this expedition, and proves it from a passage out of *Chærilus* (47), where it is said, that *Xerxes* was attended by a *People who used the Phœnician language, and dwelt in the Solymæan land on hills near a great lake*. As *Jerusalem* was also called *Solyma*, and all the country thereabout was mountainous, and lay near the great lake *Asphaltites*, commonly called the lake of *Sodom*, this description seems plainly to suit the *Jews*. But *Scaliger* (48), *Cunæus* (49), and *Bochart* (50), understand those verses of the *Solyms* in *Pisidia*. However, *Salmasius* (51) maintains the contrary opinion; and truly it is not at all likely, that when *Xerxes* obliged all the other nations to send their quotas of men, the *Jews* alone should be exempted. Whether therefore those mentioned by *Chærilus* were *Jews* or not, it must be allowed, that they also bore a part in this expedition.

(45) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 26.* (46) *Joseph. contra Apion. l. 10.*
 (47) *Chæril. ibid.* (48) *Scaliger in notis ad frag.* (49) *Cunæus, de Rep. Hebr. l. ii. c. 18.* (50) *Bochart. Geogr. Sacra, Part II l. i. c. 2.* (51) *Salmas. in Linguae Hellenisticæ ossilegio.*

menſe ſums, and gave occaſion to the ſaying of a citizen of *Abdera*, after the king's departure, that his countrymen might thank the gods for *Xerxes's* moderation in being ſatisfied with one meal a day ^g.

IN the mean time *Lacedæmon* and *Athens*, the two moſt powerful cities of *Greece*, againſt which *Xerxes* was moſt exaſperated, having had intelligence of the enemy's preparations and motions, ſent ambaffadors to *Argos*, to *Sicily*, to the iſlands of *Corcyra* and *Crete*, to deſire ſuccours and conclude a league againſt the common enemy. The people of *Argos* offered a very conſiderable number of troops, on condition they ſhould have an equal ſhare with the *Lacedæmonians* in the command. The latter conſented, that the king of *Argos* ſhould have the ſame authority as either of the kings of *Sparta*; but this offer did not ſatisfy the *Argians*, who thereupon ordered the ambaffadors to depart the territories of *Argos* before ſun-ſet. From *Argos* they proceeded to *Sicily*, where *Gelo*, the moſt powerful prince in all the *Greek* colonies, offered to aſſiſt them with a very numerous army and a mighty fleet, provided they appointed him commander in chief of all their forces both by ſea and land. This propoſal was rejected by the *Athenian* ambaffadors, who told him, that they did not want a general, but an army, and without preſſing him any further departed. The inhabitants of *Corcyra*, now *Corfu*, immediately put to ſea with a fleet of 60 ſhips, but advanced no farther than the coaſts of *Laconia*, where they waited the iſſue of an engagement, deſigning to ſide afterwards with the conqueror. The people of *Crete*, having conſulted the oracle to know what reſolution they ſhould take on this occaſion, abſolutely reſuſed to enter into the league. Thus were the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* abandoned by all their countrymen, except the *Theſpians* and *Plateans*, who ſent ſmall bodies to their aſſiſtance. The firſt thing they took care of in ſo critical a conjuncture was, to put an end to all inteſtine diviſions and diſcords; and accordingly a peace was concluded between the *Athenians* and the people of *Ægina*, who were actually at war. In the next place they appointed a general, the *Athenians* chooſing *Themiſtocles*, and the *Spartans* conſerring the ſupreme command of their forces upon *Leonidas* one of their kings. The only thing that now remained was, to determine in what place they ſhould meet the *Persians*, in order to diſpute their entrance into *Greece*. After various propoſals and diſputes it was reſolved, that they ſhould ſend a body of four thouſand men to *Thermopylæ*, which is a narrow paſs, being but 25 foot broad, between the mountains that

^g Idem, *ibid.* c. 108—132.

divide *Thessaly* from *Greece*, and the only way through which the *Persians* could enter *Attica*, and advance by land to *Athens*. The command of this small body was given to *Leonidas*, a prince of extraordinary courage, who accordingly marched with all possible expedition to his post, determined either to stop the innumerable army of *Xerxes* with that handful of men, or die in the attempt. Such was also the resolution of the 300 *Spartans* who attended him, and had been all chosen by himself.

IN the mean time *Xerxes*, advancing near the straits, was strangely surprised to find that the *Greeks* were resolved to dispute his passage. For he had always flattered himself, that on his approach they would betake themselves to flight, nor attempt to oppose his innumerable forces with so small a body, their whole army consisting of but eleven thousand two hundred men, and of these scarce four thousand being employed to defend the pass. He sent out a scout on horseback to view their numbers, and discover how they were encamped. The scout brought back word, that the *Lacedemonians* were, some performing their military exercises, and others putting their hair in order ; for their custom was, as *Damaratus* (F), who was then in the *Persian* camp, informed the king, to comb and put in order their hair when they were to expose their lives to the greatest dangers. However, *Xerxes*, entertaining still some hopes of their flight, waited four days, without undertaking any thing, on purpose to give them time to retreat. During this time he used his utmost endeavours to gain and corrupt *Leonidas*, promising to make him master of all *Greece*, if he would come over to his party. His offers being rejected by that public-spirited prince with contempt and indignation, the king ordered him by a herald to deliver up his arms. *Leonidas*, in a style and with a spirit truly *Laconical*, answer-

(F) *Damaratus* was one of the two kings of *Sparta*, who, being banished by the adverse party, had sought refuge at the *Persian* court, where he was entertained with the greatest marks of honour and distinction. As the courtiers were one day expressing their surprise, that a king should suffer himself to be banished, *Damaratus* told them, that at *Sparta* the laws were more powerful than the king. This prince was in great esteem at the *Persian* court, but neither the injustice of the *Spartan* citizens, nor the kind treatment of the *Persian* king, could make him forget his country. He no sooner knew that *Xerxes* designed to invade *Greece*, but he secretly acquainted the *Greeks* with his resolution, and on all occasions spoke his sentiments to the king with a noble freedom and dignity (52).

(52) *Plutarch. in Apoph. Lacon. p. 220.*

ed him in a few words ; *Come thyself and take them* ^b. *Xerxes* at this answer, transported with rage commanded the *Medes* and *Cissians* to march against them, take them all alive, and bring them in fetters to him. The *Medes*, not able to stand the shock of the brave *Greeks*, soon betook themselves to flight, and shewed, as our author observes, that *Xerxes* had many men but few soldiers. In their room *Hydarnes* was ordered to advance with that body which was called *immortal*, and consisted of ten thousand chosen men. But when they came to close with the *Greeks*, they succeeded no better than the *Medes* and *Cissians*, being obliged to retire with great slaughter. The next day, the *Persians*, reflecting on the small number of their enemies, and supposing so many of them to be wounded that they could not possibly maintain a second fight, resolved to make another attempt, but could not by any efforts make the *Greeks* give way ; on the contrary, they were themselves put to a shameful flight. The valour of the *Greeks* exerted itself on this occasion in such an extraordinary manner, that *Xerxes* is said to have three times leaped out of his throne, apprehending the entire destruction of his army ^c.

Xerxes, having lost all hopes of forcing his way through troops that were determined to conquer or die, was extremely perplexed and doubtful what measures he should take in this posture of affairs ; when one *Ephialtes* a *Melian*, in expectation of a great reward, came to him, and discovered a secret passage to the top of the hill, which overlooked and commanded the *Spartan* forces. The king immediately ordered *Hydarnes* thither with his select body of ten thousand *Persians*, who marching all night arrived at break of day, and possessed themselves of that advantageous post. The *Phoceans*, who defended this pass, being over-powered by the enemies numbers, retired with precipitation to the very top of the mountain, prepared to die gallantly. But *Hydarnes*, neglecting to pursue them, marched down the mountain with all possible expedition, in order to attack those who defended the straights in the rear. *Leonidas*, being now apprised, that it was impossible to bear up against the enemy, obliged the rest of his allies to retire, but stayed himself with the *Thespians*, *Thebans*, and three hundred *Lacedemonians*, all resolved to die with their leader, who being told by the oracle, that either *Sparta* should be destroyed or the king lose his life, determined, without the least hesitation, to sacrifice himself for his country. The *Thebans* indeed remained against their inclination, being de-

^b PLUTARCH. in Apoph. Lacon. p. 225. ^c HERODOT. c. 210. DIODOR. SICUL. p. 6. CRESIAS in Persicis, c. 23.

tained by *Leonidas* as hostages, for they were suspected to favour the *Persians*. The *Thebians* with their leader *Demophilus* could not by any means be prevailed upon to abandon *Leonidas* and the *Spartans*. The augur *Megistias*, who had foretold the event of this enterprize, being pressed by *Leonidas* to retire, sent home his only son, but remained himself and died by *Leonidas*. Those who stayed did not feed themselves with any hopes of conquering or escaping, but looked upon *Thermopylæ* as their graves. And when *Leonidas*, exhorting them to take some nourishment, said, that they should all sup together with *Pluto*, with one accord they set up a shout of joy, as if they had been invited to a banquet^k.

Xerxes, after pouring out a libation at the rising of the sun, began to move with the whole body of his army, as he had been advised by *Ephialtes*. Upon their approach, *Leonidas* advanced to the broadest part of the passage, and fell upon the enemy with such an undaunted courage and resolution, that the *Persian* officers were obliged to stand behind the divisions they commanded, in order to prevent the flight of their men, who, not being able to stand so violent a shock, would, without that precaution, have immediately turned their backs. Great numbers of the enemies falling into the sea were drowned, others were trampled under foot by their own men, and a great many killed by the *Greeks*, who, knowing they could not avoid death, upon the arrival of those who were advancing to fall upon the rear, exerted their utmost efforts. In this action fell the brave *Leonidas*, which *Abrocomes* and *Hyparantbas*, two of the brothers of *Xerxes*, observing, advanced with great resolution to seize his body and carry it in triumph to *Xerxes*. But the *Lacedemonians*, more eager to defend it than their own lives, repulsed the enemy four times, killed both the brothers of *Xerxes* with many other commanders of distinction, and rescued the body of their beloved general out of the enemies hands. But in the mean time the army, that was led by the treacherous *Ephialtes*, advancing to attack the rear, they retired to the narrowest place of the passage, and drawing all together, except the *Thebans*, posted themselves on a rising ground. In this place they made head against the *Persians*, who poured in upon them on all sides, till at length not vanquished, but oppressed and overwhelmed by numbers, they all fell, except one who escaped to *Sparta*, where he was treated as a coward and a traitor to his country, every one avoiding his company, and giving him the ignominious nick-

^k Idem 212. DIODOR. Sicul. p. 7. Ctesias ubi supra. c. 24.

name of *Aristodemus the run-away* (G) ; but not long after he made a glorious reparation of his fault in the battle of *Platæa*, where he distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner. Those who signalized themselves most among the *Lacedæmonians* were *Alpheus* and *Maron*, both sons of *Orisiphantus*, among the *Thebians* *Dithyrambus*, but above all *Leonidas* and *Dieneces* ; *Dieneces* was a *Spartan*, and distinguished himself on this occasion above all his countrymen, the king excepted. When a *Trachinian* told him before the battle that the army of the *Barbarians* was so numerous, that with one flight of their arrows they would hide the sun, he answered, without betraying the least fear, that he was glad to hear it, because he liked to fight in the shade. *Xerxes* enraged against *Leonidas*, to the last degree, for daring to oppose him, caused his head to be struck off, and his body to be put upon a cross,

(G) Some say, as our author informs us (53), that *Eurytus* and *Aristodemus*, both *Spartans*, being obliged by a violent distemper in their eyes to retire to *Alpeni*, were there some time in suspense whether they should return to *Sparta*, or to *Thermopylæ*, and there die with the rest of their country-men. At last *Eurytus*, hearing that the *Persians* had gained the top of the mountain, called for his armour, and ordered his servant to lead him into the field of battle (for he had almost quite lost his sight) where he was killed. But *Aristodemus* wanting courage staid at *Alpeni*, and after the battle returned safe to *Sparta*. Others say, that both *Eurytus* and *Aristodemus* had been dispatched some-whither with orders from the army, and that the latter might have been back before the fight, but delayed on purpose to avoid the danger, whereas his companion arrived in due time and died in the field. It is also said, that another of the three hundred *Spartans*, by name *Pantites*, survived this action and returned to *Sparta*. But not being able to bear the reproaches of the *Spartans* he laid violent hands on himself. As for the *Thebans* and their general *Leontides*, they were obliged for some time to fight against the *Persians* in conjunction with the other *Greeks*. But they no sooner saw the *Persians* descending the hill to attack them in the rear, but they abandoned the rest of their allies, and approaching the *Persians* with their arms stretched out, told them, that they had always favoured the *Persians*, that they had been the first among the *Greeks* to present them with earth and water, and that they were come to *Thermopylæ* against their will, and no ways guilty of the loss they had sustained. Thus the *Thebans* saved their lives, though the enemies killed many of them as they advanced to surrender themselves. Many others were by command of *Xerxes* branded with the royal mark as slaves, and among these was *Leontides* their general (54).

(53) *Herodot. ubi supra.*(54) *Idem, ubi supra.*

which barbarous treatment redounded more to his own ignominy than to the dishonour of that great hero. Some time after a magnificent monument was erected at *Thermopylae* in honour of those brave defenders of *Greece*, with two inscriptions, the one general and relating to all those who died on this occasion, importing, that the *Greeks* of *Peloponnesus* to the number only of four thousand made head against the *Persian* army consisting of three millions: the other related to the *Spartans* in particular, and was composed by the poet *Simonides* to this purport: *Go, passenger, and acquaint the Spartans, that we died here in obedience to their just commands.* At those tombs a funeral oration was yearly pronounced in honour of the dead heroes, and public games performed with great solemnity, wherein none but the *Lacedaemonians* and *Thebians* had any share, to shew that they alone were concerned in the glorious defence of *Thermopylae* ¹(H).

Xerxes on this occasion lost 20,000 men; and being sensible that so great a loss was capable of alarming and discouraging his friends, he caused all those that were killed, except a thousand, whose bodies he left in the field, to be privately buried, and then proceeded in his march through *Bæotia* to *Attica*, where he arrived four months after he had passed the *Hellepont*.

THE very same day, on which happened the glorious action at *Thermopylae*, the two fleets engaged at *Artemisium* a promontory of *Eubæa*. That of the *Greeks* consisted of 271 sail; but the *Persian* fleet was far more numerous, though they had lost a few days before, in a violent storm which continued four days, above 400 ships. Notwithstanding this loss they sent 200 ships with orders to sail round the island of *Eubæa* and encompass the *Grecian* fleet, that none of their ships might escape. The *Greeks*, having intelligence of this design, set sail in the night-time in order to attack them by day-break. But having missed this squadron, they advanced to *Aphetae* where the whole *Persian* fleet lay, and after several encounters, in which the *Athenians* gained considerable advantages,

¹ Idem, *ibid.* c. 238. & seq.

(H) There was besides these inscriptions a third relating to the augur *Megistias*, expressed in these words: *Under this stone lies divine Megistias slain by the Medes; with an undaunted heart he saw his fate approaching, and refused to live, when the Spartans had resolved to die* (55).

(55) Idem, *ibid.* & seq.

they

they came to a general engagement, which was very obstinate, and the success pretty equal. However, the *Greeks* found it necessary, their ships having suffered a great deal, to retire to some safer place to refit, and accordingly steered their course to the straits of *Salamis*, a small island very near, and over-against, *Attica*. Though the engagement at *Artemisium* did not bring matters to an absolute decision, yet it contributed greatly to encourage the *Athenians*, who were now convinced, that the enemies, notwithstanding their great number, were not invincible ^m.

As *Xerxes* entered *Attica*, the *Athenians*, not being in a condition to make head against so powerful an army, were prevailed upon by *Themistocles* to put all the citizens on board the fleet, to secure their wives and children in *Salamis*, *Ægina*, and *Troezene*, and to abandon the city of *Athens*, which they were no-ways in a condition to defend. The *Persians*, arriving in the neighbourhood of *Athens*, wasted the whole country putting all to fire and sword. A detachment was sent to plunder the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, which was exceeding rich, by reason of the many offerings and donations sent thither from all the parts of the east. If we may believe what *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus* relate of this matter, the *Persians* no sooner advanced near the temple of *Minerva*, but a violent storm arising, accompanied with impetuous winds, thunder, and lightning, two great rocks rolled down from mount *Parnassus*, and crushed the greatest part of that detachment. The main body of the army arriving at *Athens* found it deserted by all its inhabitants, except a small number of citizens, who, literally interpreting *Apollo's* oracle, *That Athens should be saved by wooden walls*, had fortified that place with boards and palisadoes. They defended themselves with incredible courage and resolution, and at last, as they would hearken to no terms of accommodation whatsoever, were all cut in pieces. *Xerxes* burnt the city and all its temples down to the ground, and immediately dispatched a messenger to *Susa*, with the agreeable news of his success, to his uncle *Artabanus*, in whose hands he had left the government during his absence ⁿ.

IN the mean time the *Grecian* fleet being reinforced by a great many ships, which joined them from several parts of *Greece*, to the number of 300 sail, *Eurybiades*, commander in chief of all the naval forces, summoned a council, in order

^m HERODOT. l. viii. c. 1—18.

ⁿ HERODOT. l. viii. c. 51:



to consult about the measures that seemed most proper in the present state of affairs. In this council a great debate arose among the commanders; some, and among these *Eurybiades*, were for retiring to the *Isthmus of Corinth*, that they might be nearer the army, which guarded that passage under the command of *Cleombrotus* the brother of *Leonidas*. Others, at the head of whom was *Themistocles* who commanded the *Athenian* fleet, were for remaining at *Salamis*, the most advantageous place they could choose to engage the numerous fleet of the enemies. For in the straits of *Salamis* the *Persians* could not, by reason of the narrowness of the sea, extend their line beyond that of the *Greeks*, and consequently would be obliged to fight upon equal terms, without reaping any advantage from their numbers. After many warm disputes, *Eurybiades* with all the other commanders came over to the opinion of *Themistocles*, fearing that the *Athenians*, whose ships made up above one half of the fleet, would separate from the allies, if they abandoned that post, as *Themistocles* in his speech had insinuated. It was therefore unanimously resolved, that in the straits of *Salamis* they should wait for the *Persian* fleet, and there engage them °.

A council of war likewise was held on the side of the *Persians*, in order to determine whether they should hazard a naval engagement, or no. All the commanders were for engaging, because they knew this advice to be most agreeable to the king's inclinations. Queen *Artemisia* was the only person that opposed this resolution. She was queen of *Halicarnassus*, and followed *Xerxes* in this war with five ships, the best equipped of any in the fleet, except those of the *Sidonians*. This princess distinguished herself on all occasions by her singular courage, and still more by her prudence and conduct; for our author observes, that there was not one who gave *Xerxes* so good advice as this heroine. She represented, in the council of war we are speaking of, the dangerous consequences of engaging a people that were far more expert in maritime affairs than the *Persians*, alledging, that the loss of a battle at sea would be attended with the ruin of their army; whereas, by spinning out the war and advancing into the heart of *Greece*, they would create jealousies and divisions among their enemies, who would separate from one another, in order to defend each of them their own country, and that then the king might, almost without striking a blow, make himself master of *Greece*.

• Idem, l. viii. c. 56. & seq.

This advice, though very prudent, was not followed, but an engagement unanimously resolved upon. *Xerxes*, in order to encourage his men with his presence, caused a throne to be erected on the top of an eminence, whence he might safely behold whatever happened, having several scribes about him to write down the names of such, as should signalize themselves against the enemies. The approach of the *Persian* fleet, with the news that a strong detachment from the army was marching against *Cleombrotus* who defended the *Isthmus*, struck such a terror into the *Peloponnesians*, that they could not by any entreaties be prevailed upon to stay any longer at *Salamis*. Being therefore determined to put to sea and sail to the *Isthmus*, *Themistocles* privately dispatched a trusty friend to the *Persian* commanders, informing them of the intended flight, and exhorting them to send part of their fleet round the island in order to prevent their escape. The same messenger assured *Xerxes*, that *Themistocles*, who had sent him that advice, designed to join the *Persians*, as soon as the battle began with all the *Athenian* ships. The king, giving credit to all he said, immediately commanded a strong squadron to sail round the island in the night, in order to cut off the enemies flight. Early next morning, as the *Peloponnesians* were preparing to set sail, they found themselves encompassed on all sides by the *Persian* fleet, and were against their will obliged to remain in the straits of *Salamis*, and expose themselves to the same dangers with their allies. The *Grecian* fleet consisted of 380 sail, that of the *Persians* of 2000 and upwards. *Themistocles* avoided the engagement, till a certain wind, which rose regularly every day at the same time and was entirely contrary to the enemy, began to blow. As soon as he found himself favoured by this wind he gave the signal for battle. The *Persians*, knowing that they fought under their king's eye, advanced with great resolution, but the wind blowing directly in their faces, and the largeness and number of their ships embarrassing them in a place so strait and narrow, their courage soon abated; which the *Greeks* observing used such efforts, that in a short time, breaking into the *Persian* fleet, they entirely disordered them, some flying towards *Phalerus*, where their army lay encamped, others saving themselves in the harbours of the neighbouring islands. The *Ionians* were the first that betook themselves to flight. But queen *Artemisia* distinguished herself above all the rest, her ships being the last that fled, which *Xerxes* observing cried out, that the men behaved like women, and the women with the courage and intrepidity of men. The *Athenians*
were

were so incensed against her, that they offered a reward of ten thousand drachmas to any one that should take her alive ; but she in spite of all their efforts got clear of the ships that pursued her, and arrived safe on the coast of *Asia*. In this engagement, which was one of the most memorable actions we find recorded in history, the *Grecians* lost 40 ships, and the *Persians* 200, besides a great many more that were taken with all the men and ammunition they carried. Many of their allies dreading the king's cruelty made the best of their way to their respective countries. *Xerxes*, being under no small apprehension, lest the conquerors should sail to the *Hellepont* and there obstruct his return, left *Mardonius* in *Greece* with an army of 300,000 men, and marched with the rest towards *Thrace* in order to cross the *Hellepont*. As no provisions had been prepared before-hand, his army underwent great hardships during the whole time of his march, which lasted five and forty days. The soldiers were obliged to live upon herbs, and even the bark and leaves of trees, which occasioned innumerable distempers, that swept off the greater part of them. The king finding that his army was not in a condition to pursue the march so expeditiously as he desired, advanced with a small retinue, leaving the rest behind ; but when he arrived at the *Hellepont*, he found the bridge broken down by the violence of the storms, and was reduced to the necessity of crossing over in a fishing-boat. From the *Hellepont* he continued his flight to *Sardis*, where he took up his quarters for the ensuing year ^P.

THE first thing the *Athenians* took care of after the battle was, to send the first-fruits of their victory to *Delphos*, where they enriched the temple with the spoils of those who not long before had pillaged it. Their next thought was to reward those who had signalized themselves above the rest. It was a custom in *Greece*, that after an engagement the commanding officers should declare, who, in their opinion, had most distinguished themselves during the conflict, by writing down the names of the person that deserved the first, and of him who deserved the second prize. On this occasion each captain, being ambitious of that honour, wrote down his own name in the first place, and in the second the name of *Themistocles*, which plainly proved, that he deserved the preference to all. And accordingly he was distinguished with honours which to that time had never been bestowed upon any

^P Idem, c 130.

other, as we shall have occasion to relate in the history of Greece¹.

ABOUT the same time that the actions of *Thermopylæ* and *Salamis* happened, the formidable army of the *Carthaginians*, consisting of 300,000 men, was entirely defeated by *Gelo* king of *Syracuse*. We shall give a particular account of this victory in the history of the *Carthaginians*.

¹ Idem, 117. JUSTIN. l. ii. c. 13.

A N

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A N
Universal HISTORY,
FROM THE
Earliest Account of Time to the Present:
COMPILED from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS;
And ILLUSTRATED with
Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and
Other Tables.

V O L. V.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχισθαι μὴ καταύσι, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐνυήσεις ἀκόπως,
ἀπὸς ἱστορίων συνῆξαι ἐγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



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ON *Xerxes's* departure out of *Greece*, *Mardonius*, having passed the winter in *Thessaly* and *Macedonia*, marched early in the spring into *Bœotia*. From thence he sent *Alexander* king of *Macedon* with very advantageous offers to the people of *Athens*, in order to draw them off from the common alliance. The offers he made were, to rebuild at the king's charges their city, and whatever other edifices had been demolished the year before in *Attica*; to suffer them to live according to their own laws; to reinstate them in all their former possessions, and to add to them whatever other lands they should desire. *Alexander*, as being their antient friend, exhorted them in his own name to lay hold of so favourable an opportunity of resettling their affairs, representing, that they were not in a condition to stand out against so powerful an enemy. But the *Athenians* could not by any means be prevailed upon to desert the interest of

Greece. Whereupon *Mardonius* marched with all his army into *Attica*, wasting and destroying whatever he found in his way. The *Athenians*, not being in a condition to withstand such a torrent, retired to *Salamis*, *Ægina*, and *Træzene*, and the second time abandoned their city. *Mardonius* entered *Athens*, and demolished whatever had escaped his fury the preceding year. In the mean time the joint forces of *Greece* being drawn together on the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, *Mardonius* thought fit to march back into *Bæotia*. For that being an open and level country was more fit for him to engage in than *Attica*, which was rough, craggy, full of hills and narrow passes. On his return into *Bæotia*, he encamped on the banks of the *Asopus*. The *Greeks* followed him thither under the command of *Pausanias*, protector to *Plistarchus* king of *Sparta*, and of *Aristides*, commander in chief of the *Athenians*. The *Persian* army, according to the computation of *Herodotus*, consisted of 350,000, according to *Diodorus* of 500,000 men. That of the *Grecians* did not amount to the number of 110,000. *Mardonius* in order to try the courage of the *Greeks*, sent out his cavalry, in which the main strength of his army consisted, to skirmish with the enemy. The *Megarians*, who were encamped on a plain sustained the first onset; but in spite of all their resolution were forced to give way, being overwhelmed with the enemies arrows. As they were giving ground, a detachment of 300 *Athenians* with a small number of bow-men advanced to their relief. *Masistius*, general of the *Persian* horse, and one highly esteemed in *Persia*, seeing them advance in good order, commanded his cavalry to face about and attack them. The shock was very violent, both parties endeavouring to shew by the issue of this encounter what might be the success of a general engagement. The victory was a long time doubtful, but at last *Masistius* being killed, the *Persians* betook themselves to flight. The death of *Masistius* was greatly lamented by the *Persians*, who, to shew their concern for the loss of so brave a commander, cut off their hair, and likewise the manes of their horses, filling the camp with loud cries and lamentations. After this encounter the two armies continued for the space of ten days, only looking at one another. At last *Mardonius*, who was of a fiery temper, not being able to bear any further delays, and his provisions being almost consumed, called a council of war, in order to deliberate whether they should give battle, or retire till such time as they were supplied with fresh provisions. *Artabazus*, a nobleman of great distinction and experience, was of opinion, that they should not hazard a battle, but retire under the walls of *Thebes*, where they should be

be in a condition to lay in stores of provision and forage. He alledged, that by delaying they might cast a damp upon the ardour of the enemies, and in the mean time by sending rich presents to their leaders prevail upon them to betray the common liberty without hazarding a battle. The *Thebans* were of the same opinion ; but that of *Mardonius*, who was for engaging, prevailed, none of the other commanders daring to contradict him ; and the result of their deliberations was, that they should give battle the next day. *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, who in his heart favoured the *Greeks*, came secretly about midnight into their camp, and informed *Aristides* of all that had passed †.

THE *Greek* generals upon this notice ordered their officers to prepare for battle. Before they engaged *Pausanias* thought fit to change the order of battle, and place the *Athenians*, who were in the left wing, on the right, that they might stand opposite to the *Medes* and *Persians*, whom they had formerly conquered at *Marathon*, while he with his *Spartans* engaged the *Thebans* and other *Greeks* who served in the *Persian* army, and had been often routed by the *Spartans*. But *Mardonius*, upon the intelligence he had of this new disposition, made the like change, which obliged the *Greeks* to return to their former stations ; and the *Persians* likewise ranged their army according to their first disposition. Thus did all that day pass without any action. In the evening the *Greeks* held a council of war, in which it was resolved that they should decamp, and retire to some other place more conveniently situated for water. Night coming on, and the officers endeavouring at the head of the bodies they commanded to make what haste they could, to the new camp that was marked out for them, great confusion happened, some going one way, and some another, without observing any order in their march. At last they stopped near the little city of *Platæa*. *Mardonius*, being informed that the *Greeks* were retired by night, drew up his army in battle-array, and pursued them with great shouts, as if he were not to fight, but to strip and plunder a flying enemy. He did not fail on this occasion to insult *Artabazus*, reproaching him with his cowardly prudence, and the false notions he had conceived of the *Lacedemonians*, who never fled, as he pretended, before the enemy. Having passed the *Asopus*, he came up with the *Lacedemonians* and *Tegeans*, who were separated from the body of the army to the number of 53,000 men. *Pausanias*, finding himself thus attacked by the whole *Persian* army, dispatched a messenger to acquaint

† Idem, l. ix. c. 50, & seq.

the *Athenians*, who had taken another rout, with the danger he was in. The *Athenians* immediately put themselves on their march to succour their distressed allies, but were attacked, and to their great regret prevented by those *Greeks* who sided with the *Persians*. The battle being thus fought in two different places, the *Spartans* were the first who broke into the very centre of the *Persian* army, and after a most obstinate resistance put them to flight. *Mardonius*, mounted on a white horse, signalized himself on this occasion, and, at the head of 1000 chosen men, made a great slaughter of the enemies; but he falling, the whole *Persian* army was easily routed, which those *Greeks*, who had engaged the *Athenians*, hearing, retired with precipitation, leaving the *Athenians* masters of the field. The *Persians* fled to their former camp which they had fortified with an inclosure of wood. The *Lacedemonians* pursued them, but were not able to force the intrenchment, not being accustomed to besiege towns or storm fortified places. The *Athenians*, hearing that the *Persians* were thus shut up in their camp, gave over pursuing the *Greeks*, and hastened to the assistance of the *Lacedemonians*, whom they found busied in forcing the enemies camp with more valour than skill. Wherefore they took upon themselves that labour, and soon made a breach in the wall, through which entering together with the *Lacedemonians*, they made such a dreadful slaughter of the enemies, that of 300,000 scarce 3000 made their escape. *Artabazus*, who from *Mardonius's* imprudent conduct had but too well foreseen the misfortune that beset them, after having distinguished himself in the engagement, made a timely retreat with the 40,000 men he commanded, and being arrived safe at *Byzantium*, from thence passed over into *Asia*. During the whole engagement, the *Spartans* lost but 91 men, the *Tegeans* 16, and the *Athenians* 52. When they came to determine who had behaved with most courage, they all gave judgment in favour of *Aristodemus*, who was the only one that had saved himself at *Thermopylæ*, and had now wiped off the blemish of his former conduct by a most glorious death. The spoil was immense, consisting in vast sums of money, in gold and silver cups, vessels, tables, bracelets, rich beds, and all sorts of furniture. They gave the tenth of all to *Pausanias*, who distinguished himself in a very extraordinary manner, and the others were rewarded, each according to his merit. Thus was *Greece* delivered not only from the present, but all future invasions of the *Persians*, who henceforward never more appeared on this side the *Hellepont* ¹.

¹ *Idem*, c. 88.

THE same day that this battle was fought at *Platæa*, the Grecian fleet gained as memorable a victory at *Mycale*, a promontory in *Asia*, over the remainder of the *Persian* navy. For at the same time that the land-forces of *Greece* rendezvoused on the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, their fleet met at *Ægina*, under the command of *Leostichides* the other king of *Sparta* and *Xantippus* the *Athenian*. Thither ambassadors came to their commanders from the *Ionians*, inviting them into *Asia*, to deliver the *Greek* colonies from the *Persian* yoke. On this invitation they immediately set sail for *Asia*, steering their course by *Delos*, where they were met by other ambassadors from *Samos*, who brought them intelligence, that the *Persian* fleet, which had wintered at *Cume*, was then at *Samos*, where it might easily be destroyed, earnestly entreating them at the same time not to neglect so favourable an opportunity. Hereupon they sailed forthwith to *Samos*, but the *Persian* fleet, receiving timely notice of their design, retired to *Mycale*, where the army lay encamped, consisting of 100,000 men, the remainder of those *Xerxes* had brought back out of *Greece* the year before. Here they drew their ships ashore, and threw up an entrenchment quite round, which they fortified with palisadoes, being determined to sustain a siege. The *Greeks* arriving at *Mycale* found all the enemies ships within the circumvallation, and a numerous army disposed along the coast; but, however, did not meet with the least opposition in landing their men, and drawing them up in battle-array; which when they had done, they attacked the enemy with such vigour that they obliged them to fly to their entrenchments, and pursued them so close that they entered the camp at the same time. When the enemy saw their entrenchments forced, all the auxiliaries betook themselves to flight; but the *Persians*, though reduced to a small number, still continued to dispute the entrance of their camp against the *Greeks* pouring in on all sides. But in the mean time the *Lacedæmonians*, who had taken a wider compass, arriving with other troops of the allies, the *Persians* likewise abandoned their post, and saved themselves by flying to the neighbouring hills. Before the engagement they had appointed the *Milesians* to guard the narrow passages of the mountains, that they might have a safe retreat in case they were put to flight, and sure guides to conduct them through the mountains, the *Milesians* being well acquainted with the country. But they treacherously brought back by other ways to the enemy such as fled to them; by which means a very small number escaped the general slaughter of that day. The two *Persian* generals *Mardontes* and *Tigranes* died in the field, with many other commanders
of

of great distinction. The *Greeks*, having made a great slaughter of the enemies both in the field and in the pursuit, set fire to their ships, burnt the whole camp, and set sail for *Samos* loaded with an immense booty consisting of 70 chests of money, besides many other things of an inestimable value¹. And thus ended all the great designs of *Xerxes* in a most miserable disappointment, a small number of those millions of men now remaining, with which the year before he marched so proudly over the *Hellepont*.

THE battle of *Platæa* was fought in the morning, and that of *Mycale* in the afternoon of the same day, and yet all the *Greek* writers pretend, that the victory at *Platæa* was known at *Mycale* before the engagement began there, though those two places were parted by the whole *Ægean*, a sea of several days sail. But *Diodorus Siculus*² clears up this matter, telling us, that *Leotychides* observing his troops to be in great pain for their countrymen at *Platæa*, lest they should be overpowered by the numerous army of *Mardonius*, in order to raise their spirits and courage, caused a report to be spread in the army, that the *Persians* were defeated at *Platæa*, though at that time he knew nothing of the matter.

Xerxes upon the news of these two overthrows left *Sardis*, with the same hurry and precipitation as he had left *Athens* after the battle of *Salamis*, making all the haste he could towards *Persia*, that he might get as far as possible out of the reach of the conquering enemy. But before he set out he gave orders, that all the temples of the *Greek* cities in *Asia* should be burnt and demolished; and his orders were so far executed, that not one temple was left standing, except that of *Diana* at *Ephesus* (I).

¹ Idem, c. 102.

² DIODOR SICUL. l. xi. p. 28.

(I) He was prompted to this, not by any particular displeasure against the *Asiatic Greeks*, but by the institutions of the *Mages*, in whose religion he had been thoroughly instructed by *Zoroastres*. For that religion expressing a great detestation of worshipping God by images, its zealots were for destroying all idolatrous temples wherever they came. And to keep *Xerxes* steady in their party, not only several of the chief Doctors of the *Mages*, but *Ostanes* himself, who was then at the head of the whole sect, attended him during the whole time of this expedition (56). At their instigation, *Tully* informs us (57), that all those temples were destroyed.

(56) Clem. Alexander. in Protrept. Laert. in Proæm. Pocock. Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 148, 149. (57) Cic. de legib. l. ii.

THE Grecian fleet after the battle of *Mycale* steered their course first to *Samos*, and thence to the *Hellepont*, in order to possess themselves of the bridges, which *Xerxes* had caused to be laid over those straights; but finding them broke by storms, *Leotychides* with his *Peloponnesian* forces sailed home. *Xantippus* with the *Athenians* and their allies the *Ionians*, remaining there, made himself master of *Sestos* and the whole *Thracian Chersonesus*, where the army was enriched with an immense booty, which on the approach of the winter they carried home, every one returning then to their respective countries. *Xantippus* finding all the materials of the bridges at *Cardia*, whither they had been conveyed by order of *Xerxes*, carried them with him to *Athens*, where they were preserved for many years, as a monument of the many victories which the *Greeks* obtained in this war. From this time the *Ionian* cities in *Asia*, shaking off the *Persian* yoke, recovered their antient liberty, and maintained it as long as that empire subsisted.

THE *Greeks*, having settled their affairs at home, resolved to pursue the war, and drive the *Persians* out of all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* and the neighbouring islands. With this view they equipped a powerful fleet, which sailing to *Cyprus*, under the command of *Pausanias* and *Aristides*, drove the *Persians* out of that island, and restored the inhabitants to their antient liberty.

WHILE *Xerxes* resided at *Sardis*, he conceived a violent passion for the wife of his brother *Masistes*, a prince of extraordinary merit, and who had served the king with great zeal and fidelity. As she was a woman of great virtue, and had a singular value for her husband, she could by no solicitations be prevailed upon to defile his bed. However, the king, still flattering himself that by heaping favours upon her he might at last conquer her virtue, married his eldest son *Darius*, whom he appointed his successor to the crown, to *Artaynta* this princess's daughter. As this was the greatest favour he could bestow on the mother, he expected it would engage her to comply with his desires. But *Xerxes*, finding her virtue proof against all temptations, changed his inclinations for the mother, and fell passionately in love with the daughter, who was now the wife of his own son, and did not follow the glorious example of her mother's firmness and virtue. While this intrigue was carrying on, *Hamestris*, wife to *Xerxes*, having wrought a very rich and curious mantle, presented it to the king, which he, being wonderfully pleased with it, put on

when he first visited his mistress. In the conversation he had with her he desired her to ask whatever favour she pleased, binding himself by an oath to deny her nothing. Hereupon *Artaynta* desired him to give her the mantle. *Xerxes*, foreseeing the bad consequences that would necessarily ensue from his complying with her request, did all that lay in his power to dissuade her from insisting upon her first demand. He offered her immense treasures, with cities and an army to be solely at her disposal, which was one of the greatest presents that the *Persian* kings could make. But not being able to prevail upon her, and thinking himself bound by his imprudent promise and rash oath, he yielded to her demand, and gave her the mantle, which she immediately put on, and publicly wore, as a trophy of her power over the king's affections. *Hamest-ris*, being now confirmed in the suspicion she had entertained, was incensed to the highest degree; but instead of venting her rage against the daughter who alone was faulty, resolved to be revenged on the mother, whom she looked upon as the author of the whole intrigue, though she was no ways privy to it. For the better executing of her design she waited the great festival, which was annually celebrated on the king's birth-day; on which occasion the king according to the established custom of the country, used to grant his queen whatever she demanded. This day being come, she asked, that the wife of his brother *Masistes* might be delivered into her hands. *Xerxes*, who apprehended the queen's design, was struck with horror at this demand, both out of regard to his brother, and because he knew that his wife was quite innocent, and therefore at first withstood her request. But being at last overcome by her importunity, he consented with the utmost reluctance to her request, and ordering his guards to seize the innocent princess, delivered her into the hands of the revengeful and enraged *Hamest-ris*, empowering her to treat her as she pleased. In consequence of this power, *Hamest-ris* caused her breasts, tongue, nose, ears, and lips to be cut off and thrown to the dogs before her face, and then sent her home in that miserable condition to her husband. In the meantime *Xerxes* had sent for his brother to prepare him for this melancholy and tragical adventure. He first told him that he must part with his wife, and that he designed to supply her place with one of his own daughters. But *Masistes*, who was passionately fond of his wife, could not be induced by any offers whatsoever to divorce her. Whereupon *Xerxes* in great wrath told him, that since he refused his daughter, he should neither have her nor his own wife, and with this inhuman reply dismissed

missed him. *Masistes*, from this speech apprehending some great misfortune, made all the haste he could home to see what had passed during his absence. On his arrival he found his wife in that deplorable condition we have described, and being exasperated to the highest degree, as the case deserved, he immediately assembled all his family, servants, and dependants, and set out with all possible expedition for the province of *Bactriana*, of which he was governor, determined, as soon as he arrived there, to induce the *Bactrians* to revolt and revenge such a barbarous usage in the severest manner. But *Xerxes*, hearing of his sudden departure, and suspecting from thence his design, sent a party of horse after him, who overtaking him cut him in pieces, with his wife, children, and all his retinue. There is another action no less cruel and impious related of *Hamēstris*. She caused fourteen children of the best families in *Persia* to be buried alive, as a sacrifice to the infernal gods.

UPON the death of *Masistes* *Xerxes* appointed *Hystaspes* his second son to be governor of *Bactriana*, which, obliging him to live at a distance from court, gave his younger brother *Artaxerxes* an opportunity of mounting the throne before him, as will be seen in its proper place*.

Xerxes, being wholly discouraged by a continual series of so many losses and defeats, gave over all thoughts of war and conquests, and never afterwards suffered his ships to appear in the *Ægean* sea, or his forces on the coasts. He gave himself entirely up to luxury and ease, minding nothing but the gratifying of his lusts and vicious inclinations. This dissolute manner of life drew upon him the contempt and hatred of his subjects, which encouraged *Artabanus*, a native of *Hyrkania*, captain of his guards, and who had long been his chief favourite, to conspire against him. He prevailed upon *Mithridates*, one of the eunuchs of the palace to engage in the conspiracy, and being by him let into the king's bed-chamber, murdered him in the 21st year of his reign while he was asleep. He then went to *Artaxerxes* the king's third son, and charged *Darius* his elder brother with the murder, as though an eager desire of ascending the throne had prompted him to that execrable crime. He told him at the same time, that he designed to cut him off next, in order to secure the crown to himself, and therefore he ought to guard himself against all dangers. *Artaxerxes*, being then a very young man, rashly believed whatever *Artabanus* told him, and without further examination went immediately to his brother's apartment, and there,

Xerxes murdered.
Year of the Flood,
2535.
Year before Christ
464.

* HERODOT. l. ix. c. 107, 112:

being assisted by *Artabanus* and his guards, murdered him¹. The next heir was *Hystaspes* the second son of *Xerxes*, but as he was then in *Bactriana*, of which province he was governor, *Artabanus* placed *Artaxerxes* on the throne ; but with a design to let him enjoy the sovereignty only till such time as he had formed a party strong enough to drive him from it, and seize it himself. His great authority had gained him many dependants, and besides he had seven sons, who were all of robust bodies, courageous, and raised to the highest dignities of the empire. His confidence in these inspired him with this design ; but while he was hastening to put it in execution, *Artaxerxes* being informed of the whole plot by *Megabyzus*, who had married one of his sisters, was before-hand with him in a counter-plot, and killed him before his treason was ripe for execution. His death secured to *Artaxerxes* the possession of the kingdom² (K). He is said to have been the handsomest man of the age he lived in, and a prince of a very mild and generous disposition. He is called, or rather nick-named, by the *Greeks* *Macrocheir*, that is *long-handed*, by reason of the more than ordinary length of his hands (L) ; but in scripture he bears the name of *Ahasuerus* as well as that of *Artaxerxes*, and is the same who had *Esther* for his queen (M).

Artaxerxes

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi. p. 52. ² DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi. p. 53.
CTESIUS, c. 29. JUSTIN, l. iii. c. 1.

(K) Whether *Artabanus* possessed himself of the throne, and held it seven months, as some authors affirm, or was killed by *Artaxerxes* before he accomplished his design, is no easy matter to determine with any certainty. The seven first months of the reign of *Artaxerxes* are by *Eusebius* (58) assigned to *Artabanus*, perhaps because he ruled so long in his name.

(L) *Strabo* (59) tells us, that he was so called because his hands were so long that when he stood upright he could touch his knees with them ; but, according to *Plutarch* (60), he had that name because his right hand was longer than his left. He is named by the *Latins* *Longimanus*, which answers the *Greek* Μακρόχειρ.

(M) Some are of opinion, that *Darius Hystaspes* was the king *Ahasuerus* who married *Esther*, and that *Atoffa* was the *Vashti*, and *Artystona* the *Esther* of Scripture (61). But this opinion is quite inconsistent with what we read of these persons in prophane history. For *Herodotus* tells us (62), that *Artystona* was the daughter of *Cyrus*, and therefore she could not be *Esther* ; and that *Atoffa* had four sons

(58) *Euseb. in Chron.* (59) *Strab. l. xv. p. 735.* (60) *Plutarch. in Artax.* (61) *Usher. Ann., at the year of the J. P. 4193.*
(62) *Herodot. l. iii. & vii.*

by

Artaxerxes having by the death of *Artabanus* removed one *Artaxerxes* dangerous competitor, had still two great obstacles in his way, *viz.* Longimanus.

by *Darius*, all born after he ascended the throne (63), and therefore she could not be that queen *Vashti*, whom the king divorced in the third year of his reign (64), nor he that king *Ahasuerus*. Besides, *Atossa* had such an ascendant over the king, that he was influenced by her on his death-bed to disinherit his elder sons by a former wife, and settle the crown on *Xerxes* her son; whereas the *Ahasuerus* of scripture divorced *Vashti* by an unalterable decree, and therefore could never admit her again to his bed (65). What induced the learned primate of *Ireland* to be of this opinion was, that *Ahasuerus* in the book of *Esther* (66) is said to have laid a tribute on the land and on the isles, and the same is said of *Darius Hystaspis* by *Herodotus* (67); but this *Strabo* ascribes to *Darius Longimanus* (68), as we read in the printed copies; and the surname of *Longimanus*, with the description of the person in that place, plainly shews, that *Darius* was there, by the mistake of the transcribers, put instead of *Artaxerxes*, seeing no *Darius* ever bore that name, and what is said there of *Darius* is applicable to none but *Artaxerxes*.

Scaliger is of opinion (69), that *Xerxes* was the *Ahasuerus*, and his queen *Hamestris* the *Esther* of scripture, induced thereunto by the similitude he finds between *Hamestris* and *Esther*. But the dissimilitude of their characters is a far stronger proof that *Hamestris* could not be *Esther*, as must appear from what we have already related of queen *Hamestris*, and shall have occasion to add in the sequel of this history. A woman of so vile a character cannot have been that queen of *Persia*, who by the name of *Esther* is so renowned in holy writ, and is celebrated there as the instrument, by whom God was pleased in so signal a manner to deliver his people from that utter destruction which was designed against them. Besides, we are told by *Herodotus* (70), that *Xerxes* had a son by *Hamestris*, who was marriageable in the seventh year of his reign, and *Esther* was not till that time married to *Ahasuerus* (71).

There being no such objections as to *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, he must, in our opinion, have been the *Ahasuerus* who married *Esther*. This we find confirmed by the *Septuagint*, by the apocryphal additions to the book of *Esther*, and by *Josephus*. The *Septuagint* throughout the whole book of *Esther* translate *Ahasuerus* by *Artaxerxes*. The apocryphal additions to that book constantly call *Esther's* husband *Artaxerxes*; and from several circumstances related of him, both in the canonical and apocryphal *Esther*, it is very plain, that this *Artaxerxes* could not be *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. *Josephus* (72)

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| (63) <i>Idem</i> , l. vii. | (64) <i>Esther</i> i. 3. | (65) <i>Idem</i> , <i>ibid.</i> |
| (66) <i>Esther</i> x. 1. | (67) <i>Herodot.</i> l. iii | (68) <i>Strab.</i> l. xv. p. 735. |
| (69) <i>Scal. de emendat. temp.</i> l. vi. | (70) <i>Herodot.</i> l. ix. | |
| (71) <i>Esther</i> ii. 16. | (72) <i>Joseph.</i> <i>Antiq.</i> l. xi. c. 6. | |

viz. his brother *Hystaspes* in *Bactriana*, and the party of *Artabanus* at home, which gave him the first trouble. *Artabanus*, as we have hinted above, had seven sons and many partisans, who immediately gathered together to revenge his death. Whereupon a bloody conflict ensued, in which many *Persians* of distinction fell on both sides. But at length *Artaxerxes*, having prevailed, put to death all those who were privy to the plot. Those especially, who had any hand in the murder of his father, were punished in a most severe and exemplary manner. The eunuch *Mithridates*, who betrayed him, was boated, a punishment which was in use among the *Persians*, and we have already described where we gave an account of the manners of that nation. *Artaxerxes*, having thus crushed the faction of *Artabanus* at home, was in a condition to send an army into *Bactriana*, which had declared in favour of his brother. But here he was not attended with the like success; for the two armies engaging, *Hystaspes* stood his ground, and though he did not carry the day, he sustained no considerable loss, both parties retiring with equal success to prepare for a second encounter. The next year, *Artaxerxes* drawing together a far more powerful army, as having the greater part of the empire at his devotion, over-powered *Hystaspes*, and by a complete victory secured to himself the quiet possession of the empire. To prevent all further disturbances, he removed such governors of cities and provinces as he suspected to be affected to either of the factions he had overcome, putting others in their room whom he could safely trust. He afterwards applied himself to the reforming of many abuses and disorders that had crept into the government; whereby he gained great reputation, and won the hearts of his subjects throughout all the provinces of the empire ^a. *Artaxerxes*, being now settled in the peaceable possession of the whole *Persian* empire, appointed rejoicings and feasts to be made for the space of 180 days in the city of *Susa*, on the conclusion of which he gave a great entertainment to all the princes and people that were then in that city, which lasted seven days. *Vashti* the queen at the same time made a like

^a PLUTARCH. in ARTAX. CRES. c. 31. DIODOR. Sicul. l. xi. p. 54.

tells us in express terms, that *Esther's* husband was *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. *Severus Sulpitius* and many others, both antient and modern writers, fall in with *Josephus*. The extraordinary favour and kindness, which *Artaxerxes Longimanus* shewed the *Jews* beyond all other kings that reigned in *Persia*, is a convincing proof, that they had such a powerful advocate as *Esther* to intercede for them.

feast

feast in her apartment for the women ; and here the history of *Hadaßah* or *Eßther*, for which we refer the reader to that book, takes place.

IN the fifth year of *Artaxerxes*'s reign the *Egyptians* revolted, and, making *Inarus*, prince of the *Libyans*, their king, called in the *Athenians* to their assistance ; who, having at that time a fleet of 200 ships lying off the island of *Cyprus*, laid hold of that invitation, looking upon it as a very favourable opportunity of weakening the *Persian* power by driving them from so rich a kingdom. Upon the news of this revolt, *Artaxerxes*, having raised an army of 300,000 men, was resolved to march himself against the rebels. But being dissuaded from venturing his person, he gave the command of all the land-forces to *Achæmenides* one of his brothers (N), who, arriving in *Egypt* at the head of his numerous army, encamped on the banks of the *Nile*. In the mean time the *Athenians*, having defeated the *Persian* fleet, and either sunk or taken fifty of their ships, sailed up the *Nile*, and landing their forces, under the command of *Charitimis* their general, joined *Inarus* and the *Egyptians*. They afterwards attacked with joint forces *Achæmenides*, routed his army, and killed 100,000 of his men with the general himself. The remainder fled to *Mumphis*, whither the conquerors pursuing them took two parts of the town ; but the *Persians* securing themselves in the third called the *White-wall*, which was by much the best fortified part of the city, there suffered a siege of three years, during which time they made a most vigorous defence, till they were succoured by the forces that were sent to their relief ^b.

Artaxerxes, hearing of the defeat of his army in *Egypt*, and how much the *Athenians* had contributed to it, sent ambassadors to the *Lacedemonians*, with large sums of money, in order to engage them to make war upon the *Athenians*, and by that means oblige them to recal their troops to the de-

^b THUCYD. l. i. p. 68. 71. 72. STRAB. c. 32. 35. DIODOR. Sicul. l. xi. p. 54—59.

(N) *Herodotus* (73) and *Diodorus Siculus* (74) confound *Achæmenides* brother to *Artaxerxes*, with *Achæmenes* brother to *Xerxes* and uncle of *Artaxerxes*, telling us, that the management of this war was committed to *Achæmenes*, who in the beginning of the reign of *Xerxes* was governor of *Egypt*. But they were certainly misled by the similitude of names, for *Ctesias* tells us, that *Artaxerxes* gave the command of the troops to the son of *Hameßtris*, who could not be *Achæmenes*.

(73) *Herodot.* l. iii. § vii.

(74) *Diodor.* l. xi.

The Egyptians revolt.
Year of the Flood,
2540.
Year before Christ
459.

fence of their own country. But the *Lacedemonians* rejecting his offers, he resolved to make a diversion by sending *Themistocles*, (who had taken shelter in the *Persian* court, whither the envy of his enemies at home had driven him, as we shall relate in the history of *Greece*) at the head of a powerful army to invade *Attica*. But that great commander, not knowing how to decline the command of a prince who had heaped so many favours upon him, and on the other hand being unwilling to make war upon his own country, resolved to put an end to his life. And accordingly, having invited all his friends to a banquet, and sacrificed a bull, he drank a large draught of the blood, and soon after died^c. Upon his death *Artaxerxes* ordered *Artabazus* governor of *Cilicia* and *Megabyzus* governor of *Syria* to raise an army for the relief of those who were besieged in the *White-wall*. These generals soon drew together 300,000 men, but were obliged to wait till the fleet was equipped in order to transport them into *Egypt*, which could not be got ready till the ensuing year. *Inarus*, hearing of the formidable preparations that were making by these *Persian* governors to relieve the besieged, redoubled his attacks on the *White-wall*, and made his utmost efforts to carry it; but the *Persians* within defended themselves with such bravery, that the *Egyptians* and *Athenians* made no considerable progress towards the reduction of the place^d.

In the third year of the siege, and ninth of *Artaxerxes*, the *Persian* fleet being equipped, *Artabazus* took the command of it, and set sail towards the *Nile*, while *Megabyzus*, at the head of the land-forces, marched to *Memphis*. On his arrival he not only obliged *Inarus* and his auxiliaries to raise the siege of the *White-wall*, but in a pitched battle, entirely defeated them with great slaughter of the *Egyptians*, who suffered most in this engagement. After this defeat *Inarus*, though wounded in the thigh by *Megabyzus*, retired with the *Athenians* and such of the *Egyptians* as were willing to follow him to the city of *Biblus* in the island of *Prosopitis*, which being surrounded by the navigable branches of the *Nile*, the *Athenians* stationed their fleet in one of them, and held out a siege of a year and a half. In the mean time the rest of the *Egyptians* submitted to the conqueror, and returned to their obedience. *Amyrtæus* alone maintaining a party against him in the fens, where he ruled many years, the *Persians* not being able to reduce him by reason of the inaccessibleness of

^c THUCYD. I. i. DIODOR. Sicul. I. xi. PLUTARCH. in Themistocle. ^d CRES. & DIODOR. ubi supra p. 281.

the place. *Inarus* and his auxiliaries in the island of *Prosopitis* defended themselves with such vigour, that the *Persians*, despairing to reduce them by the ordinary methods of war, had recourse to an extraordinary expedient, whereby they soon accomplished their design. They quite drained, by cutting many canals, that arm of the *Nile*, where the *Athenian* fleet lay, and by that means opened a passage for the whole army to enter the island. *Inarus*, seeing all was now lost, delivered up himself, the *Egyptians*, and about fifty *Athenians* to *Megabyzus*, on condition their lives should be spared. But the rest of the *Athenians*, to the number of 6000, refused to surrender, and, having set fire to their fleet, drew up in battle array, resolved to die sword in hand, and sell their lives at the dearest rate, in imitation of the *Lacedemonians* that fell at *Thermopylæ*. The *Persians*, perceiving they had taken this desperate resolution, did not think it adviseable to attack them; but rather to offer them reasonable terms, and come to a composition. The terms were, that they should leave *Egypt*, and have a free passage home by sea or land. They accepted the conditions, delivered up the island with the city of *Biblus* to the conquerors, and marched to *Cyrene*, where they embarked for *Greece*; but most of them perished before they reached their native country. Neither was this the only loss the *Athenians* sustained on this occasion. Another fleet of fifty sail, being sent by them to relieve those who were besieged in the island of *Prosopitis*, arrived at one of the mouths of the *Nile* soon after their countrymen had surrendered; and having entered the river without knowing what had happened, were at the same time attacked by the *Persian* fleet, and galled with such showers of darts and arrows by the land-forces from the shore, that they were all killed, except some few who broke through the enemy's fleet and escaped. Thus ended the fatal war, which the *Athenians* had carried on for the space of six years in *Egypt*, and that kingdom was a new united to the *Persian* empire, and continued so during the remaining part of the reign of *Artaxerxes*. *Inarus* and the other prisoners taken in this war were sent to *Susa* and *Sartamas* appointed governor of *Egypt*.

again . . .
duced.
Year of
the Flood,
2546.
Year be-
fore
Christ
453.

THE *Athenians* having equipped another fleet of 200 sail gave the command of it to *Cimon*, enjoining him to drive the *Persians* from the island of *Cyprus*. *Cimon* in pursuance to his orders took *Citium*, *Malum*, and several other cities of that island, and from thence sent 60 sail to the assistance of *Amartyæus* in the fens of *Egypt*. *Artabazus* being then in those seas

^c CTE3. c. 34. DIODOR. l. xi. p. 58, & seq.

with a fleet of 300 ships, *Cimon*, as soon as his squadron returned from *Egypt*, fell upon him, took 100 of his ships, destroyed many others, and pursued the remainder to the coasts of *Phœnicia*. Being flushed with this success, on his return he landed his men in *Cilicia*, where finding *Megabyzus* with an army of three hundred thousand men, he marched against him, and having put him to flight with a great slaughter of his men, returned to *Cyprus* with a double triumph ^f.

Artaxerxes, tired with a war in which he had sustained so great losses, resolved, with the advice of his counsellors and ministers, to put an end to so many calamities, by coming to an accommodation with the enemy. Accordingly he sent orders to his generals, who were charged with the management of the *Cyprian* war, to conclude a peace with the *Athenians* on the best terms they could. Hereupon *Megabyzus* and *Artabazus* sent ambassadors to *Athens* to propose an accommodation, which was agreed upon by the deputies of both sides on the following terms. 1. That all the *Greek* cities of *Asia* should be made free, and allowed to live according to their own laws. 2. That no *Persian* ships of war should enter those seas that lie between the *Cyanean* and the *Chelidonian* islands, that is, from the *Euxine* sea to the coasts of *Pamphylia*. 3. That no *Persian* general should come by land within three days march of those seas. 4. That the *Athenians* should not commit any hostilities in the territories of the king of *Persia*. These articles being sworn to by both parties, peace was proclaimed. Thus ended this war, which had lasted from the burning of *Sardis* by the *Athenians* fifty one years complete, and destroyed numberless multitudes both of *Greeks* and *Persians* ^g.

Artaxerxes being continually importuned by his mother, for five years together, to deliver to her *Inarus* and the *Athenians* who had been taken with him in *Egypt*, that she might sacrifice them to the manes of her son *Achæmenides*, yielded at last to her unwearied solicitations. Whereupon this inhuman princess, without any regard to the conditions which had been with the greatest solemnity ratified, caused *Inarus* to be crucified, and the heads of all the rest to be struck off. *Megabyzus*, who had engaged his word that their lives should be spared, looked upon this as a dishonour done him, and therefore retiring to *Cyria*, of which province he was governor, raised there an army and openly revolted. The king imme-

Inarus
crucified.
Mega-
byzus re-
volts.

Year of
the Flood,

2552.

Year be-
fore Christ

447.

^fPLUTARCH, in *Cimon*. THUCYD. l. i. DIODOR. l. xi. p. 79.
^gDIODOR. ubi supr. p. 74. THUCYD. l. i.

diately



diately sent *Osiris*, one of the chief lords of the court, with an army of two hundred thousand men to suppress this rebellion. But *Megabyzus* in a general engagement wounded him, took him prisoner, and put his numerous army to flight. *Artaxerxes* hearing that his general was taken, sent a messenger to demand him, and *Megabyzus* generously released him as soon as his wounds were cured ^b.

THE next year *Artaxerxes* sent another army against him under the command of *Menostanes*, son to *Artarius* the king's brother, and governor of *Babylon*. This general was attended with no better success than the other; for he was in the same manner defeated and put to flight, leaving *Megabyzus* master of the field and all the baggage. The king, being sensible that he could not get the better of him by dint of arms, sent his brother *Artarius* and his sister *Amytis* who was wife to *Megabyzus*, with several other persons of distinction, to persuade him to return to his duty. By their mediation the difference being made up, the king granted him his pardon, and he returned to court. But not long after, a lion being ready to fall upon the king as he was hunting, *Megabyzus*, fired with zeal and affection for his sovereign, threw a dart at the lion and killed him. But the king still retaining ill will against him, upon pretence that he had affronted him in shooting first at the lion, commanded his head to be struck off; and it was with the utmost difficulty, that *Amytis* his sister and *Hamestris* his mother prevailed upon him to change the sentence of death into that of perpetual banishment. *Megabyzus* was therefore sent to *Cyrta*, a city standing on the *Red-sea*, and sentenced to lead the rest of his life there under confinement. However five years after he made his escape from thence, and under disguise got safe to his own house at *Susa*, where by the intercession of his wife and mother-in-law, he was reinstated in the king's favour, and enjoyed it till his death, which happened some years after in the 76th year of his age. He was greatly lamented by the king and the whole court, being the best counsellor and greatest general of the whole empire. To him *Artaxerxes* owed both his life and his crown at his first accession to the government. But it is of dangerous consequence in a subject to have too much obliged his sovereign; for this was the true source of all the misfortunes that befel *Megabyzus* ^c.

IN the 34th year of the reign of *Artaxerxes* a war breaking out between the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, commonly

^b Ctes. c. 35.^c Ctes. 37—39.

called the *Peloponnesian* war, both parties sent ambassadors to the king imploring his assistance *. But we do not find, that *Artaxerxes* returned them any answer before the seventh year of that war, when he sent an ambassador to the *Lacedemonians* named *Artaphernes* with a letter written in the *Assyrian* tongue, wherein he told them, that several ambassadors had come to him from them, but the purport of their embassies differed so widely, that he could not comprehend what they requested, and that therefore he had thought proper to send them a *Persian* to let them know, that if they had any proposals to make they should send a trusty person along with him, by whom he might be informed what they desired him to do. This ambassador arriving at *Eion* on the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, was there taken prisoner by one of the admirals of the *Athenian* fleet, who sent him to *Athens*, where he was treated with the utmost civility and respect, the *Athenians* being extremely desirous to regain the favour of the king his master †. The year following, as soon as the season allowed the *Athenians* to put to sea, they sent back the ambassador in one of their own ships at the expence of the public, and appointed some of their citizens to attend him to the court of *Persia* with the character of ambassadors. But when they landed at *Ephesus*, they there received news of the king's death; whereupon the *Athenians*, not thinking it adviseable to proceed farther, took their leave of *Artaphernes* and returned to *Athens* ‡.

Artaxerxes favoured the *Jews* above all the kings of *Persia*, but what happened to them during his reign we shall relate in the history of that people, as in a more proper place. This prince died in the 41st year of his reign, and was succeeded by *Xerxes* the only son he had by his queen. But by his concubines he had seventeen, among whom were *Sogdianus*, or, as *Ctesias* calls him, *Secundianus*, *Ochus*, and *Arsites*. *Xerxes* having drank immoderately at a great entertainment retired to his bed-chamber, to refresh himself with sleep after his debauch. This opportunity *Sogdianus* laid hold of, and, being let into the bed-chamber by *Pharnacyas* one of *Xerxes*'s eunuchs, slew him, after he had reigned 45 days, and possessed himself of the kingdom †.

Sogdianus. SCARCE was *Sogdianus* seated on the throne, when he put to death *Bagorazus*, the most faithful of all his father's eunuchs. He had been appointed to superintend the interment of *Artaxerxes*, and of the queen, *Xerxes*'s mother, who had

* THUCID. l. ii.
ibid. p. 322.

† Idem, l. iv. p. 285, 286.

‡ Idem, l. xii. p. 115.

died

died the same day as her royal consort. After he had conveyed both their bodies to the burial-place of the *Persian* kings, he found on his return *Sogdianus* in possession of the crown, with whom he had formerly had some small difference. This *Sogdianus* remembered, and, taking for a pretence to quarrel with him something relating to the obsequies of his father, caused him to be stoned to death. By these two murders he became very odious both to the nobility and the army, and being jealous lest some of his brothers might treat him as he had treated *Xerxes*, he sent for *Ochus*, whom he chiefly suspected, with a design to murder him the moment he arrived. *Ochus* had been by his father appointed governor of *Hyrkania*, and being well apprised of his brother's design, under several pretences put off his coming to court, till he had drawn together a powerful army, with which he advanced to the confines of *Persia*, openly declaring, that he designed to revenge the death of his brother. This declaration brought over to him many of the nobility and several governors of provinces, who, being highly dissatisfied with the cruelty and ill conduct of *Sogdianus*, put the *Tiara* on *Ochus's* head, and proclaimed him king. *Sogdianus*, seeing himself thus deserted, contrary to the advice of his best friends, came to an accommodation with *Ochus*, who having him in his power caused him to be thrown into ashes (O), where he died a cruel death °.

Ochus, being settled on the throne by the death of *Sogdianus*, changed his name, taking that of *Darius* instead of *Ochus*, and is by historians commonly called *Darius Nothus*, or *Darius the Bastard* (P).

Arsites,

• Ctes. ubi supra. DIODOR. l. xii. p. 322.

(O.) This punishment was invented for him, and became afterwards common in *Persia*. *Ochus* had sworn, that *Sogdianus* should not die by the sword, by poison, or of hunger. To keep his word he contrived this new sort of punishment; it is described in the 13th chapter of the second book of the *Maccabees*, thus: An high tower was filled to a certain height with ashes, and the criminal being thrown headlong into them, they were by a wheel perpetually turned round him till he was suffocated. Thus this wicked prince lost his life and his empire, after he had reigned six months and fifteen days (75).

(P) He is placed in *Ptolemy's* canon as the immediate successor of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* according to the style of that canon, which constantly ascribes to the predecessor the whole year in which he

(75) ii. *Maccab.* c. 13. *Val. Max.* l. 9. c. 2.

Year of the Flood, 2575. Year before Christ 424. *Arsites*, seeing in what manner *Sogdianus* had supplanted *Xerxes*, and had been afterwards driven from the throne by *Ochus*, began to entertain thoughts of treating *Ochus* in the same manner. With this design, though he was his brother by the same father and mother, he broke out into an open rebellion against him, being encouraged thereunto and assisted by *Artyphius* the son of *Megabyzus*. *Ochus*, whom henceforth we shall call *Darius*, sent *Artasyras*, one of his generals, against *Artyphius*, while he marched in person against his brother *Arsites*. *Artyphius*, with the assistance of his *Greek* mercenaries, twice defeated the general who had been sent against him. But, these being gained over with large bribes, he lost the third battle; and being reduced to great straits surrendered himself to *Darius*, upon hopes given him of mercy. The king was for putting him to death immediately, but was diverted from it by *Parysatis* his wife and sister. She was daughter to *Artaxerxes* by another mother, an intriguing and crafty woman; and by her advice the king was entirely governed in affairs of the greatest importance. The counsel she gave him on this occasion was, to treat *Artyphius* with great clemency, that, by such usage of a rebellious servant, he might the better encourage his brother to throw himself upon his mercy, and then dispose of them both as he pleased. *Darius* followed her counsel, and had the success he proposed. For *Arsites*, being informed of the gentle usage *Artyphius* had met with, concluded, that he, as a brother, should be treated at least with the same indulgence and good nature. Flattered with this hope he came to an agreement with the king and surrendered himself into his hands. *Darius*, having him in his power, was very much inclined to pardon him, but was prevailed upon by *Parysatis* to put both him and *Artyphius* to death by suffocating them in ashes ^P.

He also put to death *Pharnacyas* for being concerned in the murder of *Xerxes*; and *Monasthenes*, another eunuch, who was the chief favourite of *Sogdianus*, was condemned to die a cruel death, which he prevented by laying violent hands on himself. These executions did not procure him the tranquil-

^P Idem, c. 49.

dies, and places him as the next successor, who was on the throne in the beginning of the ensuing year. As the reigns of *Xerxes* and *Sogdianus* made up but eight months, and these did not reach to the end of the year in which *Artaxerxes* died, they are in the canon cast into the last year of *Artaxerxes*, and *Darius* is placed next him, as if he had been his immediate successor.

lity

lity he expected ; for his whole reign was disturbed with violent commotions, raised in various parts of the empire. One of the most dangerous was that which was stirred up by *Pisuthnes* governor of *Lydia*, who setting up for himself raised an army of *Greek* mercenaries, under the command of *Lycon* an *Athenian*. Against him *Darius* sent *Tissaphernes*, appointing him at the same time governor of *Lydia* in his room. *Tissaphernes*, who was an artful and crafty man, found means of gaining the *Greeks* who served under *Pisuthnes*, and induced both them and their general to change sides. Whereupon *Pisuthnes*, not being in a condition to carry on the war, surrendered upon promise of pardon. But the king the instant he was brought before him sentenced him to death, and accordingly he was, pursuant to the king's order, suffocated in ashes. But his death did not put an end to the troubles which he had raised ; for his son *Amorgas* with the remainder of the army still opposed *Tissaphernes*, and for two years continued to infest the maritime provinces of *Asia Minor*, till he was at length taken prisoner by the *Peloponnesians* at *Iasus* a city of *Ionia*, and delivered by the inhabitants to *Tissaphernes*, who put him to death ⁴.

Darius had scarce quelled this rebellion, when he found himself involved in new troubles. His court, and we may say, the whole empire, was governed by the eunuchs, *Artoxares*, *Artibarxanes*, and *Athous*. These he consulted, and followed their advice in all the momentous affairs of the government. But *Artoxares* was the chief favourite, and nothing was transacted but by his direction. Intoxicated with this power, he began to entertain thoughts of ascending the throne ; and accordingly formed a design of cutting off *Darius*. With this view, that he might not be thought an eunuch, which was a strong objection to his being acknowledged king, he married and wore an artificial beard, giving out, that he was not what to that time the *Persians* had taken him to be. But his wife, who was privy to the whole plot, and perhaps glad to get rid of such a husband, discovered the whole matter to the king. Whereupon he was seized and delivered up to *Parysatis*, who caused him to be put to a cruel and ignominious death ⁵.

BUT the greatest misfortune that befel *Darius*, during the whole time of his reign, was the revolt of *Egypt*, which broke out the same year that *Pisuthnes* rebelled. For though *Darius* got the better of the latter rebellion, yet he could never again reduce *Egypt*. *Amyrtæus*, who had reigned in the

The Egyptians revolt.

Year of the Flood, 2586.

Year before Christ

413.

tens

⁴ Idem, c. 51.

⁵ Idem, ibid.

fens of *Egypt* ever since the revolt of *Inarus*, being apprised of the discontents of the *Egyptians*, and finding them disposed to enter into any measures for the recovery of their liberty, sallied out of his fens, and being joined by the inhabitants, who flocked to him from all parts, he drove the *Persians* quite out, and became king of the whole country. Being thus in possession of all *Egypt* by the total expulsion of the *Persians*, he resolved to attack them in *Phænice* too, having the *Arabians* in confederacy with him for this undertaking. News of this being brought to the court of *Persia*, the fleet, which the king had equipped with a design to assist the *Lacedemonians*, was recalled to the defence of his own dominions ^f.

WHILE *Darius* was carrying on the war against the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, the *Medes* revolted: but being defeated were forced to return to their former allegiance, and in punishment of their rebellion reduced to harder subjection than before, as is usually the case ^g. *Darius* seems to have been likewise successful against the *Egyptians*; for *Amyrtæus* being dead, after a reign of six years, his son *Pausiris* succeeded him, as *Herodotus* informs us ^h, in the kingdom with the consent of the *Persians*, which shews that they were masters of *Egypt*.

Cyrus the
younger
appointed
governor
of Asia
Minor.

Darius, having thus settled the affairs of *Media* and *Egypt*, invested *Cyrus* his youngest son with the supreme command of all the provinces of *Asia Minor*. He was a very young man to be intrusted with so much power; for being born after his father's accession to the crown, he could not have been above sixteen years old when he received this important commission. But as he was the darling of his mother *Parysatis*, who had an absolute sway over the king her husband, she obtained this command for him, with a view to put him in a condition to contend for the crown after his father's death; and this use he accordingly made of it to the great disturbance of the whole empire, as we shall see hereafter ^w. On his receiving his commission he was ordered to assist the *Lacedemonians* against the *Athenians*, contrary to the wise measures observed by *Tissaphernes*, who, by sometimes helping one side and sometimes the other, had so ballanced matters between them, that they continued to harass each other, without being at leisure to disturb the *Persians*, who had so long been the common

^f THUCYD. l. viii. init. JUSTIN. l. v. c. 2. DIODOR. l. xiii. p. 160. ^g XENOPH. Hellenic. l. i. HERODOT. l. ix. ^h HERODOT. l. iii. ^w XENOPH. Hellen. l. i. PLUTARCH. in Arax. & Lyfandro. Justin. l. v. c. 5. DIODOR. l. xiii. p. 368.

enemies of both. This order given, *Cyrus* soon discovered the weakness of the king's politics. For the *Lacedemonians* having, with the assistance given them by *Cyrus*, soon overpowered the *Athenians*, sent first *Thimbro*, and after him *Dercyllidas*, and at last *Agésilas* their king to invade the *Persian* provinces in *Asia*, where they made great conquests, and would have endangered the whole empire, had not *Darius*, by distributing large sums of money among the demagogues or governors of the *Greek* cities, found means to rekindle the war in *Greece*, which obliged the *Lacedemonians* to recall their troops for their own defence *.

Cyrus having put to death two noble *Persians*, sons to a sister of *Darius*, for no other reason, but because they had not, in meeting him, wrapt up their hands in their sleeves, as was customary among the *Persians* in the presence of their kings, *Darius* recalled him to court, on pretence that he was indisposed and desired to see him. *Cyrus*, well knowing how great an ascendant his mother had over the king, prepared for his journey; but before he set out he ordered such large subsidies to be sent to *Lyfander* general of the *Lacedemonians*, as enabled him to gain that memorable victory over the *Athenians* at the *Goats river* on the *Hellefpont*, which put an end to the *Athenian* power and the *Peleponnesian* war, after it had lasted twenty seven years †. *Darius* was highly incensed against *Cyrus*, not only on account of the death of his two nephews, but because he had presumed to challenge honours that were due only to the king: and therefore designed to deprive him of his government. But upon his arrival the queen not only reconciled his father to him, but used all her art to have him declared heir to the crown, by reason he was born after his father's accession to the throne, which had given the preference to *Xerxes* in the reign of *Darius Hystaspes*. *Darius* could not by any means be prevailed upon to comply with her request; but, however, bequeathed him the government of those provinces, which he ruled before. Not long after *Darius* *Nothus* died, after he had reigned nineteen years, and *Nothus* was succeeded by *Arfaces* his eldest son by *Parysatis*, who on his ascending the throne took the name of *Artaxerxes*, and was for his extraordinary memory called by the *Greeks* *Mnemon*, that is *Rememberer*. While he was attending his father on his death-bed, he desired to be informed by what art he had so happily managed the government, that by following the same

dies.
Year of
the Flood
2594.
Year be-
fore Christ
405.

* XENOPH. DIODOR. JUSTIN. ibid. THUCYD. l. ii. PLUT. in Lyfandro. † XENOPH. Hellen. l. ii. PLUTARCH. in Lyfandro. Diodor. l. xiii.

rule he might be blessed with the like success. The dying king gave him this memorable answer, that *he had ever done, to the best of his knowledge, what religion and justice required, without swerving from the one or the other* ².

Artaxerxes
Mnemon.

UPON the death of *Darius* his son *Artaxerxes* went to *Pasargada*, to be there inaugurated after the *Persian* custom by the priests of *Bellona*. He was no sooner arrived there, but he was informed by one of the priests, that his brother *Cyrus* had formed a conspiracy against him, with a design to murder him in the very temple. Upon this information *Cyrus* was seized and sentenced to death. But his mother *Parysatis* prevailed upon the king, not only to save his life, but to send him back to the government of *Asia Minor*, which his father had left him ³.

Artaxerxes was no sooner settled on the throne, but *Statira* his queen, whom he was very fond of on account of her extraordinary beauty, employed her power with him to the utter ruin of *Udiastes*, who had killed her brother *Teriteuchmes*. This quarrel had its rise in the reign of *Darius*, and the whole was a complication of adultery, incest, and murder, which raised great disturbances in the royal family, and ended in the ruin of all who were concerned in it. *Statira* was daughter to *Hydarnes* a *Persian* lord, and governor of one of the chief provinces of the empire. *Artaxerxes*, then called *Arfaces*, falling in love with her, married her, and at the same time *Teriteuchmes* her brother married *Hamestris*, one of the daughters of *Darius* and sister to *Arfaces*, by reason of which marriage he was appointed on his father's death to succeed him in his government. But falling in love with his own sister *Roxana*, no ways inferior in beauty to *Statira*, that he might without any constraint enjoy her, he resolved to dispatch his wife *Hamestris*, and raise a rebellion in the kingdom. *Darius* being acquainted with his wicked designs, engaged *Udiastes*, an intimate friend of *Teriteuchmes*, to murder him, which he did accordingly, and was rewarded by the king with the government of his province. *Mithridates*, the son of *Udiastes*, who was one of *Teriteuchmes*'s guards, and greatly attached to his master, hearing that his father had committed this murder, uttered all manner of imprecations against him, and to shew his abhorrence of so vile an action, seized on the city of *Zaris*, and openly revolting declared for the son of *Teriteuchmes*. *Mithridates* was by the king's forces blocked up in the city of

² PLUTARCH. in Artaxerxe. DIODOR. ubi supra. JUSTIN. l. v. c. 8, & 11. ATHENÆUS, l. xii. ³ PLUTARCH. in Artax. Xenophon. de exped. Cyri. l. 5. JUSTIN. l. i. c. 5, 11.

Zaris, and with him the son of *Teriteuchmes*; all the rest of the family of *Hydarnes* were apprehended and delivered to *Parysatis* to execute her revenge upon them, for the ill usage done or intended against her daughter. That cruel princess began with *Roxana*, whose beauty had been the occasion of all this mischief, and caused her to be sawed in two, the others were all beheaded except *Statira*, whom she spared at the earnest entreaties and through the importunate tears of her husband *Arfaces*, contrary to the opinion of *Darius*, who told her that she would afterwards have occasion to repent it. Thus the case stood at the death of *Darius*. But *Arfaces* was no sooner settled on the throne, than *Statira* prevailed upon him to deliver *Udiastes* into her hands; whereupon she caused his tongue to be drawn out at his neck, and made him die in the most exquisite torments she could invent, in revenge of the part he had acted in the ruin of her family: His son *Mithridates* she appointed governor of his province, for the attachment he had shewn to *Teriteuchmes*. But *Parysatis*, bitterly resenting this fact, poisoned the son of *Teriteuchmes*, and not long after *Statira* herself, as we shall hereafter relate ^b.

Cyrus returning to his government of *Asia Minor* full of resentment for the sentence of death, which his brother had pronounced against him, resolved to revolt and use his utmost endeavours to drive him from the throne. With this view he employed *Glearchus* a *Lacedemonian* general to raise a body of *Greek* troops for his service, under pretence of a war which the *Lacedemonians* were to carry into *Thrace*. *Alcibiades* the *Athenian*, being well apprised of the true end for which these levies were made, passed over into the province of *Pharnabazus* with a design to proceed from thence to the *Persian* court, and acquaint *Artaxerxes* with the whole scheme. Had he arrived there, a discovery of such importance had without all doubt procured him the favour of that prince, and the assistance he wanted for the re-establishment of his country. But the partisans of the *Lacedemonians*, at *Athens*, that is the thirty tyrants, fearing the negotiations of so superior a genius, found means to induce *Pharnabazus* to put him to death, whereby the *Athenians* lost the great hopes they had conceived of speedily recovering their former state ^c.

THE cities that were under the government of *Tissaphernes* revolted from him to *Cyrus*. This incident, which was the effect of the secret practices of that prince, gave birth to

Cyrus designs a war against his brother.

^b Ctes. in Pers. in Artax.

^c Xenoph. de exped. Cyr. l. 1. Plut.

Year of a war between them. *Cyrus*, under pretence of arming against the Flood, gainst *Tissaphernes*, assembled troops openly, and to amuse 2596. the court more speciously, made grievous complaints to the king against that governor, demanding his protection and assistance in the most submissive manner. *Artaxerxes*, being Before Christ, 403. deceived by these appearances, believed, that all *Cyrus's* preparations were designed only against *Tissaphernes*, and, not being displeased that they should be at variance with each other, suffered him to raise what forces he pleased ^d.

THE young prince lost no time on his side, and hastened the execution of his great design. As he had assisted the *Lacedemonians* against the *Athenians*, and put them in a condition of gaining those victories which made them masters of Greece, he thought he might safely disclose to them his design, and ask their assistance for the accomplishing of it. The *Lacedemonians* readily granted him his demand, dispatching immediately orders to their fleet to join that of the prince, and to obey in all things the command of *Tamos* his admiral. But they took care not to mention *Artaxerxes*, pretending not to be privy to the designs that were carrying on against him. This precaution they used, that in case *Artaxerxes* should get the better of his brother they might justify themselves to him for what they had done ^e.

THE army which *Cyrus* had raised, consisted of 13000 *Greeks*, who were the flower of his army, and 100,000 regular troops of other nations. *Clearchus* the *Lacedemonian* commanded all the *Peloponnesian* troops, except the *Acheans*, who were led by *Socrates* of *Achaia*. The *Beotians* were under *Proxenus*, a *Theban*, and the *Thessalians* under *Menon*. The other nations were commanded by *Persian* generals, of whom the chief was *Ariæus*. The fleet consisted of 35 ships under *Pythagoras* a *Lacedemonian*, and 25 commanded by *Tamos* an *Egyptian*, admiral of the whole fleet ^f. *Cyrus* opened his design to none of the *Greeks* except *Clearchus*, fearing the boldness of the enterprize might discourage the officers as well as the soldiers. *Proxenus*, between whose family and *Xenophon's* an antient friendship subsisted, presented that young *Athenian* to *Cyrus*, who received him favourably, and gave him a commission among the *Greek* mercenaries ^g. *Cyrus*, having at length got all things ready, set out from *Sardis* directing his march towards the upper parts of *Asia*, the troops neither knowing where, nor in what war, they were to be em-

^d XENOPH. ubi supra. PLUT. in Artax. supra. PLUTARCH. ibid. JUSTIN. l. v. c. 11. supra, p. 252.

^e XENOPH. l. ii. p. 294.

^f XENOPH. ubi

^g XENOPH. ubi

ployed : For *Cyrus* had only given out, that he was marching against the *Pisidians*, who with frequent incursions harrassed his province. However, *Tissaphernes*, judging these preparations to be too great for so small an enterprize, set out with all possible expedition from *Miletus* to give the king a true account of them. *Artaxerxes*, being now well apprised of his brother's designs, assembled a numerous army to receive him. In the mean time *Cyrus* advancing with long marches arrived at the straits of *Cilicia*, where he found *Syennesis*, king of that country, prepared to dispute his passage ; wherein he would have easily succeeded, had he not been obliged to abandon that important pass, to defend his own territories against *Tamos* and the *Lacedemonian* fleet which appeared upon the coast ^h.

WHEN they arrived at *Tarsus* the *Greeks* refused to proceed any farther, suspecting that they were marching against the king, and protesting, that they did not enter into the service upon that condition. *Clearchus* at first made use of his authority to quell the tumult, but with very ill success; and therefore desisting from force he pretended to enter into their views, and advised them to send deputies to *Cyrus*, to know from his own mouth against whom they were to be employed. By this artful evasion he appeased the tumult, and was himself chosen for one of the deputies. *Cyrus*, whom he had acquainted before-hand with what had happened, answered that he was going to attack *Abrocomas*, who was at twelve days march distance encamped on the banks of the *Euphrates*. The *Greeks* plainly saw that this was not his true design, but nevertheless shewed themselves willing to proceed, on condition ~~that~~ their pay was increased. This *Cyrus* willingly granted, and having gained their affections during the march by treating them with extraordinary kindness and humanity, he at last declared that he marched against *Artaxerxes*. Upon this some complaints were heard at first, but they soon gave way to expressions of joy and satisfaction, occasioned by that prince's magnificent promises to the army ⁱ.

Cyrus arriving, after a long march, in the plains of *Cunaxa* in the province of *Babylon*, found there *Artaxerxes* with an army of 900,000 men ready to engage him. Whereupon, leaping out of his chariot, he ordered his troops to stand to their arms and fall into their ranks, which was done with great expedition, he not allowing them time to refresh themselves. *Clearchus* advised *Cyrus* not to charge in person, but to remain in the rear of the *Greek* battalions. This advice

^h Idem, l. i. p. 248—261. ⁱ XENOPH. & PLUT. *ibid.*

Cyrus
slain.

Year of
the Flood,
2598.
Year be-
fore Christ
401.

Cyrus rejected with indignation, saying that he would not render himself unworthy of the crown for which he was fighting. As the king's army drew near, the *Greeks* fell upon them with such fury, that the wing opposite to them, was at the very first onset, put to flight; whereupon *Cyrus* was, with loud shouts of joy, proclaimed king by those who stood round him. But he in the mean time perceiving, that *Artaxerxes* was wheeling about to attack him in flank, advanced against him with 600 chosen horse, killed *Artagerfes*, captain of the king's guards, with his own hand, and put the whole body to flight. In this encounter discovering his brother, he cried out, *I see him*, and spurring on his horse engaged him with great resolution, which in some degree turned the battle into a single combat, each of the two brothers endeavouring to assure himself of the crown by the death of his rival. *Cyrus* killed his brother's horse, and wounded him on the ground; but he immediately mounted another, when *Cyrus* attacked him again, gave him a second wound, and had already lifted up his hand to give him a third, which the king's guards observing they all discharged their arrows, aiming at him alone, and he at the same time throwing himself headlong upon the king was run through by his javelin and pierced with innumerable arrows. He fell dead upon the spot, and all the chief lords of his court, resolving not to survive their master, were killed in the place where he fell; a certain proof, says *Xenophon*, that he well knew how to choose his friends, and that he was truly beloved by them. Some writers tell us, that *Cyrus*, was killed by a *Carian* soldier. *Mithridates* a young *Persian* nobleman, boasted that he had given him the mortal blow with his javelin, which entered his temple, and pierced his head quite through. *Artaxerxes*, after having caused his head and right hand to be cut off, pursued the enemy to their camp, and there possessed himself of great part of their baggage and provisions. The *Greeks* had defeated the king's left wing commanded by *Tissaphernes*, and the king's right wing commanded by himself, had routed the enemies left; and as neither knew what had happened elsewhere, both parties believed they had gained the day. But *Tissaphernes* acquainting the king that his men had been put to flight by the *Greeks*, he immediately rallied his troops in order to attack them. The *Greeks* under the command of *Clearchus*, easily repulsed them, and pursued them to the neighbouring hills. As night was drawing near, the *Greeks* halted at the foot of the hill, much surprised that neither *Cyrus* himself nor any messenger from him appeared, for they yet knew nothing of his

his death, or the defeat of the rest of the army. They determined therefore to return to their camp, which they did accordingly; but found there that the greatest part of their baggage had been plundered, and all their provisions taken, which obliged them to pass the night in the camp without any sort of refreshment. The next morning, as they were still expecting to hear from *Cyrus*, they received the sad news of his death, and the defeat of that part of the army. Whereupon they sent deputies to *Ariæus*, who had retired to the place whence they had marched the day before the action, offering him as conquerors the crown of *Persia* in the room of *Cyrus*. *Ariæus* rejected the offer, and acquainted them that he intended to set out early the next morning on his return to *Ionia*, advising them to join him in the night. They followed his directions, and under the conduct of *Clearchus* began their march, and arrived at his camp about midnight, whence they set out on their return to *Greece*^k. They were at a vast distance from their own country, in the very heart of the *Persian* empire, surrounded by a numerous and conquering army, and had no way to return again into *Greece*, but by forcing their retreat through an immense tract of the enemies country. But their valour and resolution mastered all these difficulties; and in spite of a powerful army, which pursued and harrassed them all the way, they made a retreat of 2325 miles through provinces belonging to the enemy, and got safe to the *Greek* cities on the *Euxine* sea. This was the longest march and most memorable retreat that ever was made through an enemy's country. *Clearchus* had the conduct of it at first, but he being cut off by the treachery of *Tissaphernes*, *Xenophon* was chosen in his room, and to his valour and wisdom it was chiefly owing that at length they got safe into *Greece*. As the same *Xenophon* has given a minute account of this expedition, and the retreat of the *Greeks* from the place of the battle to their own country, we shall refer the reader to that inimitable performance, and return to what passed in the court of *Artaxerxes* after the battle of *Cunaxa*.

As he believed that he had killed *Cyrus* with his own hand, and looked upon that as the most glorious action of his whole life, to dispute that honour with him was wounding him in the most tender part. Being therefore informed, that the *Carian* soldier, whom we have mentioned above, laid claim to that glory, he caused him to be delivered to *Parysatis*, who had sworn the destruction of all those who were any ways con-

^k *XENOPH.* *ibid.* 272—292. *DIODOR.* l. xiv. p. 255
257.

earned in the death of her son. She made that unhappy wretch suffer the most exquisite torments she could invent during ten days, and then put him to a most cruel death. *Mithridates* likewise, having boasted that it was he who gave *Cyrus* his mortal wound, was treated in the manner we have described, where we spoke of the punishments used among the *Persians*. *Masabates* one of the king's eunuchs, who by his order had cut off the head and hand of *Cyrus* being delivered to *Parysatis*, was flayed alive, and his skin stretched before his eyes upon two stakes prepared for that purpose. Nor did the cruelty and resentment of *Parysatis* stop here ; for having conceived an implacable hatred against *Statira* for reproaching her, as if she had countenanced her son *Cyrus*'s revolt against his brother, that revengeful woman poisoned her own daughter-in-law in the following manner. *Parysatis*, feigning to be reconciled to her, invited her one night to supper, and a certain bird being served up, which was a great rarity among the *Persians*, she divided it between *Statira* and herself with a knife which was poisoned on one side only : the sound part she immediately eat, which encouraged *Statira*, though upon her guard, to eat the other ; whereupon she was that instant seized with horrible convulsions and died in a few hours. *Artaxerxes* being greatly afflicted for the loss of his beloved wife, and suspecting his mother, caused all her domestics to be put to the rack, when *Gygis*, one of her confidants discovered the whole. *Artaxerxes* caused *Gygis*, who was privy to the crime, to be put to a cruel death, and confined his mother to *Babylon*, telling her, that he would never set his foot within the gates of that city while she was there ; but at length, time having alleviated his grief, he allowed her to return to court, where, by an entire submission to his will, she regained his favour, and bore a great sway at court to her death ¹.

The Lacedæmonians make war upon the Persians.
Year of the Flood, 2599.
Year before Christ 400.

AFTER the death of *Cyrus*, *Tissaphernes* being sent back to his former government, and moreover invested with the same power which had been given to *Cyrus*, he began to harass and oppress the *Greek* cities, that were within the verge of his authority and had sided with that unfortunate prince. Whereupon they sent ambassadors to the *Lacedæmonians* imploring their assistance and protection. The *Lacedæmonians*, having now ended the long war which they had waged with the *Athenians*, laid hold of this opportunity of breaking again with the *Persians*, and sent *Thimbro* with an army against them,

¹ PLUTARCH. in Artax.

which being strengthened by the conjunction of those forces that *Xenophon* brought back from *Persia*, they took the field against *Tissaphernes*. But *Thimbro* being soon recalled upon some complaints and sent into banishment, *Dercyllidas* was appointed to succeed him. As he was both a brave general and a famous engineer, he was attended with far better success than his predecessor. Upon his first arrival finding that *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus*, governors of the two neighbouring provinces, were at variance with each other, he made a truce with the former, and marching against the latter with all his forces drove him quite out of *Æolis* and several cities of other provinces. *Pharnabazus*, fearing he might invade *Phrygia* the chief province of his government, was glad to make a truce with him, leaving him in possession of what he had taken. Upon this truce he marched into *Bithynia*, where he took up his winter quarters to avoid being chargeable to his allies. At the same time *Pharnabazus* took a journey to the *Persian* court, and there made loud complaints against *Tissaphernes*, for concluding a peace with *Dercyllidas* instead of assisting him against the common enemy. He likewise earnestly pressed the king to equip a great fleet, and appoint *Conon* the *Athenian*, then an exile in *Cyprus*, admiral, telling him, that as *Conon* was the best sea-commander of his time, he might by that means obstruct the passage of all farther recruits from *Greece*, and soon put an end to the power of the *Lacedemonians* in *Asia*. His proposal was approved of by the king, who immediately ordered 500 talents to be paid him for the equipment of a fleet, with instructions to give *Conon* the command of it^m.

IN the mean time *Dercyllidas*, having reduced *Atarna*, marched into *Caria*, where *Tissaphernes* usually resided. For the *Lacedemonians*, believing that, if he were attacked there, he would comply with all their demands in order to save that province, had sent *Dercyllidas* express orders to march thither. This *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* no sooner heard but they united against *Dercyllidas*, whom they came up with in so disadvantageous a post, that had they charged him immediately, he must inevitably have perished. *Pharnabazus* was for attacking him, but *Tissaphernes*, who at the battle of *Cunaxa* had experienced their valour, could not be brought to venture an engagement; but sent heralds to *Dercyllidas* to invite him to a parley, in which proposals for a peace being offered on both sides, they made a truce till the answer of their respective masters should be known. Thus *Dercyllidas* and his

^m DIODOR. l. xiv. p. 417. JUSTIN. l. vi. c. 8. PAUSAN. in Atticis.
army

army were saved from utter destruction, through the cowardice of his enemy, when nothing else could have delivered them ⁿ.

Agefilaus
passes into
Asia.
Year 2603.
Before
Christ,
96.

IN the mean time the *Lacedemonians*, receiving accounts from *Asia*, that the king of *Persia* was equipping a powerful fleet on the coasts of *Phœnice*, *Syria*, and *Cilicia*, and supposing it to be designed, as it truly was, against them, resolved to send *Agefilaus*, one of their kings, into *Asia*, in order to make a diversion. All things being ready for this expedition, *Agefilaus* set sail with a considerable body of troops, and arrived at *Ephesus* before any of the king's officers had the least intimation of this design; with such secrecy and expedition was the whole managed at *Sparta*. *Agefilaus* upon his arrival took the field with 10,000 foot, and 4000 horse, and, finding no body in a condition to oppose him, carried all before him. Whereupon *Tissaphernes* sent a messenger to enquire for what end he was come into *Asia*, and why he had taken up arms. *Agefilaus* replied, that he was come to assist the *Greeks* inhabiting *Asia*, and restore them to their antient liberty. *Tissaphernes*, being quite unprepared for a war, assured *Agefilaus*, that his master would grant him what he demanded, provided he committed no acts of hostility till the return of an express which he had sent to court. *Agefilaus* believed him, and a truce was agreed on and sworn to on both sides. But *Tissaphernes*, without any regard to his oath, made no other use of this truce than to assemble troops on all sides, and send to the king for more forces, and as soon as he received them, he sent word to *Agefilaus* to depart *Asia*, denouncing war against him in case of refusal. This message greatly alarmed the *Lacedemonians* and their confederates, as not believing themselves in a condition to oppose the now numerous army of *Tissaphernes*, who had been joined by auxiliaries from all parts of the *Persian* empire. As for *Agefilaus* himself, he heard *Tissaphernes*'s heralds with a gay and easy air, and desired them to tell their master, that he was under great obligations to him, for having made the gods by his perjury enemies to *Persia*, and friends to *Greece*. Having with this answer dismissed the heralds, he drew all his forces together, and made a feint, as if he intended to invade *Caria*; but as soon as he understood, that *Tissaphernes* had caused all his troops to march into that province, he turned short and fell upon *Phrygia*. As his coming thither was wholly unexpected, he

ⁿ DIODOR. *ibid.* XENOPH. *HELLEN.* l. iii.

over-ran great part of the province without any opposition, took many towns, and, loaded with an immense booty, marched back by the sea-coast into *Ionia*, and wintered at *Ephesus* °.

EARLY in the spring *Agésilas* took the field, and gave out that his design was to invade *Lydia*. But *Tissaphernes*, who had not forgot the stratagem of the former campaign, took it for granted, that he now truly intended to fall upon *Caria*, and accordingly made his troops march to the defence of that province. But *Agésilas* led his army, as he had given out, into *Lydia*, and approached *Sardis*. Whereupon *Tissaphernes* recalled his forces from their former rout, with a design to relieve the place. But *Caria* being a very mountainous country and unfit for horse, he had marched thither only with the foot, and left the horse behind on the borders of that province. Whence on their marching back to the relief of *Sardis*, the horse being some days march before the foot, *Agésilas* took the advantage of so favourable an opportunity, and fell upon them before the foot could come up to their assistance. The *Persians* were routed at the very first onset, and *Agésilas*, becoming by this victory master of the field, over-ran the whole country, and enriched both himself and his army with the spoils of the conquered *Persians* †.

THE loss of this battle greatly incensed the king against *Tissaphernes*, and encreased the suspicion which he had before conceived of him, as if he had something else in view besides his master's interest. At the same time *Conon*, arriving at the *Persian* court, heightened the king's displeasure with new complaints against him; for he had deprived the soldiers on board *Conon's* fleet of their pay, and thereby disabled him from doing the king any service. Queen *Parysatis*, actuated by an irreconcilable hatred against all those who had any share in the death of her son *Cyrus*, did not fail on this occasion to aggravate the charges brought against him. Hereupon the king resolved to put him to death, but being afraid to attack him openly, by reason of the great authority he had in *Asia*, he charged *Tithraustes*, captain of the guards, with that important commission, giving him at the same time two letters; the one directed to *Tissaphernes*, and empowering him to pursue the war against the *Greeks* in what manner he thought best; the other was addressed to *Ariæus* governor of *Larissa*, commanding him to assist *Tithraustes*, with his counsel and all

° XENOPH. HELLENIC. I. iii. PLUT. & Cor. Nep. in AGE-SILAO. † XENOPH. ibid. p. 501—557. PLUT. in ARTAX. p. 1022. & in Agefil. p. 601.

his forces, in seizing *Tissaphernes*. Upon the receipt of this letter, *Ariæus* desired *Tissaphernes* to come to him, that they might confer together about the operations of the ensuing campaign. *Tissaphernes*, who suspected nothing, went to him with a guard only of 300 men. But while he was bathing, according to the *Persian* custom, and disarmed, he was seized and put into the hands of *Tithraustes*, who caused his head to be struck off and sent into *Persia*. The king gave it to *Parysatis*, an acceptable present to one of her revengeful temper ^q.

UPON the death of *Tissaphernes*, *Tithraustes*, who was appointed to succeed him, sent great presents to *Agésilæus*, telling him, that the cause of the war being removed, and the first author of all their differences put to death, nothing could prevent an accommodation; that the king his master would allow the *Greek* cities in *Asia* to enjoy their liberty, paying him the customary tribute, which was all that the *Lacedæmonians* required when they first began the war. *Agésilæus* replied, that he could not come to any agreement without orders from *Sparta*. However, as he was willing to give *Tithraustes* the satisfaction of removing out of his province, he marched into *Phrygia*, which was the province of *Pharnabazus*, *Tithraustes* paying him thirty talents to defray the charges of his march. Upon his march he received a letter from the magistrates of *Sparta*, giving him the command of the fleet as well as of the land-forces. By this new commission he was appointed sole commander of all the troops in *Asia*, both by sea and land. This drew him down to the sea-coast, where he put the fleet in good order, and appointed *Pisander*, his wife's brother, admiral, ordering him forthwith to put to sea. In this he was more influenced by private affection for his brother-in-law, than by the due regard he ought to have had for the public good; for though *Pisander* was a man of great courage and valour, yet he was not in other respects equal to that trust, as the event sufficiently proved ^r.

Agésilæus, having settled the maritime affairs, pursued his design of invading *Phrygia*, where he reduced many cities, and amassed great sums of money, maintaining his army on the territories of *Pharnabazus* in great affluence. From thence he marched in to *Paphlagonia*, being invited thither by *Spithridates*, a noble *Persian*, who had revolted from the king.

^q XENOPH. ubi supra. DIODOR. l. xiv. p. 220. POLYÆN. Stratag. l. vii. ^r PALSAN. in Laconiciis. Xenoph. & Plutarch. ubi supra.

There he concluded a league with *Cotys* king of that country, and returning into *Phrygia* took the strong city of *Dasylum*, and wintered there in the palace of *Pharnabazus*, obliging the adjacent countries to supply his army with all sorts of provisions^f. *Titbraustes*, finding that *Agefilaus* was for carrying on the war in *Asia*, sent *Timocrates* of *Rhodes* into *Greece*, with large sums of money, to corrupt the leading men in their cities, and rekindle a war against the *Lacedemonians*. This stratagem produced the intended effect; for the cities of *Thebes*, *Argos*, *Corinth*, and others, entering into confederacy, obliged the *Lacedemonians* to recall their king, as we shall see in its proper place. In the beginning of the next spring as *Agefilaus* was ready to take the field, *Pharnabazus* invited him to an interview, and he accepting the invitation, *Pharnabazus*, after expatiating on the services he had done the *Lacedemonians* in their war with the *Athenians*, reproached them with ingratitude, since, in return for so many favours, they had pillaged his palace, and ravaged his lands at *Dasylum*, which were his hereditary estate. As what he said was true, *Agefilaus* and the *Lacedemonians* that attended him, were to such a degree ashamed in seeing themselves so justly upbraided with ingratitude, that they knew not what to answer, nor how to excuse such an ungenerous proceeding. However to make him the best amends they could, they obliged themselves by a solemn promise not to invade any of the provinces under his government, so long as there were others into which they might carry the war against the *Persian* king^g. They were as good as their word, and immediately withdrew with a design to invade the upper parts of *Asia*, and prosecute the war in the very heart of the *Persian* empire. But while *Agefilaus* was projecting this expedition, a messenger arrived at the camp from *Sparta*, acquainting him, that the *Ephori* recalled him to defend his own country, against which several states of *Greece* had formed a strong confederacy. He readily complied with this order, and made all the haste thither he could, complaining at his departure, that the *Persians* had driven him out of *Asia* with thirty thousand archers, alluding to the *Persian Darics*, which were pieces of gold stamped on one side with the figure of an archer^h.

Agefilaus recalled.
Year of the Flood 2608.
Before Christ 594.

^f PLUT. in *Agefil.* Xenoph. *Hellenic.* l. iv. p. 507. 510.
^g XENOPH. ubi supra. p. 513. Plut. in *Agefil.* p. 603, 604.

The Lacedemonians defeated at Cnidos.

Conon, on his return from the *Persian* court, having brought money enough to pay the soldiers and mariners their arrears, and supply the fleet with arms and provisions, took *Pharnabazus* on board, and forthwith set sail in quest of the enemies. The *Persian* fleet consisted of 90 vessels and upwards; that of the *Lacedemonians* was not so numerous, but their ships were larger. They came in view of each other near *Cnidos*, a maritime city of *Asia Minor*. *Conon*, who had in some measure occasioned the taking of *Athens* by losing the sea-fight at *Ægospotamos*, or the *Goats river*, was determined to use his utmost efforts in order to retrieve that misfortune, and efface by a glorious victory the disgrace of his former defeat. On the other hand, *Pisander* was desirous to justify by his conduct and valour the choice which *Agésilas* his brother-in-law had made in appointing him admiral. In effect he behaved with extraordinary courage, and had at first some advantage. But *Conon* having boarded his ship and killed him with his own hand, the rest of the fleet betook themselves to flight. *Conon* pursued them, took fifty of their ships, and, having gained a complete victory, put an end to the power of the *Lacedemonians* in those parts. The consequence of this victory was a general revolt of all the allies of *Sparta*; some declaring for the *Athenians*, and others resuming their antient liberty. After this battle the empire of the *Lacedemonians* declined daily, till at length the overthrows, which they received at *Leuctra* and *Mantineæ*, compleated their downfall^u.

AFTER this victory *Conon* and *Pharnabazus* being masters at sea sailed round the islands and coasts of *Asia*, reducing the cities, which in those parts were subject to the *Lacedemonians*. *Sestus* and *Abydus* were the only two cities that held out against them. *Pharnabazus* attacked them by land, and *Conon* by sea; but neither succeeding in the attempt, the former on the approach of winter retired home, leaving *Conon* to take care of the fleet, and strengthen it with as many ships as he could assemble from the cities on the *Hellepont*, against the ensuing spring*.

Conon having assembled, pursuant to his commission, a powerful fleet against the time appointed, took *Pharnabazus* again on board, and steering his course thro' the islands, landed in *Melos* the most distant of them all. Having reduced this island, as lying very convenient for the invading of *Laconia*, the country of the *Lacedemonians*, he made from thence a descent on the coasts of that province, pillaged all the mari-

^u XENOPH. ubi supra. p. 518. DIODOR. l. xiv. p. 302. JUSTIN, l. vi. c. 2, 3.

* XENOPH. ibid. p. 534. DIODOR. l. xiv. p. 441. time

time places, and loaded his fleet with an immense booty. After this *Pharnabazus* returning to his government of *Phrygia*, *Conon* obtained leave of him to repair to *Athens* with 80 ships and 50 talents, in order to rebuild the walls of that city, having first convinced him, that nothing could more effectually contribute to the weakening of *Sparta*, than putting *Athens* again in a condition to rival its power. He no sooner arrived at *Piræus*, the port of *Athens*, but he began the work, which, as he had a great number of hands and was seconded by the zeal of all those that were well inclined to the *Athenians*, was soon compleated, and the city not only restored to its former splendor, but rendered more formidable than ever to its enemies. Thus *Athens* was rebuilt by the *Persians*, who had destroyed it, and fortified at the expence and with the spoils of the *Lacedemonians*, who had dismantled it. *Conon*, having rebuilt the walls of the city, of the port, and those which led from the former to the latter, and were called the *Long-walls*, distributed the 50 talents, which he had received of *Pharnabazus*, among his citizens, and offered the gods a sacrifice of an hundred oxen, in thanksgiving for the happy re-establishment of his native country †.

Conon re-builds the walls of Athens.
Year of the Flood,
2606.
Year before
Christ
393.

THE *Lacedemonians* could not behold without great concern so glorious a revolution, and finding themselves unable to maintain a war, with men as brave as themselves assisted with the treasures of *Persia*, dispatched *Antalcidas* one of their citizens to *Tiribazus*, governor of *Sardis*, enjoining him to conclude a peace with *Artaxerxes* upon the most advantageous terms he could. The other cities of *Greece*, in alliance with the *Athenians*, sent at the same time their deputies, and *Conon* was at the head of those from *Athens*. The terms, which *Antalcidas* proposed, were, that the king should possess all the *Greek* cities in *Asia*; but the islands and other cities in *Greece* should enjoy their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. As these proposals were very advantageous to the king and dishonourable to the *Greeks* in general, the other ambassadors were all unanimous in rejecting them. The *Lacedemonians*, bearing an implacable hatred to *Conon* for the restoring of *Athens*, had charged *Antalcidas* to accuse him to *Tiribazus* of having purloined the king's money for the carrying on of that work, and of having formed a design for the taking of *Æolis* and *Ionia* from the *Persians*, and uniting them anew to the republic of *Athens*. Upon these accusations *Tiribazus* seized him, and, having supplied the *Lacedemonians*

† XENOPH. & DIODOR. *ibid.*

underhand with considerable sums of money for the equipping of a fleet against the *Athenians*, set out for the *Persian* court to give the king an account of his negotiations. *Artaxerxes* was well pleased with the terms which the *Lacedemonians* had proposed, and directed him to put the last hand to the treaty. At the same time *Tiribazus* laid before the king the accusations which the *Lacedemonians* had brought against *Conon*. Whereupon he was, according to some writers², sent to *Susa* and there put to death by the king's command; but the silence of *Xenophon*, who was his contemporary, as to his death, makes us doubt of the truth of this event².

WHILE *Tiribazus* was attending the court, *Suthras* was charged to guard the coasts of *Asia* in his absence. On this occasion observing the havock, which the *Lacedemonians* had made in all the maritime provinces, he conceived such an aversion to them, that he sent what supplies he could spare to their enemies the *Athenians*. This obliged the *Lacedemonians* to send *Thimbro* into *Asia* to renew the war there; but, as they were not in a condition to supply him with men or money sufficient for such an undertaking, he was soon cut off, and his army dispersed by the superior power of the *Persians*. *Diphridas* was sent in his room to carry on the war with the scattered remains of his army; but was attended with no better success, all their attempts upon *Asia* after the battle of *Cnidus* being but faint struggles of a declining power. In the mean time *Tiribazus* returning from *Susa* summoned all the deputies of the *Greek* cities to be present at the reading of the treaty, which had been already approved of by the king. The terms were; that all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* should be subject to the king of *Persia*, and besides, the islands of *Cyprus* and *Clazomenæ*; that the islands of *Scyros*, *Lemnos*, and *Imbros* should be restored to the *Athenians*; and all the cities of *Greece*, whether small or great, should be declared free. By the same treaty *Artaxerxes* engaged to join those who accepted the terms he proposed, and assist them to the utmost of his power against such as should reject them. These conditions were equally disadvantageous and dishonourable to the *Grecian* name; however, as *Greece* was extremely weakened and exhausted by domestic divisions, and therefore no-ways in a condition to carry on a war against so powerful a prince, they were all forced to swear to the treaty. This is called the peace of *Antalcidas*, for he was the first that proposed it, giving up to the *Persians*, with the utmost injustice and baseness, all the

The peace
of Antal-
cidas.
Year of
the Flood,
2612.
Year be-
fore Christ
387.

² CORNEL. NEP. in Conone.
l. xiv. p. 442.

² XENOPH. ubi supra. DIODOR.

Greeks settled in *Asia*, for whose liberty *Agésilas* had so long contended ^b.

Artaxerxes, being now quite disengaged from the *Grecian* war, turned his whole power against *Evagoras* king of *Cyprus*, whom he had long before designed to drive out of that island, but had never been at leisure to put his design in execution. *Evagoras* was descended from the antient kings of *Salamine*, the capital city of the island of *Cyprus*. His ancestors had held that city for many ages in quality of sovereigns; but were at last driven out by the *Persians*, who, making themselves masters of the whole island, reduced it to a *Persian* province. *Evagoras*, who was a man of extraordinary parts, not brooking to live in subjection to a foreign yoke, expelled *Abdymon* a *Citian*, governor of *Salamine* for the king of *Persia*, and took possession of his paternal kingdom. *Artaxerxes* attempted to recover that city, but being diverted by the *Greek* war, and finding *Evagoras* determined to hold out to the last, gave over, or rather put off, that enterprize. In the mean time *Conon*, by means of *Ctesias* the *Cnidian*, who was chief physician to *Artaxerxes*, made up all differences between *Evagoras* and *Artaxerxes*, the latter promising not to molest him in the possession of his small kingdom. But *Evagoras*, who was every way qualified for great undertakings, could not content himself with the city of *Salamine* alone. He extended his dominions, and by degrees made himself master, in a manner, of the whole island of *Cyprus*. The *Amathusi-ans*, *Solians*, and *Citians*, alone of those islanders, held out against him. These had recourse to *Artaxerxes*, who, becoming jealous of the power of this active and wise prince, promised them an immediate and powerful support. But being employed elsewhere, he could not perform his promise so soon as he expected. Having at length concluded a peace with the *Greeks*, he bent all his force against *Evagoras*, determined to drive him quite out of the island. The *Athenians*, notwithstanding the treaty of peace lately made with the *Persians*, and the many favours received at the king's hands, could not forbear assisting their old ally, who had befriended them on all occasions. Having therefore equipped ten men of war, they sent them, with all possible expedition, under the command of *Philocrates* to assist him. But the *Lacedemonian* fleet, commanded by *Teleutias* brother to *Agésilas*, falling in with them near the isle of *Rhodes*, surrounded them, so that not one ship could escape ^c. The *Athenians*, determined to

^b XENOPH. l. v. p. 548—551. DIODOR. ubi supra. p. 447.

^c XENOPHON. ubi supra. DIODOR. l. xv. p. 459.

The Persi-
ans invade
Cyprus
with 300,
000 men.
Year of
the Flood,
2613.
Year be-
fore Christ
386.

assist *Evagoras* at all adventures, sent *Chabrias* with another fleet and a considerable number of land-forces on board to join him. This new supply arrived safe, and in a short time obliged the whole island to submit to *Evagoras*. But the *Athenians* being forced, by the articles of a new treaty concluded between *Artaxerxes* and the cities of *Greece*, to recal *Chabrias*, the *Persians* attacked with all their forces the island of *Cyprus*, not doubting, but they should soon reduce it, since no supplies could be sent thither from *Greece*. The king's army consisted of 300,000 men, and his fleet of 300 ships. The land-forces were commanded by *Orontes* son-in-law to *Artaxerxes*, and the fleet by *Gaus* the son of *Tamus*, whom we have mentioned above. *Tiribazus* was commander in chief both of the sea and land-forces. *Evagoras*, seeing himself threatened with so dreadful a war, had recourse to all those princes who were at enmity with the *Persians*, receiving supplies, both of men and money, from the *Egyptians*, *Libyans*, *Arabians*, *Tyrians*, and other nations. Besides, as he had amassed immense treasures, he hired a great number of mercenaries of various nations. As he had a great many small vessels, he intercepted all the enemies ships that brought provisions from the continent, and thereby reduced their numerous army, after their landing in the island, to such straits, that they began to mutiny, and killed several of their officers. But the whole *Persian* fleet putting to sea, the army was again plentifully supplied from *Cilicia*. At the same time *Evagoras* likewise received a great supply of corn and fifty ships from *Egypt*, which, together with those he had fitted out himself, making up a fleet of 200 sail, he advanced to attack the whole naval force of the *Persians*. At first he had the advantage, and took or destroyed several of the enemies ships; but *Gaus* advancing with a few ships attacked him with such vigour, that *Evagoras* was obliged to retire after an obstinate resistance. The rest of the *Persian* fleet, being encouraged by the example of their admiral, returned to the charge, and at last obtained a complete victory, driving the enemy's ships into their harbours. *Evagoras* with a few ships escaped to *Salamine*, where he was immediately closely besieged both by sea and land. After this victory *Tiribazus* went in person to acquaint the king with the success that attended his arms in *Cyprus*, and having obtained 2000 talents for the use of the army, he returned with that new supply to carry on the war more vigorously than ever. During his absence, *Evagoras*, leaving the defence of the city to his son *Pythagoras*, got through the enemies fleet in the dead of the night with ten ships and sailed for *Egypt*, in hopes of engaging *Acheris*, king of that country, to join him with

all his forces. But not obtaining from him the aid he expected, and finding on his return the city reduced to the last extremities, and himself destitute of all means of raising the siege, he was obliged to capitulate. The proposals made to him were; that he should abandon all the cities of *Cyprus*, except *Salamine*, which he should hold of the king, as a servant of his lord, and pay an annual tribute. The extremity to which he was reduced obliged him to accept the other conditions, hard as they were; but he could by no means be brought to consent to that of holding *Salamine*, as a servant under his master, and persisted in declaring, that he would hold it no otherwise than as a king under a king. *Tiribazus*, who commanded in chief, would not make the least alteration, nor abate any thing of his pretensions; whereupon *Evagoras*, being determined to die sword in hand rather than yield to such terms, broke off the conference, and applied himself entirely to the defence of the city ^d.

In the mean time *Orontes*, who commanded the land-forces, not being able to brook the superiority which *Tiribazus* had over him, as being intrusted with the whole management of the war, and jealous of the success that attended him, wrote secretly to court, accusing him amongst other things of forming designs against the king's interest, and holding a private correspondence with the *Lacedemonians*. Upon the receipt of these letters, *Artaxerxes* immediately dispatched orders to *Orontes* to seize *Tiribazus* and send him prisoner to court, which being without delay put in execution, the chief command was conferred upon *Orontes*. But the army being very much dissatisfied with the change, many left the service, and others refused to obey their new commander. Whereupon *Orontes* was obliged to renew the treaty with *Evagoras*, and conclude it upon terms which *Tiribazus* had rejected; for he consented, that he should hold *Salamine* as king of that city, paying only a small tribute to the king of *Persia*. Thus the siege was raised, and a peace concluded with *Evagoras*, after a war which had cost the *Persians* above 50,000 talents, that is near ten millions of our money ^e. For the elogy and character of this prince we refer the reader to *Isocrates*.

THE peace concluded with *Evagoras* did not put an end to the war in those parts. For *Gaus*, resenting the unjust usage of *Tiribazus*, whose daughter he had married, and fearing to be involved in the same prosecution with his father-in-law, and put to death on bare suspicions, sent deputies to *Achoris* king

^d DIODOR. ubi supra.^e ISOCRAT. in Evag.

of *Egypt*, and having concluded an alliance with him against the king of *Persia*, openly revolted, and was joined by a great part both of the fleet and army, most of the officers being intirely at his devotion. He likewise solicited the *Lacedemonians* to come into the league, assuring them, that he in his turn would, at the end of the war, employ all his forces in their favour, and make them masters of all *Greece*. They hearkened favourably to these proposals, and embraced with joy such an opportunity of making war upon the *Persians*, being highly dissatisfied with the peace of *Antalcidas*. But, before matters were ripe for execution, *Gaus* was treacherously slain by one of his own officers, and *Tachos*, who took upon him to carry on the same design, soon died; whereby the vast preparations they had made came to nothing; and the *Lacedemonians* never afterwards meddled with the affairs of *Asia* †.

Artaxerxes
invades
the Cadu-
sians with
ill success.
Year of
the Flood,
2615.
Year be-
fore Christ
384.

Artaxerxes had no sooner finished the *Cyprian* war, but he entered upon another against the *Cadusians*, who perhaps had revolted, for authors are silent as to the occasion of this war. This people inhabited the mountains between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, and, being from their infancy inured to a hard and laborious life, were accounted a very warlike race. The king marched in person against them at the head of 300,000 foot and 20,000 horse: But, the country by reason of its barrenness not affording provisions sufficient to maintain so numerous an army, they were soon reduced to feed upon the beasts of burden which accompanied the army; and these became so scarce, that an ass's head was sold for 60 drachmas. The king's provisions too began to fall short, and only a few horses remained. In this sad posture of affairs, *Tiribazus* contrived a stratagem which saved the king and the army. He followed the court in this expedition, or rather was carried about as a prisoner, being in disgrace by reason of the crimes laid to his charge by *Orontes*, as we have said above. The *Cadusians* had two kings, who were encamped apart from each other. *Tiribazus*, who took care to be informed of all that passed in the enemy's camp, found that there was some misunderstanding between them, and that the jealousy and mistrust, which they had of each other, prevented their acting in concert. Whereupon he advised the king to enter into a treaty with them, and, taking upon himself the whole management of it, went in person to one of the kings, and sent his son to the other. Each of them informed the king, to

† DIODOR. l. xv.

whom he applied, that the other had sent ambassadors to treat separately with *Artaxerxes*, and advised him to lose no time, but make his peace as soon as possible, that the conditions might be the more advantageous. Their negotiations had the desired effect, and both princes were brought separately to submit to the king, which saved both him and his army from impending destruction^c (Q).

THE king lost in this ill-projected expedition a great number of his best troops, and all his horses. Among others who lost their lives on this occasion was *Camissares*, by nation a *Carian*, a man of extraordinary courage and conduct. He was governor of *Leuco-Syria*, a province lying between *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*, and was succeeded in that government by his son *Datames*, who attended *Artaxerxes* in this expedition, and distinguished himself in a very particular manner. *Datames* was the greatest commander of his time, and by none ever exceeded, as *Cornelius Nepos*, who has wrote his life, informs us, in courage, boldness, and abilities for contriving and executing military stratagems. But his eminent qualities and too great merit occasioned his ruin, as we shall have occasion to relate hereafter.

ON the king's return to *Susa*, the eminent service which *Tiribazus* had done him in that expedition inclined him to have his cause thoroughly examined, and to grant him a fair hearing. For that purpose he appointed three commissioners, who were all of eminent rank and distinguished probity. These, after an impartial discussion of the whole affair, were unanimous in declaring him innocent; whereupon he was by the king restored to his former honours, and *Orontes* his accuser with disgrace banished the court^d.

Artaxerxes, being now at leisure from all other engagements, resolved to reduce the *Egyptians*, who had long before shaken off the *Persian* yoke; and accordingly made great preparations for that war. *Achoris*, who then reigned in *Egypt*, fore-

^c PLUT. in Artax p. 1023, 1024. DIODOR. l. xv. p. 462.

^d DIODOR. ubi supra, p. 463.

(Q) A modern writer is of opinion (76), that the *Cadusians* were descended from the *Israelites* of the ten tribes, which the king of *Affyria* carried out of the land of *Canaan*; but as he has no other foundation to ground his opinion upon but the similitude between the words *Cadusian* and *Kedushim*, which signifies *Holy People*, we cannot fall in with him.

(76) *Fuller Miscel* l. ii. c. 5.

seeing the storm, was not wanting on his side to provide against it the best he could. He joined a great number of *Greeks* and other mercenaries, under the command of *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, to his own subjects. *Pharnabazus*, being charged with the management of this war, sent ambassadors to *Athens*, complaining of *Chabrias* for engaging to serve against the king of *Persia*, with whom the state of *Athens* lived in amity, and threatening the republic with his master's resentment, if he were not immediately recalled. He demanded at the same time *Iphicrates*, another *Athenian*, and the best general of his time, to command the *Greek* mercenaries in the *Persian* service. The *Athenians*, who at that time had a great dependence on the *Persian* king's friendship to support them against their domestic enemies, recalled *Chabrias*, ordering him to repair to *Athens* on pain of death by a certain day. *Iphicrates* was sent to take upon him the command of the *Greek* mercenaries in the *Persian* army. On his arrival having mustered the forces he was to command, he so exercised them in all the arts of war, that they became very famous among the *Greeks* under the name of *Iphicrateſian* soldiers. And indeed he had time enough to instruct them before they entered upon action; for the *Persians* being very slow in their preparations, two whole years elapsed before they were in a condition to take the field. *Achoris*, king of *Egypt*, died in the mean time, and was succeeded by *Pſammuthis*, who reigned only a year. After him *Nepherotes* reigned four months, and then *Nectanebes*, the first of the *Sebennytic* race, twelve years¹.

Artaxerxes, that he might draw more auxiliaries out of *Greece* for his *Egyptian* war, sent ambassadors thither to put an end to their domestic broils, and declare in his name, to the different states and cities of that country, that it was his pleasure they should live in peace with each other upon the terms of the treaty of *Antalcidas*; and that, all garisons being withdrawn, each city should be left to enjoy their liberty, and live according to their own laws. This declaration was received with pleasure by all the cities of *Greece*, except the *Thebans*, who, aspiring to the empire of all *Greece*, refused to conform to it².

At length, all things being in a readiness for the invasion of *Egypt*, the *Persian* army was drawn together at *Ace*, since called *Ptolemais*, the place of the general rendezvous. In a

His unsuccessful expedition against Egypt.

¹ EUSEB. Chron. Syncell. p. 257.

² DIODOR. l. xv. p.

review there, the army was found to consist of 200,000 *Persians* under the command of *Pharnabazus*, and 20,000 *Greeks* led by *Iphicrates*. Their forces by sea were in proportion to those by land; for their fleet consisted of 300 galleys, besides an incredible number of vessels which followed to furnish both the fleet and the army with necessary provisions. The army and fleet began to move at the same time, and that they might act in concert, they separated as little as possible. The war was to begin with the siege of *Pelusium*; but *Nectanebes*, having had sufficient time to provide for the defence of that place, had rendered the approach to it impracticable both by sea and land. The fleet therefore, instead of making a descent, as had been at first projected, sailed from thence to the *Mendesian* mouth of the *Nile*; for the *Nile* at that time emptied itself into the sea by seven different channels, and each of these was defended by a fort and a strong garison. But the *Mendesian* mouth of the *Nile* not being so well fortified as the *Pelusian*, where the enemy was expected, they landed their forces there without any great opposition, carried the fortress that guarded it, and put all the *Egyptians* that were found in it to the sword. After this action *Iphicrates* was for reembarking the troops without loss of time, and attacking *Memphis* the capital of *Egypt*. Had this opinion been followed, before the *Egyptians* recovered from the consternation, which so formidable an invasion and the blow already received had thrown them into, they would have found the place without any defence, and must have certainly taken it and re-conquered all *Egypt*. But the main body of the army not being yet come up, *Pharnabazus* would undertake nothing before their arrival. *Iphicrates*, in the utmost despair to see so favourable an opportunity lost, which perhaps might never be retrieved, made pressing instances for leave to attempt the place, with the mercenaries only that were under his command. But *Pharnabazus*, out of a mean jealousy of the honour that would redound to *Iphicrates*, should he succeed in the enterprize, would by no means hearken to his proposal. This delay gave the *Egyptians* time to recover their courage, and put themselves in a condition to oppose any further attempts. For *Nectanebes* having lodged a sufficient garison in *Memphis*, with the rest took the field and so harrassed the *Persians*, that they could not advance farther into the country; and the *Nile* at the accustomed period overflowing the land, the *Persians* were obliged to return into *Phœnice*, having lost great part of their army in this unsuccessful expedition. Thus ended this war, which had cost immense sums, two whole years having been spent in making the necessary preparations for so fruitless

Year of
the Flood,
2625.
Before
Christ,
374.

fruitless an attempt. The only effect that it produced was, an irreconcilable enmity between the two generals. For *Pharnabazus*, to excuse himself, laid the whole blame of the miscarriage upon *Iphicrates*, and he, with more reason, on *Pharnabazus*; but being well apprized, that *Pharnabazus* would find more credit at the *Persian* court than he, and remembering what had happened to *Conon*, that he might not meet with the like fate, privately hired a ship and retired to *Athens*. *Pharnabazus* sent ambassadors to *Athens*, accusing him of making the *Egyptian* expedition miscarry, and requesting the republic to punish him according to his demerit. The *Athenians* made no other answer, than that if he were found guilty he should undergo the punishment he deserved. But it seems they were so well convinced of his innocence, that they never called him to a trial on that account; nay, he was not long after appointed sole admiral of their whole fleet¹.

TWELVE years after this expedition, *Artaxerxes*, who had not laid aside the thoughts of subjecting *Egypt*, notwithstanding his many miscarriages in that attempt, began to make new preparations for the invading of that country. *Tachos*, who had succeeded *Neftanebes*, drew together what forces he could to defend himself against so powerful an enemy. To strengthen himself the more, he sent into *Greece* to raise mercenaries, and prevailed with the *Lacedemonians*, who were at that time exasperated against *Artaxerxes*, for obliging them to include the *Messenians* in the late peace, to send a good number of troops under the command of *Agefilas*. This commission did no ways redound to the honour of *Agefilas*, for it was thought below the dignity of a king of *Sparta*, and a great commander, who had acquired such reputation in the world, and was then above eighty, to become a mercenary, and hire himself to a *Barbarian*. However, *Agefilas*, either out of vanity to be still at the head of an army, for *Tachos* had promised to make him commander in chief of all his forces, or out of a prospect of great gain, willingly accepted the commission, and set sail for *Egypt*. On his landing he was met by *Tachos*, who in their first interview conceived such disadvantageous ideas of him, that he ever after slighted his counsels and despised his person. For both he and his *Egyptian* generals expected to see a great and magnificent prince, with an attire and equipage equal to the fame of his exploits; and not a little old man, of a mean aspect, and drest

Year of
the Flood,
2637.
Year be-
fore Christ
362

¹ DIODOR. l. xv. p. 478.

in an old robe of coarse stuff, without any pomp, magnificence, or outward shew. This hasty and ill-grounded impression proved the ruin of *Tachos*; for he would allow *Agésilas* no other command but that of the mercenaries, which alone had been sufficient to disgust so great, so old, and so experienced a commander, and was the first cause of his aversion to *Tachos*. The charge of the fleet he gave to *Chabrias*, reserving to himself the chief command over all. Having joined the *Egyptians* and mercenaries into one body, he resolved to march into *Phœnice*, thinking it more adviseable to make that country the theatre of the war, than to expect the enemy at home. *Agésilas*, being apprised of the bad consequences that might attend this resolution, advised him against it, remonstrating, that his affairs were not so well settled in *Egypt* as to admit of his absence, and that it would be more for his interest to manage the war abroad by his lieutenants, and stay himself in his kingdom to be at hand in case of any disturbance. *Tachos* despised this wise counsel, and expressed no less disregard for him on all other occasions. But the event shewed, that *Agésilas*'s advice was the result of a very prudent forecast; for, while *Tachos* was in *Phœnice*, the *Egyptians* revolting set up *Nectanebus* his cousin, or, as *Diodorus* calls him, his son, in his stead. *Agésilas*, laying hold of this opportunity to vent his resentment against *Tachos*, joined the revolters, and drove him quite out of *Egypt*. The dethroned prince fled first to *Sidon*, and from thence to the *Persian* court, where he was not only received with great kindness, but entrusted with the command of the troops against the rebels ^m (R).

^m DIODOR. l. 15. 397.—401. PLUT. in AGRASIL. p. 616, 618. CORN. NEP. in AGEF. c. 8.

(R) *Plutarch* condemns *Agésilas* as guilty of treachery in thus turning his arms against the prince who had hired him. But *Agésilas* alledged in his justification, that he had been sent to assist the *Egyptians*, and that therefore, as they had taken up arms against *Tachos*, he could not serve against them without new orders from *Sparta*. He accordingly dispatched messengers thither, and the instructions he received were to act as he should judge most advantageous for his country; whereupon he immediately declared for *Nectanebus*. Thus *Agésilas* pretended to cover so criminal a conduct, says *Plutarch*; but if we remove that delusive blind of the public good, the only true name that can be given to this action, is that of perfidy and treason (77). *Xenophon* endeavours to palliate his conduct by saying, that *Agésilas* joined that king who seemed the best affected to *Greece* (78).

(77) *Plut. in Agésil.*

(78) *Xenoph. de reg. Agésil.* 663.

Tow

TOWARDS the latter end of the reign of *Artaxerxes*, great disturbances arose in the *Persian* court, rent into factions by his sons, each making parties among the nobility to support their pretensions to the crown. He had 115 sons by his concubines, and three by his queen, viz. *Darius*, *Ariaspes*, and *Ochus*. To put a stop to these practices and contentions, he declared *Darius* the eldest his successor, and the better to settle him on the throne, allowed him to assume the title of king, and wear the *Tiara*, even in his own life-time. But this not contenting the young prince's ambition, who was also disgusted with his father for refusing him one of his concubines whom he demanded, he formed a design against the old king's life, and engaged in the conspiracy fifty of his brothers. *Tiribazus*, whom we have often mentioned in this history, contributed the most to his taking this unnatural resolution, and that for a like subject of discontent. *Artaxerxes* had promised him in marriage one of his daughters, but falling in love with her married her himself, and to make him amends, having promised him another daughter, he married that likewise. These two disappointments provoked *Tiribazus* to such a degree, that to revenge the affront he stirred up the young king to that wicked attempt. The number of the conspirators was already very formidable, and the day fixed for the execution of their design, when an eunuch, who was privy to the plot, discovered it to the king. Whereupon the conspirators were seized, as they were entering the king's palace, and all put to death.

Darius being thus cut off, the same contention was revived, which before his being declared king had rent the court into several factions. Three of his brothers were competitors, *Ariaspes*, *Ochus*, and *Arfames*. The two first claimed the crown in right of their birth, being the king's sons by his queen; the third only by the king's favour, who tenderly loved him, though only the son of a concubine. *Ochus*, prompted by his restless ambition, found means to get rid of his two rivals. For *Ariaspes* being of an easy temper, and very credulous, he suborned the eunuchs of the palace to threaten him in the king's name in such manner, that, expecting every moment to be treated as *Darius* had been, he poisoned himself to avoid a more cruel death. But *Arfames* still remaining to rival him in his pretensions, and being, for his wisdom and other princely virtues, in the opinion of his father and all others, the most worthy of the crown, he caused him to be assassinated by *Harpates* the son of *Tiribazus*. This loss added to the former, and the wickedness which attended both, overwhelmed the king, who was then 94 years old, with

Artaxerxes
as Mne-
mon dies.

with such grief, that, not being able to bear up against it, he broke his heart, and died in the 46th year of his reign^a. He was a mild and generous prince, and governed with great clemency and justice; whence he was honoured, and his authority respected, throughout all the empire. This *Ochus* was sensible of, and well knew, that it would be quite otherwise with him, the death of his two brothers having alienated the minds both of the nobility and people. To avoid the inconveniencies that might attend this general hatred and aversion, he prevailed with the eunuchs and others, that were about the king's person, to conceal his death, and took upon himself the administration of affairs, giving orders, and issuing decrees in the name of *Artaxerxes*, as if he had been still alive; by one of these decrees he caused himself, as by his father's order, to be proclaimed king throughout the whole empire. After having thus governed near ten months, believing his authority sufficiently established, he at length declared the death of his father, and openly ascended the throne, taking the name of *Artaxerxes*. Historians, however, most frequently call him *Ochus*, and under this name we shall speak of him in the sequel of this history.

Year of
the Flood
2640.
Before
Chr. st.
359.

It was no sooner known that *Artaxerxes* was dead, and *Ochus* in possession of the throne, but all *Asia Minor*, *Syria*, *Phœnice*, and many other provinces openly revolted. The chief men concerned in this revolt, were *Ariobarzanes*, governor of *Phrygia*, *Mausolus* king of *Caria*, *Orontes* governor of *Mysia*, and *Autophradates* governor of *Lydia*. *Datames* likewise, whom we have mentioned before, was engaged in the rebellion, being at that time governor of *Cappadocia*. By this, as we may call it, general insurrection, half the revenues of the crown were on a sudden diverted into different channels, and the remainder had not been sufficient to carry on the war against so many revoltors, had they acted in concert. But they did not long keep firm to each other; and those, who had been the first and most zealous in shaking off the yoke, strove who should soonest betray the others, and thereby make their peace with the king. The provinces of *Asia Minor* on withdrawing their obedience had entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence, and chosen *Orontes* for their general. They had also resolved to add 20,000 mercenaries to their own troops, and charged *Orontes* with the care of raising them. But when he had received a sufficient sum both for the raising those forces and maintaining

^a DIODOR. I. 15. p. 397—401. PLUT. in ARTAX.

of them for a year, he kept the money for himself, and delivered up to the king those who had brought it to him from the revolted provinces. *Rheomitres*, another of the chiefs of *Asia Minor*, being sent into *Egypt* to negotiate succours in that kingdom, was guilty of a like treachery. For having brought from thence 500 talents and 50 ships of war, and assembled the ring-leaders of the revolt at *Leucas*, a city of *Asia Minor*, under pretence of giving them an account of his negotiations, he seized them all, and made his peace with the king, by betraying them into his hands. Thus this formidable revolt, which had brought the *Persian* empire to the very brink of ruin, came to nothing; and *Ochus* was without striking a blow settled on the throne •. Only *Datames*, governor of *Cappadocia*, having possessed himself also of *Paphlagonia*, gave him much trouble. By what we read of him in *Cornelius Nepos* ^p and *Polyænus* ^q, it appears, that he maintained himself a long time in both those provinces, and was at last murdered by the treachery of *Mithridates*, one of his intimates (S).

Ochus was the most cruel and wicked of all the princes of that race in *Persia*. For he had not been long on the throne, when he filled the palace and the whole empire with blood and slaughter. That the revolted provinces might have none of the blood royal to set up against him, and to rid himself at once of all the uneasiness which the princes of the royal family might give him, he put them all to death, without any regard to sex, age, or proximity of blood. He caused *Ocha*, his own sister and mother-in-law, for he had married her daughter, to be buried alive; and having shut up one of his uncles with an hundred of his sons and grandsons in a court of the palace, he ordered his archers to dispatch them with their

• DIODOR. l. xv. p. 506. POLYÆN. Stratag. l. vii. ^p CORN. NEP. in vita Datam. ^q POLYÆN. Stratagem. l. vii.

(S) *Diodorus Siculus* (79) places this revolt in the last year of *Artaxerxes*; but as he was greatly esteemed and beloved by his subjects, it is not likely, that so great an insurrection should have happened under him. We have therefore placed it in the reign of his successor *Ochus*, whose cruelty, chiefly in the murder of his two brothers, incensed the nobility and governors of the provinces against him, who therefore refused to submit to him. As he took the name of *Artaxerxes*, this may have led *Diodorus* into the mistake of placing in the father's reign what happened in the son's.

(79) *Diodor. l. xv. p. 400.*

ARROW.

arrows'. This uncle seems to have been the father of *Syngambis*, mother to *Darius Codomannus*. For *Q. Curtius* tells us, that *Ochus* caused 80 of her brothers, together with their father to be massacred in one day. With the same barbarity he treated all those who gave him any umbrage, sparing none of the nobility, who betrayed the least mark of discontent or disaffection to his person.

BUT all the cruelties he practised could not keep his subjects in awe. *Artabazus*, governor of one of the *Asiatic* provinces, rebelled, and engaged *Chares* the *Athenian* to join him with a fleet and body of troops, which he commanded in those parts. *Ochus* sent an army of 70,000 men against the rebels; but they were by *Chares* and his *Athenians* all cut in pieces. *Artabazus*, in reward of so great a service, gave *Chares* a sum of money sufficient to pay his fleet and the forces he had on board. The king highly resented this conduct of the *Athenians*, and as they were then engaged in a war with the *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantines*, he threatened to join their enemies with a numerous fleet, if they did not recal *Chares*. The *Athenians*, fearing to provoke so powerful an enemy, ordered *Chares* to return forthwith into *Greece*†.

Artabazus, being thus deserted by the *Athenians*, had recourse to the *Thebans*, who sent to his assistance a body of 5000 men under the command of *Pammenes*. With this reinforcement *Artabazus* again took the field, and gained two very considerable victories over the king's forces, which greatly redounded to the honour of the *Thebans* and their commander‡. However, they made their peace soon after with the king, who having given them 300 talents, they returned home. *Artabazus* thus destitute of all support was at last overcome and forced to take refuge with *Philip of Macedon*§.

THIS rebellion was scarce quelled, when several others broke out in divers parts of the empire. The *Sidonians* and other *Phœnicians*, being oppressed by those the king had set over them, taking up arms entered into a confederacy with *Nectanebus* king of *Egypt*. The *Persians* were then making vast preparations to reduce *Egypt*; but as they could not approach the borders of that kingdom any other way than by marching through *Phœnice*, the revolt of that country happened very opportunely for the king of *Egypt*. Therefore, to keep up their courage, he detached a body of 4000 *Greek* mercenaries under the command of *Mentor* the *Rhodian* to join

Year of
the Flood,
2648.
Year be-
fore Christ
351.

JUSTIN .l. x. c. 3. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 2. † DIODOR.
l. xvi. p. 527., 528. ‡ DIODOR. ibid. § Idem, p. 438.

them, in hopes of making *Phœnice* a barrier to *Egypt*, and keeping the war at a distance. The *Phœnicians* encouraged by this supply took the field, and having routed the governors of *Syria* and *Cilicia* that were sent to reduce them, they drove the *Persians* quite out of their territories ^w.

THE *Cypriots*, being likewise ill-used by their *Persian* governors, and encouraged by this success of the *Phœnicians*, joined with them and the *Egyptians* in the same alliance ^x. Hereupon *Ochus* dispatched his orders to *Idriens* king of *Caria*, enjoining him to invade the island of *Cyprus*, and make war upon the inhabitants, putting all to fire and sword. *Idriens*, in compliance with his command, having equipped a fleet, sent it with 8000 *Greek* mercenaries, under the command of *Phocion* an *Athenian*, and *Evagoras*, (T) to make a descent on the island. The troops landed without any considerable opposition, and, being reinforced with other bodies from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, besieged *Salamine* by sea and land ^y.

Ochus, finding that his lieutenants made no progress against the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*, resolved to head his forces in person; and accordingly having drawn together an army of 300,000 foot and 30,000 horse, marched at the head of them into *Phœnice*. *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, who was then at *Sidon* with the *Greek* mercenaries, being terrified at the approach of so great an army, sent privately one of his intimate friends to *Ochus* to make his peace with him, offering not only to deliver *Sidon* into his hands, but to join him with the troops under his command. *Ochus* glad of this proffer spared no promises to draw him over to his party, knowing what signal service he could do him in the *Egyptian* war, as being thorough-

^w Idem. l. xvi. p. 531, 532, 533.
^y Idem, ibid.

^x Idem, ubi supra. p. 532.

(T) Another *Evagoras* had formerly reigned in the city of *Salamine*, whom we have spoke of above. On his death he was succeeded by *Nicocles* his son, and this *Evagoras* seems to have been the son of *Nicocles*, and to have succeeded him in that kingdom; but, being driven out by *Protagoras* his uncle, was in banishment when this war began. He gladly joined the *Persians* in hopes of recovering his crown; and the knowledge he had of the country made him a very proper person to command in this expedition (80). *Cyprus* had then nine chief cities, and each of them had its king, but subject and tributary to the king of *Persia*. All these joined together in this confederacy, with a design to shake off the *Persian* yoke, and make themselves each independent in his own city (81).

(80) *Istocrat. in Evag. & Nicol.*

(81) *Diodor. l. vi. p. 532.*

ly acquainted with the country. And accordingly *Mentor*, having received such assurances as he desired, engaged *Tennes*, king of *Sidon*, in the same treacherous design, and by his assistance delivered *Sidon* up to the *Persians*. The *Sidonians*, seeing themselves thus betrayed and the enemy within the walls, shut themselves up, with their wives and children, in their houses, and setting fire to them consumed themselves, to the number of 40,000 men, besides women and children. *Tennes* met with no better fate than his subjects, for *Ochus* seeing he could do him no farther service, and detesting in his heart the treachery of the man, caused his throat to be cut, lest he should out-live the ruin which he had brought upon his country as we have related elsewhere ^a. The ruin and total destruction of *Sidon* terrified the other cities of *Phœnice* to such a degree, that they all voluntarily submitted to the conqueror, each of them making peace with the king upon the best terms they could. Neither was *Ochus* unwilling to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from putting in execution the designs he had upon *Egypt* ^a.

Sidon betrayed by Mentor the Rhodian.

But before he marched thither, his army received from *Greece* a reinforcement of 10,000 mercenaries. For the *Thebans* sent him 1000 men under the command of *Lachares*, and the *Argives* 3000 commanded by *Nicostratus*; the rest joined him from the *Greek* cities of *Asia*. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* excused themselves, telling the king's ambassadors, that they should be glad to maintain peace and friendship with their master, but could not at that time spare him any succours ^b. The *Jews* also seem to have been engaged in this revolt of *Phœnice*. For *Ochus* from *Sidon* marched into *Judæa*, where he besieged and took *Jericho*, carrying along with him into *Egypt* a great many captive *Jews*, and sending others into *Hyrkania*, where they were planted in the provinces bordering on the *Caspian* sea ^c.

Ochus at the same time put an end to the *Cyprian* war, and compounded with the nine *Cyprian* kings, having his mind entirely bent on the reducing of *Egypt*. He willingly redressed all their grievances, and confirmed them in their respective governments ^d.

Ochus, having thus settled the affairs both of *Phœnice* and *Egypt*, set out on his *Egyptian* expedition. On his march he lost a great many men, drowned in the lake of *Serbonis*,

^a Vol. II. p. 335.

^a DIODOR. l. xvi. p. 531, 532, &c.

^b Idem. ibid. p. 533.

^c SOLIN. c. xxxv. SYNCHELL. ex Africano, p. 256. OROS. l. xxxi. c. 7. JOSEPH. l. i. contra Apion.

^d DIODOR. ibid. p. 534.

which

which lies between *Phœnice* and *Egypt*, and extends about thirty miles. When the south wind blows, the whole surface of the water is covered with sand from the desert, in such manner, that no one can distinguish it from the firm land. Several parties of *Ochus's* army, for want of good guides, were lost in it, and we are told, that entire armies have there met with the same fate*. When he arrived on the frontiers of *Egypt*, he detached three bodies to invade the country, each body being commanded by a *Persian* and a *Greek* general. The first was led by *Lachares* the *Theban*, and *Rosaces* governor of *Lydia* and *Ionia*; the second by *Nicastratus* the *Theban*, and *Arijlazanes*; the third by *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, and *Bagoas* one of his eunuchs. The main body of the army he kept with himself, and encamped near *Pelusium*, with a design to watch there the event of the war. In the mean time *Neftanebus* drew together an army of 100,000 men, consisting of 20,000 mercenaries from *Greece* as many from *Libya*, and the rest *Egyptians*; but they did not all amount to a third of the *Persian* army. With some of these he garisoned his frontier towns, and with the others he guarded the passes, through which the enemy was to enter the country. The first *Persian* detachment, under the command of *Lachares*, sat down before *Pelusium*, garisoned by 5000 *Greeks*. While the siege was carrying on, *Nicastratus* with his detachment embarked on board a squadron of the *Persian* fleet, and sailing up the *Nile* landed his forces in the heart of the country, and there formed a strong encampment. Hereupon all the garisons of the neighbouring castles, taking the alarm, joined *Clinius* of the island of *Cos* in order to dislodge him. This led them to a battle, which was fought with great obstinacy; but at last the *Egyptians* were put to flight, having lost *Clinius* with above 5000 of his men; the rest were utterly broken and dispersed, which, we may say, determined the fate of this war. For *Neftanebus*, fearing lest *Nicastratus* should sail up the *Nile* with his victorious forces, and take *Memphis* the metropolis of his kingdom, hastened thither, and left open the passes which he ought chiefly to have defended. The *Greek* mercenaries, who garisoned *Pelusium*, hearing of the king's retreat, gave all for lost, and therefore coming to a parley with *Lachares*, delivered up the city to him, upon condition, that they and their effects should be safely conveyed to *Greece*. *Mentor* with the third detachment, finding the passes deserted, entered the country;

* Idem, 534, 535.

and giving out, that *Ochus* would graciously receive all that *Egypt* submitted, and utterly destroy such as resisted, treating them as he had treated the *Sidonians*, both the *Egyptians* and *Greeks* strove which should first make their submission. *Nectanebus*, seeing he could no longer hold out, took with him what treasures he could carry, and withdrew into *Æthiopia*. *Ochus*, having thus reduced all *Egypt*, dismantled their strong holds, plundered their temples, and returned in triumph to *Babylon*, loaded with immense treasures^f. Henceforward *Egypt* was a province of *Persia*, till *Alexander* overturned that monarchy, and delivered the *Egyptians* from the *Persian* tyranny.

reduced by
Ochus.
Year of
the Flood,
2649.
Year be-
fore Christ
350.

Ochus, having ended with such success the *Egyptian* war, sent back the *Greek* mercenaries to their respective countries with ample rewards. But as all his conquests were chiefly owing to *Mentor*, he distinguished him above all the rest, not only rewarding him with an hundred talents, and other presents to a great value, but appointing him governor of all the coasts of *Asia*, and committing to his care the whole management of the war, which he was still carrying on against some provinces that had revolted in the beginning of his reign. These, what by cunning and stratagems, what by open force, he reduced, and restored the king's authority in all the parts of that vast empire.

ALL the revolted provinces being reduced, and peace established throughout the whole empire, *Ochus* gave himself up to ease, luxury, and pleasure, leaving the administration of public affairs entirely to his ministers. The chief of these were *Bagoas* his favourite eunuch and *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, who agreeing to part the power between them, the former governed all the provinces of the upper *Asia*, and the latter those of the lower^g. *Bagoas*, being by birth an *Egyptian*, had a great zeal for the religion of his country, and endeavoured, on the conquest of *Egypt*, to influence the king in favour of the *Egyptian* ceremonies; but, in spite of all his endeavours, the king not only plundered the temples, but carried away the sacred records that were lodged in them; and in contempt of their religion slew the god *Apis*, that is, the sacred bull, which they worshipped under that name.

This irreligious behaviour *Bagoas* deeply resented, and ever afterwards watched an opportunity of revenging the affront offered to his religion. The records he redeemed with a great sum of money, and sent them back into *Egypt*; but the injury done to his god he thought could be no otherwise at-

^f Idem, *ibid.*

^g Idem, p. 537.

toned

Bagoas the eunuch poisons Ochus and raises Arses to the throne.
 Year of the Flood 2661.
 Before Christ 338.

toned for, but by putting the sacrilegious king to death; which he did accordingly with poison in the twenty first year of his reign. Nor did his revenge stop here; for the king's body he kept, causing another to be buried instead of it; and because the king had caused his attendants to eat the flesh of the *Apis*, he cut his flesh in pieces, and gave it so mangled to the cats, making of his bones handles for swords. Having in this barbarous manner dispatched his master and benefactor, and seeing the whole power of the empire in his own hands, he placed *Arses*, the youngest of the dead king's sons on the throne, and put all the rest to death, that he might the better secure to himself the authority which he had usurped. For the bare name of king was all that he allowed to *Arses*, reserving for himself the whole power and authority of the government ^h.

Arses did not long enjoy even this shadow of power, being slain by the same *Bagoas*, who, finding that the king, well apprized of his wickedness and treachery, was taking measures to bring him to condign punishment, was before-hand with him, putting to death him and his whole family in the second year of his reign ⁱ.

Darius Codomannus.

Year of the Flood, 2663.

Year before Christ 336.

THE throne becoming again vacant by the death of *Arses*, *Bagoas*, who durst not yet usurp it himself, placed on it *Darius*, the third of that name in *Persia*. Before his accession to the crown he was called *Codomannus*, and is said not to have been of the blood royal, because he was not the son of any king that reigned before him. However, he was of the royal family, being descended from *Darius Nothus*, whose grandson *Arfanes* marrying his own sister *Sysigambis* had by her *Codomannus*. *Ostanes*, the son of *Darius Nothus* and father to *Arfanes*, was put to death by *Ochus* on his first ascending the throne, and with him above eighty of his sons and grandsons ^k. How *Codomannus* came to escape this slaughter is nowhere said. In the reign of *Ochus* he made but a very poor figure, being only an *Astanda*, that is one employed to carry the royal dispatches to the governors of the provinces; a mean employment for one of the royal family ^l. In the war which *Ochus* made upon the *Cadusians*, towards the latter end of his reign, one of these *Barbarians* having challenged the whole *Persian* army, to find a champion that durst encounter him in a single combat, *Codomannus* accepted

^h DIODOR. p. 564. ÆLIAN. var. Hist. l. iv. c. 8. SEVER. SULPIT. l. ii. ⁱ DIODOR. ibid. ^k DIODOR. ibid. PLUT. in Artax. ^l PLUT. de vita & fortuna Alexandri.

the challenge, after all the others had declined it, and slew the *Cadusian*. For this gallant action he was rewarded with the government of *Armenia*^m, and thence raised to the throne by *Bagoas* in the manner we have already related. But he had not long enjoyed the sovereign power, when *Bagoas*, finding that he would not be entirely governed by him, which was all he aimed at in advancing him to the crown, resolved to remove him in the same manner as he had done his predecessor; and accordingly provided a poisonous potion; but *Darius* being acquainted with his design, when the potion was brought him, made *Bagoas* himself drink it, and having thereby got rid of the traitor by his own artifice, he settled himself on the throne, without any further difficulty or oppositionⁿ. Authors represent *Darius* as a prince of a mild and generous disposition, of great personal valour, and for his stature and shape far preferable to any of the whole *Persian* empire. But having such a fortunate rival as *Alexander the Great* to encounter, he was not able with all his good qualities and personal courage to withstand him; and he was scarce warm on the throne when he found this powerful enemy preparing to drive him from it.

FOR *Alexander*, having settled his affairs in *Macedon*, and used all imaginable precautions, to prevent any troubles that might arise there during his absence, set out for *Sestus*, and thence passed over the *Hellepont* into *Asia*, in the second year of *Darius's* reign. A war against the *Persians* had been resolved on some time before, in a general assembly of the *Amphictyons*, to revenge the many injuries, which *Greece* had received from the *Barbarians* during the space of 300 years; and *Philip* king of *Macedon* had been appointed commander in chief of the forces destined for this expedition. But *Philip* being in the mean time murdered, his son *Alexander* summoned a general assembly of all the states and free cities of *Greece* to meet at *Corinth*, and having prevailed with them to choose him in his room, he obliged each city to furnish its quota, both of men and money, for the carrying on of the war. His army, according to the highest account, amounted to no more than 30,000 foot and 5000 horse. But they were all chosen men, well disciplined, and inured to the toils of war, most of them having served under *Philip* during his long wars, and all of them been employed in several expeditions. *Parmenio* commanded the infantry; *Philotas* his son had the command of 1800 horse, all *Macedonians*; *Callas*,

^m DIODOR. l. xvii. p. 564. Justin. l. x. c. 3. ⁿ DIODOR. ubi supra.

the son of *Harpalus*, led the same number of *Thessalian* cavalry ; the rest of the horse had their particular commanders, each being set over those of his own nation. With this army he crossed the *Hellepont*, as we have hinted above, and pursuing his march, arrived at the river *Granicus*, where he found the *Persian* governors of the neighbouring provinces encamped with an army of 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, with a design to dispute his passage (U). *Memnon* the *Rhodian*, whom *Darius* had appointed governor over all the coasts of *Asia*, had advised the generals not to venture a battle, but to lay waste the whole country, and even destroy the cities, that the enemy might be obliged for want of provisions to return back into *Europe*. But *Arsites*, governor of *Phrygia*, opposed the opinion of *Memnon*, protesting, that he would never suffer the *Greeks* to make such havock in the countries he governed. This rash and impolitic counsel prevailed, and *Memnon* was even suspected to hold intelligence with the enemy, or at least to be desirous of spinning out the war, and thereby continuing the command to himself^o.

THE *Persian* cavalry, which was very numerous, lined the banks of the *Granicus*, and formed a large front in order to oppose *Alexander*, wherever he should attempt a passage ; and the foot consisting chiefly of *Greek* mercenaries, was posted behind the cavalry on an easy ascent. *Parmenio*, observing the disposition of the enemy's army, advised^o to incamp on the opposite banks of the river, that they might have time to rest ; and not to attempt the crossing till the next morning, the river being deep, the banks craggy and steep, his troops tired with their march, and the enemies quite fresh, as having been incamped in that place for several days. But all the reasons he could produce made not the least impression on *Alexander*, who answered, that it would be a disgrace to him and his army, should he, after crossing the *Hellepont*, suffer his progress to be stopt by a rivulet ; for so, out of contempt, he called the *Granicus*^p.

The battle
of Grani-
cus.
Year of
the Flood,
2665.
Before
Christ,
334.

THE two armies being drawn up in battle-array on the opposite banks of the river continued some time in sight of each other, as though they dreaded the event. The *Persians*

^o ARRIAN. l. i. c. 13. Plut. in Alex. Q. Curt. l. iii. ^p DIO-
DOR. Arrian. Plutarch. Curt. ubi supra.

(U) *Justin* and *Orosius* tell us, that the *Persian* army consisted of 600,000 foot, and 20,000 horse ; *Arrianus* makes it amount to 200,000 foot. We have chosen to follow *Diodorus's* account, which to us seems the most rational.

waited

waited till the *Macedonians* should enter the river, that they might attack them to advantage on their landing ; and the *Macedonians* were looking for a convenient place to cross in, which they no sooner found, than *Alexander* ordered a strong detachment of horse to advance into the river, he himself following with the right wing, which he commanded in person, the trumpets in the mean time sounding, and loud shouts of joy being heard throughout the whole army. The *Persians* let fly such showers of arrows, against the detachment of the *Macedonian* horse, as caused some confusion, several of their horses being killed or wounded ; and as they drew near the bank a most bloody engagement ensued, the *Macedonians* endeavouring to land, and the *Persians* pushing them again into the river. As *Memnon* commanded in this place with his sons, the first ranks of the *Macedonians* were entirely cut off, and the rest, after having with the utmost difficulty gained the shore, driven anew into the river. *Alexander*, who followed them close, observing the confusion they were in, headed them himself, and, landing in spite of all opposition, attacked the enemy's cavalry with great vigour, and obliged them, after an obstinate resistance, to give way. However, *Spithrobates*, governor of *Ionia*, and son-in-law to *Darius*, being surrounded by forty *Persian* lords, all of them his relations, still maintained his ground, and did all that lay in his power to lead the *Persians* back to the charge. *Alexander*, observing in how gallant a manner he signalized himself, went in full gallop to engage him ; neither did he decline the combat, and both were slightly wounded at the first encounter. *Spithrobates*, having thrown his javelin without effect, immediately advanced sword in hand against *Alexander*, who, being upon his guard, ran him through with his pike, as he was lifting up his arm to discharge a blow with his scymetar. But *Rofaces*, brother to *Spithrobates*, gave *Alexander* at the same time so furious a blow on the head with his battle-ax, that he beat off his plume, and slightly wounded him through his helmet. As he was ready to repeat the blow, *Clitus* with one stroke of his scymetar cut off *Rofaces*'s head, and by that means saved the life of his sovereign. The *Macedonians*, animated by the example of their king, attacked the *Persian* horse with new vigour, who, not being able to stand so violent a shock, first gave ground, and soon after betook themselves to a precipitous flight. *Alexander* did not pursue them, but immediately charged, at the head of the right wing, the enemy's foot, who, seeing themselves attacked at the same time by the cavalry and the *Macedonian*

phalanx which had crossed the river, made no great resistance. The *Grecian* infantry retired in good order to a neighbouring hill, whence they sent deputies to *Alexander*, demanding leave to march off unmolested; but he, instead of coming to a parley with them, rushed sword in hand into the middle of this small body, where he was very near being cut in pieces, his horse being killed under him. The *Greeks* defended themselves a long time with incredible valour, but, being at last over-powered with numbers, were almost all killed on the spot. In this engagement the *Persians* lost 20,000 foot, and 2500 horse; of the *Macedonians* 25 men of the king's own troop fell in the first attack; whose statues, made by *Lysippus*, *Alexander* some time after caused to be set up in *Dio*, a city of *Macedon*, whence they were many years after carried to *Rome* by *Q. Metellus*. About 70 others of the horse were killed, and 30 of the foot, who were all buried the next day with great solemnity, the king exempting their parents and children from all taxes and burdens¹.

THIS victory was attended with all the happy consequences that could be expected. For *Sardis*, which was the key of the *Persian* empire, immediately surrendered, and was by *Alexander* declared a free city, the citizens being permitted to live according to their own laws. From *Sardis* he advanced to *Ephesus*, where he was received with great Joy. Here he offered a great number of sacrifices to *Diana*, and assigned to the temple of that goddess, all the tributes that were paid to the *Persians*. Before he left *Ephesus* the deputies of *Trallis* and *Magnesia* waited upon him with the keys of their cities. From *Ephesus* he advanced to *Miletus*, which city, flattered with the hopes of being soon relieved, refused him admittance; and indeed the *Persian* fleet, which was very numerous, made as if they would succour the city; but after various fruitless attempts they sailed off. *Memnon* had shut himself up in this strong hold, with a considerable number of his men who had escaped from the battle on the *Granicus*, and was resolved to make a vigorous resistance. *Alexander*, having surrounded the city with his whole army, planted scaling ladders on all sides, thinking that the most expeditious manner of becoming master of the place. But his men being every where repulsed, and the city well stored with provisions for a long siege, he began to batter the walls with all his engines night and day without intermission. Several breaches were made, but still he could not master the

¹ PLUT. in Alex. DIODOR. p. 503. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 6. ARRIAN. l. i. c. 17.

town, the besieged sustaining all his efforts with incredible bravery. At last the town being almost quite dismantled, and the besieged tired out with the hard service, *Memnon* demanded to capitulate, and surrendered the city upon honourable terms; the *Milesians* were allowed to live according to their own laws, and *Memnon* with his *Greeks* to march out unmolested; but the *Persians* were either put to the sword or sold for slaves^r.

HAVING thus possessed himself of *Miletus*, he marched into *Caria*, in order to besiege the city of *Halicarnassus*, which refused to submit. The place was both by nature and art one of the best fortified in all *Asia*; and besides *Memnon* had thrown himself into it with a considerable body of chosen men, resolved to signalize, in the defence of so important a place, his courage and attachment to the interest of *Darius*. And accordingly he made a most vigorous resistance, being seconded by another general of great prowess, by name *Ephialtes*. Whatever could be expected from the most intrepid bravery, and the most consummate knowledge in the art of war, was practised on this occasion, both by the besiegers and the besieged. After the *Macedonians* had, with the utmost difficulty, filled up the ditches, and brought their engines near the walls, their works were all demolished in an instant, and the engines set on fire by the besieged. No sooner was any part of the wall beat down by the battering rams, but a new one was raised in its stead, the *Macedonians* finding themselves no farther advanced after an immense labour, than they were when they first sat down before the place. The city held out so long, and the besiegers had so many difficulties to struggle with, that any general besides *Alexander* would have given over the enterprize. But his troops were encouraged to pursue the undertaking, by those very difficulties, which would have disheartened others; and their patience at last proved successful, *Memnon* being obliged to abandon the city, which he could no longer defend. As the sea was open, he placed a strong garison in the citadel, which was stored with all sorts of provision, and going on board the *Persian* fleet, whereof himself was admiral, he conveyed the inhabitants with all their effects to the island of *Cos*, not far distant from *Halicarnassus*. *Alexander*, finding the city empty both of riches and inhabitants, razed it to the ground; but the citadel he did not think proper to besiege, it being of little importance to him after the city was destroyed^s.

^r DIODOR. ubi supra. ARRIAN. l. i. c. 19.
ARRIAN. ibid.

^s DIODOR.

AFTER the reduction of *Halicarnassus*, all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* declared for *Alexander*, he giving out wherever he came, that he had undertaken this war with no other view, but of freeing them from the *Persian* bondage. In the second year of this war he reduced the provinces of *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Pamphylia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*, and appointed such of his friends to govern them as he thought fit. These transactions we shall relate more at length in the life of this great warrior.

IN the mean time *Darius* was not wanting to prepare for a vigorous defence. *Memnon* advised him to carry the war into *Macedon*; and a wiser resolution could not have been taken; for the *Lacedemonians* and several other *Greek* states, that were disaffected to the *Macedonians*, and jealous of their over-grown power, would have readily joined his enemies; which would have obliged *Alexander* to leave *Asia*, and return to the defence of his own country. *Darius*, being well apprised of the reasonableness of this advice, willingly embraced it, and charged *Memnon* to put it in execution, appointing him admiral of the fleet, and commander in chief of all the forces that were to be employed in this expedition. That prince could not have made a better choice, for *Memnon* was by far the best general in his service, and had for many years given undoubted proofs, not only of his courage and conduct, but of an extraordinary fidelity and attachment to the *Persian* interest, not abandoning his sovereign, as other mercenaries had done, when his arms were unsuccessful. Having received this new commission, he assembled the scattered remains of the army, and appointed the fleet to rendezvous at the island of *Cos*, where he took on board the land-forces, and with them reduced the islands of *Chios* and *Lesbos*, except the city of *Mitylene*. From thence he designed to pass over into *Eubœa*, and make *Greece* and *Macedon* the seat of the war, but died before *Mitylene*, which city he had been forced to besiege. His death was the greatest misfortune that could befall the *Persian* empire, having defeated the wise measures which he had proposed; for *Darius*, not having one general capable of carrying on that enterprise, the only one that could have saved his empire, was obliged to drop it, and entirely depend upon his eastern armies. These he appointed to assemble at *Babylon*, and having set up his standard there, and mustered his forces, he found, that they amounted in all to the number of four, five, or six hundred thousand men, according to the various accounts of authors^t.

^t Vide PLUT. in Alexand. ARRIAN. l. ii. c. 6. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 9. CURT. l. iii. c. 8.

THE news of *Memnon's* death confirmed *Alexander* in the resolution he had taken of marching immediately into the provinces of *Upper Asia*. Accordingly he marched with all possible expedition into *Cilicia*, and arriving at a place called *Cyrus's* camp (whether from *Cyrus* the Great, as *Curtius* tells, or from the Younger, as we read in *Arrian*, is uncertain), about fifty stades distant from the straits of *Cilicia*, he was informed, that the enemy guarded that important pass with a considerable body of troops. Whereupon, leaving *Parmenio* there, he marched in person at the first watch to surprize them; but the *Persians*, having intelligence of his design, betook themselves to flight, and abandoned the pass, which *Alexander* entered; and, after viewing with attention the nature of the place, admired his good fortune, and owned, that he might have been stopped with great ease, seeing the road was so narrow, that four men could scarce pass abreast, and so broke in several places, and encumbered with large stones rolling down from the mountains, that a very small number of resolute men might have kept back, with no other weapons but stones, a numerous army. From the straits of *Cilicia* the whole army marched to the city of *Tarsus*, where they arrived the instant the *Persians* were setting fire to the place, in order to prevent the *Macedonians* from enriching themselves with the plunder of so wealthy and flourishing a city. They arrived very seasonably to stop the progress of the fire, and save the city from utter destruction^u.

IN the mean time, *Darius* had begun his march at the head of his numerous army, and was advanced as far as the vast plains of *Mesopotamia*. Here the commanders of the *Greek* mercenaries earnestly pressed him to wait for the enemy, that he might engage them with all the advantage his numbers gave him. But *Darius* would not hearken to their advice, hastening blindly to the mountainous part of *Cilicia*, where his cavalry and the number of his troops would rather be an incumbrance to each other, than of any service in an engagement^w.

THE order he observed in his march was as follows. Before the army was carried on silver altars the sacred and eternal fire, as they called it, attended by the *Mages*, singing hymns after the manner of their country, and three hundred and sixty five youths in scarlet robes. After these came a chariot consecrated to *Jupiter*, drawn by white horses, and

^u ARRIAN. I. ii. CURT. I. iii. c. 8.
ibid.

^w ARRIAN. & CURT.

followed

followed by one of an extraordinary size, whom they called *the horse of the sun*; all the equerries were cloathed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand. Next appeared ten sumptuous chariots, enriched with curious sculptures in gold and silver; and then the van-guard of the horse, composed of twelve different nations, and all armed in a different manner; this body of horse was followed by another of foot, called by the *Persians immortal*, because if any of them died, his place was immediately supplied by another; they were ten thousand in number, and remarkable for the sumptuousness of their apparel; for they all wore collars of pure gold, and were cloathed in robes of gold tissue, having large sleeves garnished with precious stones. About 30 paces distance came the king's relations or cousins, to the number of 15,000, apparelled like women, and surpassing even the *immortal* body in the pomp and richness of their attire; they were honoured with the title of the king's cousins, and possibly several of the king's relations were in this body. After these came *Darius* himself, attended by his guards, and seated on a chariot, as on a throne; the chariot was supported on both sides by the gods of his nation cast in pure gold*; from the middle of the beam, which was set with jewels, rose two statues of pure gold, a cubit in height, the one representing war, the other peace, and both shaded with the wings of a spread-eagle of the same metal. The king was cloathed with a garment of purple striped with silver, wearing over that a long robe enriched with a great number of precious stones; and the scabbard of his scymetar, as our author tells us, was made out of a single precious stone. On either side of the king walked 200 of his nearest relations, followed by 10,000 horsemen, whose lances were plated with silver, and tipped with gold; after these marched 30,000 foot, the rear of the army, and lastly 400 led horses belonging to the king. At a small distance followed *Syfigambis*, the king's mother, and his consort, both seated on high chariots, with a numerous train of female attendants on horseback, and fifteen chariots, in which were the king's children, and those who were charged with the care of their education. Next to these were the royal concubines to the number of 360, all attired like so many queens; they were followed by 600 mules and 300 camels, which carried the king's treasure, and were guarded by a body of bowmen; the march was closed by a great many chariots carrying the wives of the crown-officers and lords of the court, and guarded by some companies of foot lightly armed*. One would

* See Vol. iv. p. 497 in the note. * ARRIAN. & CURT. ubi supra.


take this to be the description of a masquerade rather than of an army, and imagine, that *Darius's* chief care was not to provide for his own safety, but to set out his glory and riches, as though the *Macedonians* were to be dazzled with pomp, and frightened with pageants.

Alexander, upon advice that *Darius* was advancing towards the *Euphrates* in order to enter *Cilicia*, detached *Parmenio* to possess himself of another narrow pass (W), leading from *Assyria*, or rather *Syria*, into *Cilicia*. As for himself, he marched from *Tarsus* to *Anchialos*, and thence to *Soli*, which city he reduced, obliging the inhabitants, who refused at first to admit him into their city, to pay 20,000 talents for the maintenance of his army. While he was at *Castabala*, a small city not far from mount *Amanus*, news was brought him, that *Darius* with his whole army was advanced as far as the city of *Sochos* in *Syria*, within two days march of *Cilicia*. Hereupon *Alexander* summoned a council of war, wherein it was determined, that the whole army should march the next day, and wait for *Darius* among the mountains of *Cilicia*; which they did accordingly, encamping on a spot of ground, which, being wide enough only for two small armies to act in, reduced both in some degree to an equality. When intelligence was brought to the *Persian* camp, that *Alexander* had halted in the midst of the mountains, the *Greek* commanders who served in *Darius's* army, advised him again to wait for the enemy in the plains where he was then encamped, or return to the plains of *Mesopotamia*, where he might have room enough to draw up his great army, bring them all to engage at the same time, and surround the enemy; whereas, within those straits, there not being room any where to draw up above 30,000 men in battle-array, the *Macedonians* could bring all their men to engage, and the *Persians* not the twentieth part of theirs. If he did not approve of this counsel, they then advised him to divide his army into several bodies, and not put all to the chance of one battle. But his adverse fate did not suffer him to follow so wholesome an advice; nay, the courtiers traduced those who had suggested it, as trai-

(W) For the clearer understanding of *Alexander's* march and that of *Darius*, we must distinguish three straits; the first leading from *Cappadocia* into *Cilicia*, through which *Alexander* marched his army; the second leading from *Cilicia* into *Syria*, which *Parmenio* took possession of; and the third called the straits of mount *Amanus* lying to the north of the pass of *Syria*; through this *Darius's* army from *Syria* entered *Cilicia*.

tors, telling *Darius*, that they advised him to divide his troops with no other view, than that they might have, after such a separation, a fair opportunity of delivering up into the enemies hands whatever should be in their power. However, *Darius* thanked the *Greeks* for their zeal and good-will, and even condescended to lay before them the motives that induced him to reject their advice. The courtiers had made him believe that *Alexander* was flying before him, and that therefore he ought to march forward with all possible expedition, and fall upon him while entangled in those straits, lest he should make his escape. Upon this it was agreed in a council of all the *Persian* generals, that they should engage the enemy in the narrow passes, the gods, says our historian [†], blinded that prince, that they might pave a way to the destruction of the *Persian* empire. *Darius*, having sent his treasures and most valuable moveables to *Damascus* in *Syria* under a small convoy, led the main body of the army towards the straits of mount *Amanus*, through which he entered *Cilicia*, and advanced as far as the city of *Iffus*, not knowing that *Alexander* was behind ; for he had been told, that the *Macedonians* were retired in great disorder into *Syria*. In the city of *Iffus* he barbarously put to death the sick and wounded *Macedonians* that had been left there by *Parmenio*, sparing only a few, whom he dismissed, after making them view his camp, that they might be eye-witnesses of the immense number of his forces. These brought *Alexander* word of *Darius*'s approach, which he could scarce believe, though he desired nothing more earnestly. However, having offered a sacrifice to the gods of the place, he advanced to meet him, and drew up his army on a spot of ground near the city of *Iffus*, bounded on one side by the mountains, and by the sea on the other. Here *Darius*, not being able to extend his front beyond that of the *Macedonians*, by reason of the narrowness of the place, could dispose of his great army no otherwise, than by drawing them up in many lines one behind the other. But the *Macedonians* soon breaking the first line, and that recoiling upon the second, and the second again upon the third, and so on, the whole *Persian* army was put in disorder ; and the *Macedonians* pursuing the advantage by pressing forward, the confusion was increased to such a degree, that even the bravest among the *Persians*, who were desirous to signalize themselves, could neither stand their ground, nor manage their arms. As the crowd, which was made in the flight of so numerous an ar-

The battle
of Iffus.
Year of
the Flood,
2666.
Year be-
fore
Christ
333.



[†] ARRIAN. l. ii. CURT. l. iii. c. 11.

my, was very great, those who fell that day were for the most part trampled to death, by their own men, as they pressed to escape. *Darius*, who fought in the first line, with much difficulty got out of the crowd, and fled in his chariot to the neighbouring mountains, where he mounted on horseback, and pursued his flight, leaving behind him his bow, his shield, and royal mantle. *Alexander* was prevented from following him by the *Greek* mercenaries, who, charging the *Macedonian* phalanx with incredible bravery, killed *Ptolemy* the son of *Seleucus* with 120 officers of distinction, besides a great many private men; and, though attacked in flank by *Alexander* in person, maintained their ground, till they were from twenty reduced to eight thousand; they retired then in good order over the mountains towards *Tripolis* in *Syria*, where finding the transports, that had conveyed them from *Lesbos*, lying on the shore, they fitted out such a number as suited their purpose, and sailed to *Cyprus*, after having burnt the rest to prevent their being pursued. *Alexander* no sooner saw them put to flight than he hastened after *Darius*; but growing weary of the pursuit, and night drawing on, he returned to the enemies camp, which his soldiers had just before plundered. *Sysigambis*, *Darius's* mother, and his wife, who was also his sister, with his son *Ochus* not full six years old, and his two daughters both marriageable, and besides some noble-mens daughters, who attended them, were found in the camp and taken prisoners. The rest had been sent to *Damascus*, with part of *Darius's* treasure and all the rich furniture, which the *Persian* monarchs used to carry with them into the field; so that in the camp they found only three thousand talents of silver; but the rest of the treasures fell afterwards into the hands of *Parmenio* at his taking the city of *Damascus*^a. In this engagement the *Persians* lost, according to *Arrian*^a, 10,000 horse, and 90,000 foot, and with him other writers agree, as to the number of the horse; but as to the foot they all vary, not only from him, but from each other, some making the number of the dead amount to 80, others to 90, others to 100, and some to 120,000, adding, that 40,000 were taken prisoners, while *Alexander*, according to the highest computation, lost in all but 300 men^b.

THE next day *Alexander*, after visiting the wounded, caused the dead to be buried with great pomp in the presence of

^a PLUT. in Alex. CURT. I. iii. ARRIAN. I. ii. DIODOR. I. xvii.

^a ARRIAN. ubi supra. ^b DIODOR. PLUTARCH. ARRIAN. CURT. JUSTIN. ubi supra.

the whole army, which was drawn up in battle-array. The same honours he paid to the manes of the *Persians* of rank, and allowed *Darius's* mother to bury as many as she pleased, according to the customs and ceremonies of her country. But the prudent princess used that permission with great modesty and reserve, burying only a few, who were her near relations. *Alexander* treated her and the other captive princesses with great humanity; they were, says *Plutarch* ^c, in *Alexander's* camp, not as in that of an enemy, but as in a holy temple designed for the asylum of virtue, they all living so retired, that they were not seen by any one, none daring to approach their pavilion, but such as were appointed to attend them. As *Darius's* consort and her two daughters were princesses of an extraordinary beauty, *Alexander* after the first visit resolved never to see them any more, that his frailty might not expose him to any danger. This memorable circumstance we find in a letter which he wrote to *Parmenio*, commanding him to put to death certain *Macedonians* who had abused the wives of some captives. In short, he used them with such respect, good nature, and humanity, that nothing but their captivity could make them sensible of their misfortune ^d.

Alexander, seeing himself now master of the field, detached *Parmenio* to *Damascus*, where *Darius's* treasures were lodged, with the *Theffalian* horse. As he was on his march thither, he met with a messenger sent by the governor of that city with a letter to *Alexander*, wherein he offered to betray the city to the king. The fourth day *Parmenio* arrived at *Damascus*, when the governor, pretending that he was not able to defend the city against a victorious army, caused by day-break a vast number of beasts of burden to be loaded with the king's treasure and rich furniture, as if he intended to retire and save them for his master, but in reality to deliver them up to the enemy, as he had agreed with *Parmenio*, who had opened the letter directed to the king. At the first sight of the forces, which this general headed, the *Persians*, who convoyed the treasures, betook themselves to flight, and left the *Macedonians* masters of all the gold and silver that was designed to pay so numerous an army. Among the prisoners of distinction taken in the city were three young princesses, daughters of *Ochus*, who had reigned before *Darius*, and his widow, the daughter of *Oxathres*, brother to *Darius*; the wife of *Artabazus* or *Artabanus*, the greatest lord at court, with his

^c PLUT. de fortuna Alexandri.

^d PLUT. ibid.

son *Ilioneus* ; the wife of *Pharnabazus*, whom *Darius* had appointed governor of all the cities on the coast ; three daughters of *Mentor* ; the wife and son of *Memnon*, that illustrious and renowned commander ; insomuch, that there was scarce one noble family in all *Persia* which did not share in this calamity. Besides the immense treasures which the *Macedonians* had already taken, they found in the city 2600 talents in ready money, and 500 in bullion, which was afterwards coined ; they took 30,000 prisoners, and with the plunder of the city loaded 7000 camels. The *Thessalian* horse had the best share of this booty, having been sent by *Alexander* on this expedition, that they might enrich themselves with the plunder of so wealthy a city, in regard they had distinguished themselves above the rest in the late engagement ^e. The governor of the place was killed by one of his own men, and his head carried to *Darius* ^f.

AFTER this victory *Alexander* marched into *Syria*, most of the cities of that country voluntarily submitting to the conqueror, and even *Darius's* governors and commanders delivering themselves and their treasures up into his hands. Being arrived at *Marathus*, he received a letter from *Darius*, in which he stiled himself king without bestowing that title on *Alexander*. He rather commanded than entreated him to ask what sum he pleased for the ransom of his mother, wife, and children ; and as to their dispute about empire, they might decide it, if he thought proper, in a general engagement, to which both parties should bring an equal number of troops ; but if he were still capable of wholesome counsel, he would advise him to be contented with the kingdom of his ancestors, and not invade that of another to which he had no right ; that for the future they should live in friendship and amity, and that he was ready to swear to the observance of these articles, and receive *Alexander's* oath. This letter, which was wrote with such an unseasonable pride and haughtiness, provoked *Alexander* to a great degree, who therefore in his answer began thus ; *Alexander the king to Darius* ; he then enumerates the many injuries and calamities which the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* had suffered from the *Persians*, reproaches that nation with the base and treacherous murder of his father *Philip*, and *Darius* in particular with setting a price upon his own head ; whence he concludes, that he is not the aggressor, but has taken up arms in his own defence, and to revenge the death of his father and the injuries done to his

^e PLUTARCH. de fort. Alex. & CURT. I. iii. c. 25. ^f CURT. *ibid.*

country ;

country; and that the gods, who always declare for the just cause, approved of this war, he shews from the success that attended it, since with their protection he had already subdued great part of *Asia*, and defeated the mighty host of the *Persians* in a pitched battle with a handful of men. However, he engaged his word, that he would restore to him his wife, mother, and children, provided he repaired to him in the attire of a suppliant, and humbly begged him to give them their liberty, assuring him, that he might do it without the least danger. He concluded by desiring him to remember, when he next wrote, that he not only addressed a king, but his king. *Thersippus* was ordered to carry this letter ^g.

Alexander marched from thence into *Phœnice*, where the citizens of *Byblus* opened their gates to him, and their example was followed by other cities, in proportion as he advanced into the country; but none received him with greater joy than the *Sidonians*, whose city *Ochus* had laid in ashes about eighteen years before, and put most of the inhabitants to the sword. Since that time they bore such a hatred to the *Persian* name, that they were over-joyed at this opportunity of shaking off the yoke, and indeed were the first in *Phœnice* who submitted to *Alexander* by their deputies, in opposition to *Strato* their king who was in the *Persian* interest. *Alexander* deposed him, and permitted *Hephæstion* to elect in his room whomsoever of the *Sidonians* he should judge worthy of so exalted a station ^h, as we have elsewhere related at length ⁱ.

WHILE *Alexander* was in *Phœnice*, some of the *Persian* generals, who had escaped from the battle of *Issus*, drawing together the remains of the scattered army, attempted, with the assistance of the *Cappadocians* and *Paphlagonians* to recover *Lydia*; but were in several engagements routed, and at last intirely dispersed by *Antigonus*, whom *Alexander* had appointed governor of that province. At the same time the *Macedonian* fleet sailing from *Greece* fell in with that of the enemies commanded by *Aristomenes*, whom *Darius* had sent to recover the cities on the *Hellepont*, and attacked them so briskly that not one single ship escaped ^k.

ALL *Syria* and *Phœnice* were already subdued, except the city of *Tyre*; which he besieged and took by assault, after the inhabitants had held out with incredible bravery for seven whole months, as we have related in the history of *Phœnice* ^l.

^g DIODOR. l. xvii. p. 517, 518. ARRIAN. l. ii. p. 83—86. PLUT. in Alex. p. 678. CURT. l. iv. c. 1. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 10. ^h CURT. l. iv. c. 2. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 10. ⁱ Vol. II. p. 336. ^k CURT. l. iv. c. 4. ^l Vol. II. p. 348.

WHILE *Alexander* was carrying on the siege of *Tyre* he received a second letter from *Darius*, who at last condescended to give him the title of king; he offered him ten thousand talents by way of ransom for the captive princesses, and his daughter *Statira* in marriage with all the country he had conquered as far as the *Euphrates*; he put him in mind of the inconstancy of fortune, and set out in most pompous terms the vast number of troops he could still bring into the field; he represented the difficulties he might meet with in crossing the *Euphrates*, the *Tigris*, the *Araxes*, and the *Hydaspes*, which were so many barriers to the *Persian* empire; that he would not have always the opportunity of shutting himself up among rocks and mountains, but would be obliged, some time or other, to engage in an open and champain country, where he would be ashamed to appear before him with a handful of men. Upon the receipt of this letter *Alexander* summoned a council, in which *Parmenio* was of opinion, that he ought to accept the offers of *Darius*, declaring, that he would agree to them were he *Alexander*; and so would I, replied *Alexander*, were I *Parmenio*. Without hearkening therefore to his advice, he answered, that he did not want the money *Darius* offered him; that it did not become him to offer what he no longer possessed, nor pretend to dispose of what he had already lost; that if he was the only person who did not know which of the two was the best commander, a battle would soon determine it; that he should not be frightened with rivers after having crossed the sea, and would not fail to pursue *Darius*, and come up with him at last to what place soever he should think proper to retire ^m. *Darius*, upon the receipt of this letter, lost all hopes of an accommodation, and began anew to prepare for war.

Alexander having reduced *Tyre* marched from thence to *Jerusalem*, and from *Jerusalem* to *Gaza*. On his arrival at that city he found it defended by a strong garison under the command of *Betis*, or, as some call him, *Babemesis* ⁿ, one of *Darius*'s eunuchs, who, being a man of great experience in military affairs, and very faithful to his sovereign, resolved to hold out against *Alexander* till he was reduced to the last extremities. As this place was the only inlet into *Egypt*, *Alexander* could not pass thither till he was become master of it, and therefore was forced to besiege it. But notwithstanding his men behaved with the utmost intrepidity, and his commanders exerted the utmost of military skill, yet it cost him and his whole army two entire months to reduce it. The

The city of Gaza besieged and taken by Alexander.

^m PLUT. in. Alex. p. 681. CURT. l. iv. c. 5. ARRIAN l. ii. p. 101. ⁿ JOSEPH. antiquit. l. xi. c. ult.

stop which this put to his intended march into *Egypt*, and two dangerous wounds which he received in the siege, provoked him to such a degree, that on his taking of the place he treated the commander, inhabitants, and soldiers in a manner no-ways becoming a conqueror. For having cut 10,000 of them in pieces, he sold the rest with their wives and children for slaves. When *Betis*, who had been taken prisoner in the last assault, was brought before him, instead of using him kindly, as his valour and fidelity justly deserved, and a generous enemy ought to have done, he ordered his heels to be bored, a cord to be drawn through them, and the unhappy captive, thus tied to a chariot, to be dragged round the city till he expired, bragging, that herein he imitated his progenitor *Achilles*, who, as *Homer* relates, caused the dead body of *Hector* to be thus dragged round the walls of *Troy*, as though a man ought ever to take pride in imitating a bad example. Both acts were barbarous and inhuman, but that of *Alexander* much more so; for *Achilles* caused only *Hector's* dead body to be so abused, whereas *Alexander* thus treated *Betis* while alive, and for no other reason but because he had served his sovereign with fidelity in the post committed to his charge, which even *Alexander*, though an enemy, would have admired and rewarded, had he made the true principles of virtue and generosity the rule of his actions; but his sentiments and conduct began now to change with his fortune°. He sent great part of the booty he found in the city to *Olympias*, to *Cleopatra* and his friends; and having left a garison there, he marched directly for *Egypt*, and in seven days arrived before *Pelusium*, where he was met by great numbers of *Egyptians*, who flocked thither to make their submission to him. The hatred they bore to the *Persians* was such, that they willingly embraced all opportunities of shaking off the yoke they groaned under; and seemed not to care by whom they were governed, provided they could but meet with one who was able to rescue them from that insolence and indignity with which the *Persians* treated them and their religion. *Ochus* had slain their god *Apis*, in a manner highly injurious to themselves and their religion; and the *Persian* governors treated their gods in the same manner; which raised their indignation to such a height, that when *Amyntas* (X) came thither

° CURT. I. iv. c. 10. ARRIAN. I. ii. prope finem. PLUT. in Alex. p. 679.

(X) This *Amyntas*, having fled from *Alexander* to *Darius*, was one of the commanders of the *Greek* mercenaries at the battle of *Issus*; from whence having brought off 4000 of his men, he got safe

thither a little before with a handful of men, he found them ready to join him in driving out the *Persians*. *Alexander* therefore no sooner appeared on the frontiers, but the *Egyptians* flocked to him from all parts, and received him with open arms. His arrival at the head of a powerful and victorious army gave them secure protection, which they could not promise themselves from *Amyntas*; and on this consideration they openly declared, without reserve, in his favour. Hereupon *Mazaces*, who commanded in *Memphis*, seeing he was not in a condition to oppose this general insurrection, opened the gates to the conqueror, and put him in possession of the metropolis of that kingdom, with 800 talents and all the king's rich furniture^p. Thus *Alexander*, without any Egypt
opposition, became master of all Egypt. *submits to*

AT *Memphis* *Alexander* formed a design of visiting the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, and in his way thither built *Alexandria*, which soon became the metropolis of that kingdom. On his return from the temple he settled the affairs of *Egypt*, and marched from thence in the beginning of the spring to find out *Darius*. On his return into *Phœnice* he staid some time at *Tyre*, that he might there settle the affairs of the countries which he was to leave behind him, before he set out to make new conquests; and having ordered matters as he thought fit, he began his march, and with his

^p CURT. l. iv. c. 20. JUSTIN. l. ii. c. 11. ARRIAN. l. iii. p. 104 — 110. DIODOR. l. xvii. p. 526 — 529.

safe to *Tripolis* in *Syria*, where he embarked, as we have related above, and sailed first to *Cyprus*, and then to *Pelusium* in *Egypt*; which city he seized, making the garison believe that he had been appointed governor of *Egypt* in the room of *Sabaces*, who had been killed in the battle of *Iffus*. As soon as he found himself possessed of this important place, he threw off the mask, and declared his design of seizing *Egypt* for himself, and driving the *Persians* from thence. Whereupon the *Egyptians*, out of hatred to the *Persians*, readily joined him; and he having formed a considerable army, marched directly for *Memphis*, where he defeated the *Persians* in a pitched battle, and shut them up in the city. But, after this victory, permitting his soldiers to straggle up and down the country in quest of booty, the *Persians* sallied out upon them thus dispersed, and cut them all to pieces with *Amyntas* their leader (82).

(82) *Arrian*. l. ii. *Curt*. l. iv. c. 3. *Diodor*. l. xvii. p. 587, 588.

whole army arrived at *Thapsacus*, where he crossed the *Euphrates*, and continued his march towards the *Tigris* in quest of the enemy. *Darius* in the mean time, after several overtures for a peace, finding that there were no hopes of an accommodation, unless he resigned the whole empire, applied himself to make the necessary preparations for another engagement. For this purpose having assembled at *Babylon* an army half as numerous again as that with which he fought at *Iffus*, (for it consisted of 1,100,000 men) he took the field, and marched towards *Nineveh*. Advice being brought him, that the enemy was not far off, he detached *Satropates* commander of the cavalry, at the head of a thousand chosen horse, and *Mazæus* governor of that province, with six thousand, to prevent *Alexander* from crossing the *Tigris*, and to lay waste the country through which he was to pass. But they came too late, *Alexander* having, with the utmost difficulty, crossed the river a little before they arrived. He encamped two days on the banks of the river, during which time there happened an eclipse of the moon, which so terrified the *Macedonians*, that they refused to proceed in their march, crying out, that heaven displayed the marks of its anger, that they were dragged against the will of the gods to the utmost extremities of the earth, and that even the moon refused to lend them her usual light. Hereupon *Alexander*, having summoned the officers of the army to his tent, commanded the *Egyptian* soothsayers to declare what they thought of this phænomenon. These were well acquainted with the natural causes of eclipses; but, without entering into such enquiries, they replied, that the sun was predominant in *Greece*, and the moon in *Persia*, whence as often as the moon suffered an eclipse, some great calamity was thereby portended to the latter. This answer, being immediately spread abroad among the soldiers, revived their hopes and courage; and *Alexander*, taking advantage of this ardor, began his march after midnight, having on his right the *Tigris*, and the *Gordyæan* mountains on his left ⁹. At day-break the scouts, he had sent out to reconnoitre, brought word, that *Darius* was on full march to meet him; whereupon he immediately drew up his forces, and put himself at the head of the army. But as they drew near, he found, that it was only a detachment of 1000 horse, which, as the *Macedonians* advanced, retired in great haste to the main army; they were pursued by *Aristo*, commander of the *Pæonian* horse, who having defeated that body and killed *Satropates* their leader, brought back his head, and threw it

⁹ ARRIAN. I. iii. CURT. I. iv. c. 24.

down at *Alexander's* feet, telling him, that in his country such a present was usually rewarded with a cup of gold; *Alexander* replied smiling, with an empty one, but I will give you a golden cup, and that full of wine^r. Not long after *Alexander* received intelligence, that *Darius* was not above 150 furlongs off; whereupon he halted to refresh his soldiers before the engagement, having in the camp great store of provisions. During this time he intercepted some letters wrote by *Darius* to the *Greeks*, soliciting them with great promises either to kill or betray *Alexander*. The king was in doubt with himself whether he should read them in a full assembly, for he relied as much on the fidelity of the *Greeks* as on that of the *Macedonians*; but *Parmenio* dissuaded him from it, telling him, that even the raising such thoughts in the minds of soldiers might be attended with some danger, and that the hopes of a great reward were capable of prompting a man to attempt the most enormous crimes. The king followed this prudent advice, and ordered his army to march forwards^r. He was scarce set out, when an eunuch brought him word, that *Statira Darius's* wife was dead, whereupon he immediately returned, and entering the pavilion, where *Sysigambis* and the other royal prisoners were kept, comforted them in so kind and tender a manner as plainly shewed his deep concern. He caused the funeral obsequies of the deceased princess to be performed with the utmost splendor and magnificence; which *Darius* hearing, and at the same time being informed with what respect *Alexander* had treated her in her life-time, he is said to have prayed the gods, that if the time ordained by the fates for the transferring of the *Persian* empire into other hands was come, none might sit on the throne of *Cyrus*, but so just, so merciful, so generous a conqueror as *Alexander*^t. And although he had twice sued in vain for peace, yet being overcome by the tenderness and humanity, which *Alexander* had shewn his wife, mother, and children, dispatched ten of his relations as ambassadors, offering him new conditions of peace more advantageous than the former, and returning him thanks for the kind treatment he had indulged his family. He had in his former proposals offered him all the provinces of *Asia* as far as the *Halys*; but now he added the countries lying between the *Hellepont* and the *Euphrates*, that is, whatever *Alexander* was already master of, and offered 30,000 talents by way of ransom for his family. *Par-*

^r ARRIAN. l. iii. CURT. l. iv. c. 23. PLUT. in Alex. ^r CURT. l. iv. c. 25. ^t CURT. & PLUTARCH. ibidem.

menio again advised *Alexander* to accept of the conditions, telling him, that the provinces between the *Euphrates* and the *Hellepont* would be a great addition to the kingdom of *Macedon*; and that the *Persian* prisoners were only an incumbrance to the army, whereas the treasure offered for their ransom might be employed for the use of his troops, or to reward the services of his friends. But *Alexander*, without hearkening to his advice, returned the following answer to the ambassadors; that the clemency he had shewn to the wife and children of *Darius* proceeded from his own good nature, without any regard to their master; that he did not make war upon women and children, but upon such only as appeared in arms against him; that if *Darius* had sued for peace in good earnest, he would have hearkened to his proposals; but since he continued to spirit up, with large bribes, his own soldiers to murder or betray him, he could not believe that his offers were sincere, and therefore was determined to pursue him, with the utmost vigour, not as a fair enemy, but as a traitor and assassin; that as to the provinces he offered him, they were already his own, and if *Darius* could force him to retire beyond the *Euphrates*, which he had already crossed, he might then offer them as his; that he proposed to himself, as a reward for the toils he had already endured, all those kingdoms which *Darius* still enjoyed, wherein whether he flattered himself with a vain hope or no, the next day's engagement should determine; he concluded by telling the ambassadors, that he was come into *Asia* to give, and not to receive; that the heavens could not hold two suns, and therefore if *Darius* would submit to him, acknowledging him his lord and sovereign, he would then hearken to proposals^u. The ambassadors returned back, and told *Darius*, that he must prepare for an engagement; whereupon that prince encamped near a village called *Gaugamela*, in a large plain, at a considerable distance from the city of *Arbela*, having beforehand levelled the ground, that his cavalry and chariots might move and act with more ease. *Alexander*, hearing that *Darius* was so near, continued four days in his camp to rest the army, and surrounded it with deep trenches and pallisades, being determined to leave there his baggage and such of his men as were indisposed. He set out about the second watch with a design to engage the enemy at break of day; and arriving at a rising ground, whence he could discover their whole army, he halted, and summoned a council, being in

^u CURT. l. iv. c. 26. JUSTIN. l. xi. 12.

doubt whether he should encamp there, or immediately fall upon the enemy. *Parmenio* advised him to attack their camp in the night-time, alledging, that they might easily be defeated, if taken by surprize and in the dark; but the king answered, that it did not become *Alexander* to steal a victory, and therefore he was resolved to fight and conquer in broad day-light. Accordingly he encamped there in the same order in which the army had marched, and after giving the proper orders he retired to repose the remaining part of the night; but, being under no small concern, he could not sleep till towards the morning, so that when his generals were assembled at day-break before his tent, they were greatly surprised to find that he was not yet awake. *Parmenio*, after waiting some time, thought fit to call him, and seeming amazed that he should sleep so sound, when he was upon the point of hazarding a battle, on which depended the empire of *Asia*; *Alexander* told him, that *Darius*, by bringing all his forces into one place, had freed him from the trouble of thinking how he might pursue them into different countries^w. He then without delay put on his armour, mounted on horseback, and, having drawn up his men in battle-array, advanced to encounter the enemy, who was at a very small distance.

BOTH armies were drawn up in the same order, the infantry in the centre and the cavalry on the wings; *Darius's* front was covered with 200 chariots, armed with scythes, and 25 elephants. Besides his guards, which were the flower of his army, he had posted the *Grecian* infantry near his person, believing this body alone capable of opposing the *Macedonian* phalanx. As his army took up a far greater space of ground than *Alexander's*, his design was to surround and charge them at the same time in front and flank; which *Alexander* suspecting, ordered those who led the wings to extend them as wide as possible without weakening the centre. His baggage and the captives, among whom were *Darius's* mother and children, were left in the camp under a small guard. *Parmenio* commanded, as he had always done, the left wing, and *Alexander* the right. When the two armies were in sight of each other, the *Macedonians* halted, waiting till the enemies should advance to attack them, which they did accordingly, *Darius* himself charging in the first line. *Arrian* and *Curtius* * describe this battle at length; they tell us, that the *Per-*

^w JUSTIN. l. xi. c. xiii. CURT. l. iv. c. 3 — 31. PLUT. in Alex. * ARRIAN. l. iii. CURT. l. iv. c. 25. & seq.

sians were often repulsed, but returned again to the charge ; that victory inclined sometimes to one side, and sometimes to another ; that *Parmenio*, who commanded the left wing, was in great danger, and his men obliged to give ground ; that *Alexander's* rear was put in disorder and the baggage taken ; that both kings wrought wonders, &c. But after all, *Curtius* tells us, that the *Macedonians*, notwithstanding the great opposition they met with, lost only 300 men, and *Arrian* allows not a third of that number slain ; whereas of the *Persians* there fell 40,000, says *Curtius*, 300,000 according to *Arrian*, and 90,000, if we believe *Diodorus*. From these accounts, we can form no other judgment of this great encounter, but that the *Persians* at the very first onset betook themselves to flight, and the *Macedonians* pursued them : for had the seven or eight hundred thousand men, which *Darius* brought into the field, thrown each one dart or stone, the *Macedonians* could not have bought the empire of the east at so easy a rate. In the heat of the battle, when the *Macedonians* were in the greatest danger, *Aristander* the soothsayer, cloathed in his white robes, and holding a branch of olive in his hand, is reported to have advanced among the first ranks, and in concert with *Alexander* to have cried out, that he saw an eagle hovering over the king's head, a sure omen of victory ; he pointed with his finger at the pretended bird, and the soldiers believing him, and some even fancying they saw it, renewed the attack with more courage and resolution than ever. We are told, that *Darius*, seeing his numerous army put so shamefully to flight, drew his scymitar, and was some time in suspense whether he should lay violent hands on himself, rather than fly in so ignominious a manner ; but at last resolved to save himself by flight, and arrived at *Arbela* the same night (Y).

(Y) This battle was fought at *Gaugamela* near the river *Beumelus*, as *Ptolemy Lagus* and *Aristobulus*, who were present, aver ; they are followed both by *Strabo* (83) and *Plutarch* (84) ; nevertheless because *Gaugamela* was only a small village, and the name not agreeable to the ear, signifying the *camels house*, the battle is said to have been fought at *Arbela*, which was a great and famous city in those parts (85). *Gaugamela* and *Arbela* were at a considerable distance from each other ; for between the river *Beumelus*, on which stood *Gaugamela*, and the *Lycus*, on the banks of which *Arbela* was situated, *Curtius* reckons 80 furlongs (86). According to *Strabo's* description of those places *Arbela* in *Ptolemy's* fifth map of *Asia* ought to be placed where we find *Gaugamela* (87).

(83) *Strabo*, lib. 26. p. 737. (84) *Plut. in Alexand.* (85) *Arrian. l. 6 p. 101. Strabo, ubi supra.* (86) *Curt. l. iv. c. 22.*
 (87) *Vide Strab. l. ii. p. 79.*

After he had passed the *Lycus*, some, who attended him in his flight, advised him to break down the bridge in order to stop the enemy's pursuit; but he, reflecting how many of his own men were hastening to pass over the same bridge, replied, that he had rather leave an open way to a pursuing enemy, than shut it to a flying friend^y (Z). He arrived about midnight at *Arbela*, whither he was followed by a great many of his nobles and commanding officers, whom he called together; and acquainted them that he designed to leave all for the present to *Alexander* and fly into *Media*, from whence and from the rest of the northern provinces he could draw together new forces, to try once more his fortune in battle. *Alexander* pursued him as far as *Arbela*; but, before his arrival there, *Darius* was, by the quickness of his flight, got over the mountains of *Armenia*, attended by some of his relations, and a small body of guards called *Melophori*, because each of them bore a golden apple on the point of their spear. In *Armenia* he was joined by 2000 Greek mercenaries, who, under the command of *Paron* a *Phocæan* and *Glaucus* an *Ætolian* had escaped from the battle. *Alexander* took the city of *Arbela*, where he seized on immense sums of money, with all *Darius's* rich furniture and equipage, and returned to his camp. After having allowed his army some days of rest, he set out on his march to *Babylon*. *Mazæus* was governor of that city and province, and had after the late battle retired thither with the scattered remains of the body he commanded. But, on the approach of *Alexander's* victorious army, he had not courage enough to oppose him; marching therefore out to meet him he delivered the city and himself with his children into the conqueror's hands. *Bagaphanes* governor of the castle, where all *Darius's* treasures were lodged, did the same; and *Alexander* entered the city at the head of his whole army, as though he had been marching against an enemy. After a stay of 30 days in that city, he continued *Mazæus* in the government of that province; but giving the command of the castle and garison to a *Macedonian*, he took *Bagaphanes* along with him, and marched towards *Susa*,

^y CURT. l. iv. c. 36, 37. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 14.

(Z) In *Justin* we read, instead of *Lycus*, *Cydnus*; which last river runs through the city of *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*; and hence it is, that *Orosius*, who ever follows *Justin*, was led into so gross a mistake as to think, that this great battle was fought at *Tarsus* (88).

(88) *Oros.* l. iii, c. 17.

where

where he arrived twenty days after his departure from *Babylon*. As he drew near the city, *Abulites* governor of the place, sent his son to meet him, and acquaint him, that he was ready to deliver the city and all the king's treasures into his hands. The king received the young nobleman with great marks of kindness, and, using him as a guide, advanced to the river *Choaspes*, where *Abulites* himself met him with presents worthy of so great a prince; among other things he presented him with dromedaries, or running camels, of incredible swiftness, and twelve elephants, which *Darius* had sent for out of *India*. Having entered the city, the governor delivered up to him 50,000 talents in bullion, and 40,000 in ready money, with all the king's furniture to an immense value. Here he found part of the rarities which *Xerxes* had brought out of *Greece*, namely the brazen statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, which he sent to *Athens*, where they were still standing in *Arrian's* time. As for the purple and scarlet robes, he sent them all to *Sysigambis* together with some others curiously wrought, which had been sent him out of *Macedon*, adding in his message to her, that if she liked the *Macedonian* robes, he would send her those who had wrought them, that her grand-children might learn the art by way of amusement. At these words she could not help betraying some concern and uneasiness, it being looked upon by the *Persian* women as mean and unbecoming to employ themselves in works of that nature; which when *Alexander* understood, he thought himself obliged to make an apology for what he had done; and accordingly went immediately to wait upon her, and begged, that she would not consider that as an affront, which was entirely owing to his ignorance of the *Persian* manners; adding, that the robes he then wore were not only a present from his sisters, but wrought with their own hands².

Alexander having thus comforted *Sysigambis*, took his leave of her, and, leaving a strong garison in the city of *Susa*, advanced towards the province of *Persis*. He arrived in four days march on the banks of the *Pasitigris*, which river he crossed with 9000 foot and 4000 horse, and entered the country of the *Uxians*. This province extends from *Susiana* to the frontiers of *Persis*, and was governed by one *Medathes* who had married the niece of *Sysigambis*. *Medathes*, who was not, like the other *Persian* governors, a time-server, but faithful to his sovereign, resolved to hold out to the last extremity; and with this design retired into a strong hold, in

² CURT. I. v. c. 8.

the midst of craggy mountains, and surrounded on all sides by steep precipices. Here he held out for some time with great bravery, and, when the city was taken by assault, withdrew into the citadel, whence, seeing there were no hopes of being relieved, he sent 30 deputies to *Alexander* to treat of a surrender. The king, who was greatly provoked against *Madates*, would not at first hearken to any proposals; but in the mean time receiving letters from *Sysigambis*, wherein she entreated him to pardon her relation, he not only complied with her request, but set all the prisoners at liberty, restored *Madates* to his former dignity, left the city untouched, and the citizens in the full enjoyment of their antient liberty and privileges ^a.

HAVING reduced the *Uxians*, he ordered *Parmenio* with part of his army to march through the plain, while he himself, at the head of the light-armed foot, advanced by the way of the mountains, which extend to the frontiers of *Persia*. The fifth day he arrived at the straits of *Persia*. These *Ariobarzanes* held with 40000 foot and 7000 horse, which he had posted on the tops of the hills out of the enemies reach. As soon as *Alexander* advanced to attack him, the *Persians* from the tops of the mountains rolled down stones of such a prodigious size, that they crushed at once whole ranks. The king, being greatly frightened at this sight, commanded a retreat to be sounded, and withdrew about 30 furlongs from the pass, where he lay encamped some time, not knowing how to advance, and being ashamed to return; but in the mean time a *Greek* deserter coming to his camp offered himself readily to conduct him through by-paths to the very top of the mountain, whence he might easily so annoy the *Persians*, as to oblige them to abandon the straits and leave an open passage to the whole army. He was as good as his word; for *Alexander*, at the head of some chosen troops, having followed his guide all that night through rocks and precipices, arrived a little before day-break at the top of a mountain, which commanded all the hills where the enemies were posted; which they observing betook themselves to flight; and at the same time *Craterus*, who had been left in the camp, advancing with the troops under his command, possessed himself of the straits. *Ariobarzanes* with part of the cavalry, breaking through the *Macedonians* with great slaughter both of them and his own men, made his escape over the mountains, with a design to throw himself into *Persepolis*; but, finding all the passes leading

^a CURT. l. v. c. 9.

to that city guarded by the enemy, he returned back upon those that pursued him, and was killed with all those that followed him, after having cut in pieces great numbers of the *Macedonians* ^b.

BEING now possessed of the straights, *Alexander* pursued his march into *Perfis* or *Persia*, properly so called. When he was at some distance from *Persepolis*, the metropolis of that province, he received letters from the governor of the place, acquainting him, that the citizens, upon the news of his approach, were ready to plunder *Darius's* treasures with which he had been intrusted, and desiring him to march with all possible expedition, that he might seize them himself. *Alexander*, upon the receipt of this letter, leaving his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of the cavalry, and having passed the *Araxes* on a bridge, which by his order had been built some days before, arrived by day-break within two furlongs of *Persepolis*. The next day having assembled the generals of his army, he represented to them, that no city had ever been more fatal to *Greece* than *Persepolis*, the antient residence of the *Persian* monarchs and the capital of their empire; that from thence those mighty armies had been sent, which had over-run and laid waste great part of *Europe*, and that it was therefore incumbent upon them to revenge on that proud metropolis the many injuries and calamities which their ancestors had suffered. The commanders, being encouraged by this speech, allowed their soldiers to practise all manner of cruelties against the miserable inhabitants, who were massacred in a most barbarous manner. After this cruel execution, leaving *Craterus* and *Parmenio* in the place, the king with a small body went to reduce the neighbouring cities and strong holds, which all submitted at the approach of his troops; he then returned to *Persepolis*, and there took up his winter quarters. In this city he is said to have found 120,000 talents, lodged in the treasury to defray the expences of the war.

DURING his stay at *Persepolis*, he gave himself up to feasting and drinking, making daily great entertainments for his officers to refresh them after the great fatigues they had endured. In one of these entertainments both the king and his guests having drunk to excess, *Thais*, a famous *Athenian* courtesan, and at that time mistress of *Ptolemy*, who was afterwards king of *Egypt*, proposed the burning of *Darius's* palace, telling *Alexander*, with a gay air, that it would be

^b CURT. ARRIAN. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi supra & POLYÆNUS, l. iv. Stratagem. ^c CURT. l. v. c. 13. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 14.

matter of inexpressible joy to her, were she permitted to burn the stately palace of *Xerxes*, who had burnt *Athens*, and set it on fire with her own hands, that it might be said in all the parts of the world, that the women, who had followed *Alexander* in his expedition to *Asia*, had revenged more severely the many calamities *Greece* had suffered from the *Barbarians*, than all the generals that had been employed against them. As the whole company was drunk, the proposal was received with general applause, and the king himself, rising from table, and taking a torch in his hand, followed *Thais*. The rest of the *Macedonians*, crowding at this noise to the palace, armed themselves, after the king's example, with lighted tapers, and surrounding the palace burnt it with the city, for the flames could not be stopt, down to the ground^d. Thus the most stately edifice in the world was, at the motion of a drunken strumpet, reduced to ashes.

FROM *Persepolis* *Alexander* marched early in the spring to *Pasargada*, resolved to pursue *Darius* who was fled to *Ecbatan* in *Media*. That unhappy prince had still an army of 30,000 foot, among whom were 4000 *Greeks*, who continued faithful to the last. Besides these he had 4000 slingers and 3000 horse, most of them *Bactrians*, and commanded by *Bessus*, governor of *Bactria*. When he heard, that *Alexander* was in full march towards *Ecbatan*, he left that city with a design to retire into *Bactria*, and there raise another army. But he was not far advanced when he altered his resolution, and determined to venture a third battle with the forces then about him. While he was making the necessary preparations for the engagement, *Bessus*, governor of *Bactria*, and *Nabarzanes*, a *Persian* lord of great distinction, formed a conspiracy against him, proposing to seize his person, and, if *Alexander* pursued them, to gain his friendship and protection by betraying their master into his hands; but if they escaped, their design was to murder him, usurp the crown, and renew the war. They easily won over the troops by representing to them, that *Darius* was dragging them to destruction, that they were no ways in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy, that they would inevitably perish if they followed *Darius*, crushed under the ruins of an empire which was ready to fall. Though these practices were carried on with great secrecy, yet they came to *Darius's* ear, but he could not believe them. *Patron*, who commanded the *Greeks*, earnestly en-

^d CURT. l. v. c. 15. DIODOR. PLUT. in Alex. ARRIAN. l. iii. JUSTIN. l. xi.

treated him to encamp among them, and trust the guard of his person to men on whose fidelity he might depend. *Darius* replied, that he had rather suffer any misfortune among those of his own nation, than seek for shelter among strangers, how faithful and affectionate soever he might believe them; and that he could not die too soon, if his own *Persians* thought him unworthy to live. Not long after *Darius* had occasion to repent his not following *Patron's* advice; for *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes*,, seizing his person, bound him, out of respect to the royal dignity, in chains of gold, and, shutting him up in a covered cart, fled with him towards *Bactria*. The cart was covered with skins, and strangers appointed to drive it, without knowing who the prisoner was they had in their custody ^c. *Bessus* was proclaimed commander in chief in *Darius's* room by the *Bactrian* horse; but *Artabazus* and his sons, with the forces they commanded, and the *Greeks* under the command of *Patron* retired from the body of the army under *Bessus*, and marched over the mountains towards *Parthylene* ^f. In the mean time *Alexander*, arriving at *Ecbatan*, was informed, that *Darius* had left that city five days before. Here the *Thessalians* shewing a great reluctancy to accompany him any farther, he gave them leave to return to their own country, and at their parting divided 2000 talents among them, over and above their full pay: to such as were willing to continue in his service he gave three talents apiece ^g. He then commanded *Parmenio* to lay up in the castle of *Ecbatan* the remaining part of the treasures; which, according to *Strabo* ^h, amounted to 180,000 talents, and afterwards to march with the *Thracians* and great part of the cavalry into the country of the *Cadusians*. He dispatched orders to *Clitus*, who had fallen sick at *Susa*, to repair, as soon as he recovered, to *Ecbatan*, and from thence to follow him into *Parthia* with the cavalry and 6000 *Macedonians* that were left in *Ecbatan*. *Alexander* with the rest of his army pursued *Darius*, and the eleventh day arrived at *Rages*, having marched in that space of time 3300 furlongs. Most part of those who accompanied him died through the fatigues of so long and expeditious a march; insomuch that, on his arrival at *Rages*, he could muster but 60 horsemen ⁱ. Finding, that he could not come up with *Darius*, who had already passed the *Caspian* straights,

^c CURT. l. v. c. 18. 22, 23. ARRIAN. l. iii. p. 67. ^f CURT. l. v. c. 23. ARRIAN. l. iv. p. 68. ^g CURT. l. vi. c. 3. ARRIAN. l. iii. PLUT. in Alex. ^h STRABO, l. xv. p. 741. ⁱ ARRIAN. l. iii. PLUT. in Alex.

he staid five days at *Rages* in order to refresh his army, and settle the affairs of *Media*. From thence he marched into *Parthia*, and encamped the first day at a small distance from the *Caspian* straights, which he passed the next without any opposition. He had scarce entered *Parthia* when he was informed by *Bagisthenes* a *Persian* nobleman, that *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes* had conspired against *Darius*, and designed to seize him. Hereupon, leaving the main body of the army behind under the command of *Craterus*, he advanced with a small troop of horse lightly armed; and, having marched night and day without ever halting, except a few hours, came the third day to a village where *Bessus* with his *Bactrians* had encamped the day before. Here he understood, that *Darius* had been seized by the traitors, that *Bessus* had caused him to be shut up in a close cart, which he had sent before that he might be the surer of his person, and that the whole army, except *Artabazus* and the *Greeks*, who had taken another rout, obeyed *Bessus* and acknowledged him for their general. This was a fresh motive for *Alexander* to hasten his march; taking therefore along with him a small body of light-armed horse, for the others could not possibly proceed any farther, he set out again the same night, and early next morning was acquainted by *Orcillus* and *Mithracenes* two *Persian* officers, who in detestation of the treachery of *Bessus* had fled over to him, that the *Bactrians* were not above 500 furlongs off, and that they could lead him to them by a nearer way. Taking them therefore for his guides, he set out again the same night, and after marching 300 furlongs was met by the son of *Mazæus* formerly governor of *Syria*; who informed him, that *Bessus* was not above 200 furlongs off, and that his army, as not apprehending any danger, was marching in disorder, and might easily be surpris'd and cut in pieces. Hereupon *Alexander* again doubled his pace, and at last came in sight of the enemy. His unexpected arrival struck the *Barbarians*, though far superior in number, with such terror, that they immediately betook themselves to a precipitous flight; and because *Darius* refused to follow them, *Bessus* and those that were about him discharging their darts at the unfortunate prince, left him wallowing in his blood to the mercy of the *Macedonians*. This done they separated and took different routs, *Bessus* flying towards *Hyrcania*, and *Nabarzanes* into *Bactria*, that by this means they might elude the pursuit of the enemy, or at least oblige him to divide his forces. They were attended only by a few horse, the rest, now destitute of leaders, dispersing themselves up and down the

Darius
Codoman-
rus slain
Year of
the Flood
2668.
Year be-
fore Christ
331.



the country, as fear or hope directed their steps. *Alexander*, seeing what confusion the enemies were in, sent *Nicanor* with a troop of light-armed horse to stop their flight, and himself followed at the head of 3000 *Macedonians*. *Nicanor* put near 3000 of the stragglers to the sword, but could not come up either with *Bessus* or *Nabarzanes*, which *Alexander* observing sent him orders to give quarter to all those that should throw down their arms and submit. In the mean time the horses, that drew the cart in which was *Darius*, halted of their own accord, for the drivers had been killed by *Bessus*, near a certain village about four furlongs from the high-way; whither *Polystratus* a *Macedonian*, being pressed with thirst in the pursuit of the enemy, was soon after conducted by the inhabitants to refresh himself, at a fountain not far from the place where they stopt. As he was filling his helmet with water he heard the groans of a dying man, and looking round him discovered a cart with a team of horses, not able to move for the many wounds they had received. As he drew near he saw *Darius* lying in the cart and very near his end, having several darts still sticking in his body. However, he had strength enough to call for some water; which *Polystratus*, being by a *Persian* captive informed of this barbarous tragedy, readily brought him. *Darius* after drinking turned to the *Macedonian*, and told him with a faint voice, that, in the deplorable state to which he was reduced, it was no small comfort to him that his last words would not be lost; he then charged him to return his hearty thanks to *Alexander* for the kindness he had shewn to his wife, mother, and children; and acquaint him, that with his last breath he besought the gods to prosper him in all his undertakings, and make him sole monarch of the universe: he added, that it did not so much concern him as *Alexander* to pursue and bring to condign punishment those traitors, who had treated with such cruelty their lawful sovereign, that being the common cause of all crowned heads; then taking *Polystratus* by the hand, “Give *Alexander*, said he, your hand, as I give
“ you mine, and carry him, in my name, the only pledge
“ I am able to give in this condition of my gratitude and
“ affection”. Having uttered these words he expired in the arms of *Polystratus*. *Alexander* coming up a few minutes after, and beholding *Darius*’s body, burst out into tears, bewailing the cruel lot of a prince, who, said he, deserved a better fate. He immediately pulled off his own military cloak and covered it, causing it to be embalmed, and sent in a rich and magnificent coffin to *Sysigambis*, that it might be interred with the other *Persian* monarchs. Thus died *Darius* in the
fiftieth

fiftieth year of his age, and sixth of his reign. He was a mild and pacific prince, his reign having been un sullied with injustice, cruelty, or any of those vices which most of his predecessors had been greatly addicted to. In him the *Persian* empire ended, after it had lasted from the first of *Cyrus* 209 years under thirteen kings, viz. *Cyrus*, *Cambyses*, *Smerdis*, *Darius Hystaspes*, *Xerxes I.* *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, *Xerxes II.* *Sogdianus*, *Darius Nothus*, *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, *Artaxerxes Ochus*, *Arses*, *Darius Codomannus* ^k. Upon the death of *Darius* all his commanders submitted to the conqueror, by whom they were restored to their former honours and employments ; but above all others he distinguished *Artabazus*, in regard of his constant and unshaken fidelity to his master, and *Oxathres*, *Darius's* brother, whom he ever treated in a manner becoming his high station and noble birth. He was even, to his great dishonour, prevailed upon to receive and pardon *Nabarzanes*, who together with *Bessus* had murdered *Darius*. But *Bessus* having fled into *Bactria*, and there assumed the title of king, *Alexander* in the beginning of the next spring marched against him : but his march out of *Persia* into those northern countries is by authors described with great confusion ; for after they had told us, that he was resolved to find out *Bessus* in *Bactria*, they make him take the way of *Hyrkania*, from thence wander northwards into the country of the *Mardi*, bordering on the *Caspian* sea, and after subduing the *Mardi* cross mount *Coronus* into *Aria* and *Drangiana*. Be that as it will, he arrived at last after a long and tedious march in *Bactria* ; and having rested his army some time at *Drapsaca*, he advanced against and reduced *Aornos* and *Bactra*, the two strongest cities of that province. *Alexander* had no sooner reached the confines of *Bactria*, but 8000 *Bactrians*, who till that time had followed *Bessus*, abandoning him, withdrew to their respective homes. Hereupon *Bessus*, at the head of the few troops that continued faithful to him, crossing the river *Oxus*, retired into the province of *Sogdiana*, with a design to raise there a new army. In order to prevent *Alexander* from pursuing him, he burnt all the boats he had made use of in passing over his troops, hoping, that as the river was no where fordable, and the country afforded no timber, he would thereby be obliged to return and give over the pursuit. But no difficulties were unsurmountable to that conqueror ; who, finding no timber wherewithal to make boats or floats, caused the hides, which

^k CURT. I. V. C. 25. JUSTIN. I. XI. C. 15. ARRIAN. p. 69. PLUT. in Alex.

Bessus put
to death.
Year of
the Flood
2669:
Before
Chr. ft,
330.

covered the soldiers tents and carriages, to be filled with straw, and tied together. By this means he supplied the want of timber, and passed his whole army over that large and deep river in the space of five days ; which *Bessus* might have easily prevented had he but dared to look the *Macedonians* in the face. When the *Bactrians*, who were encamped at a place called *Nautaca*, heard that *Alexander* had crossed the river, and was on full march to fall upon them, *Spitamenes*, whom *Bessus* most confided in, together with *Catanes* and *Dataphernes*, formed a conspiracy to seize *Bessus*, and purchase their own safety by delivering him up to *Alexander* ; which they did accordingly, tearing in pieces his diadem and royal robes, of which he had stript his lawful sovereign *Darius*, and carrying him loaded with chains to the *Macedonian* camp. *Spitamenes* himself presented the traitor to *Alexander*, not only bound, but stark naked, holding him by a chain round his neck ; a sight no less agreeable to the *Persians* than the *Macedonians*. *Alexander*, having amply rewarded *Spitamenes* and his companions, and caused the traitor's nose and ears to be cut off, delivered him into the hands of *Oxathres*, *Darius's* brother, to suffer whatever punishment he should think proper to inflict for so base and treacherous a murder¹ ; *Plutarch*^m has left us an account of this execution ; he tells us, that several trees being by main force bent down to the ground, and to each one of the traitor's limbs fastened, the trees as they were let return to their natural position, flew back with such violence, that each carried with it the limb that was tied to it. Thus *Bessus* suffered the punishment that was due to his treachery ; and at his death *Alexander* saw himself in quiet possession of the whole *Persian* empire. This is what we have gathered from the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians of the best account, concerning the affairs of the antient *Persians* : In the following section we shall hear the *Orientals* on the same subject.

S E C T.

¹ CURT. I. 7. c. 12. ARRIAN. I. 3. Diodor. I. 17. ^m PLUT. in Alex. & DIODOR. I. 17. p. 554. ARRIAN. I. iv. c. 7. CURT. I. 7. c. 10.

In stating the times of the *Persian* empire we have followed all along *Ptolemy's* canon, and the records of the *Greek* and *Latin* authors. For the *Jews* own such kings only as they find mentioned in the books of the *Old Testament* ; whence, according to their computation in the greater chronicle *Seder Olam Rabbah*, the *Medo-Persian* empire, from the building of the temple in the second year

S E C T. V.

The History of PERSIA according to the Oriental Writers.

WE have been so long used to hear every thing transcribed from *Eastern* authors censured as vain and fabulous; that how unwilling soever we may be to trouble the reader with preparatory discourses, yet in this case there seems to be a necessity of saying somewhat in support of the narratives we are going to recite, that they may not be taken for mere figments, or romances void of all foundation. It is far from being our opinion, that every thing recorded by the *Persian* writers is strictly fact; that would be to place them not on a level with the best historians of other nations, but in a class high above them. For what people, what kingdom, what republic, can boast of such a faultless series of history? or why should we expect a greater degree of clearness in the history of *Persia*, as written by *Oriental* authors, than we find in the history of *Greece*, though written by *Greeks*, who were so proud of their own abilities, that they stiled all the rest of the world *Barbarians*? It is sufficient for our purpose, (which is no more than to gain the reader's proper attention for what we have collected of the *Persian* history from *Eastern* writers) that we shew there is as just reason to suppose they have delivered us a great many truths in their accounts of these early times, as can be produced in favour of any other history as antient. In order to this we shall neither multiply arguments nor words. *In the first place*, we are told by *Moses*^a, that there were kings in *Persia* in the age immediately following that, in which the *Persian* writers placed the beginning of their monarchy. It is therefore evident, that these writers are not wrong in making their kingdom so antient as they do. But *secondly*, there is no just cause to doubt, that either as soon as, or within a small time after, the settling of regal government amongst them, histories, or at least historical poems, were also introduced.

^a GENES. xiv. 1, 9.

year of *Darius Hystaspes*, flourished only 34 years. *Josephus* acknowledges only the following kings of *Persia*; *Cyrus*, *Cambyses*, *Darius Hystaspes*, *Xerxes*, *Artaxerxes*, and *Darius*; this *Darius*, who was *Darius Nothus*, he confounds with *Darius Codomannus*, who was conquered by *Alexander*, and refers to the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* whatever happened in the reigns of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and *Artaxerxes Ochus*.

This was the custom in all places, at least as far as we are able to trace things back. First, a people lived miserably and without order, then some great genius reformed and reduced them into society, successive kings cherished and increased that society, and men having leisure and ease considered these benefits, and gratefully sung the praises of their benefactors. *Moses* hath preserved two fragments of an *Amoritic* poem, as old in all probability as the times we are speaking of; and if the bards of that country sung so early the praises of *Sihon* ^b, why might not the *Persians* have persons among them as capable of transmitting to posterity the memorable deeds of their princes? *Thirdly*, it is universally allowed, that the present *Persians* have not only quick wits but are wonderfully studious, and in a particular manner addicted to the conservation of the antiquities of their country. It may indeed be objected to this, that the modern and ancient *Persians* are not one and the same people; but hereto it may be replied, that the *Persees*, the unadulterated remnant of the old inhabitants of this wide empire, are still more studious and more thoughtful than the present *Persians* ^c. We may therefore conclude, that there were formerly many authentic histories of the reigns of the most ancient kings of this realm, I say we may conclude this from the reasons already given if we had no other proof; but as we have, it would be unfair not to mention it, especially since it may be drawn into very little room. The authorities which may be adduced in support of this assertion, that the ancient *Persians* kept authentic records of their affairs, may be reduced under these two heads, *viz.* sacred and prophane. The authors of the books of ^d *Ezra* and ^e *Nehemiah* speak frequently not only of the immutability of the *Persian* laws, which implies that they were recorded, but also of public acts and registers. In the book of ^f *Esther*, we have not only frequent mention of these, but also of the chronicles of the kingdom, or rather of the kings, of *Persia*, wherein every thing of moment was set down. As to prophane writers, ^g *Herodotus* and ^h *Xenophon* are sufficient to satisfy any impartial person as to the wisdom and virtue of the ancient *Persians*, and their care of all things which had regard to the honour or welfare of their country.

How the SUPPOSING it therefore as clear as the nature of the thing
ancient his- will admit, that the *Persians* had amongst them of old the
tories have histories of their kings and heroes, we are next to shew how
been pre-
served.

^b NUMB. xxi. 37. ^c CHARDIN. tom iii. p. 130. ^d vi. 2.
^e ii. 7. ^f ii. 23. vi. 1. ^g CLIO, p. 25. ^h CYROPÆDIA.

these can be reasonably believed to be yet in being, and to have reached these distant times. Of this, however, we are not positive ourselves; all that we can say is this, that the *Persians* having lived under their own laws down to the time of *Yezdegberd*, there seems to be no difficulty in allowing that till then their histories were frequent among them; for tho' the *Macedonians* might burn and destroy their records, yet it is incredible, that they should destroy all the books in the empire; besides, we know that the modern *Persees* have the *Zend* or original *Code of Zerdusht* among them, with many other antient books; now it being generally agreed, that *Zerdusht* flourished in the days of *Darius Hystaspes*, it will be hard to assign a reason, why some of their antient histories might not be preserved, as well as these books of their law. But farther still, *Mohammed Ben Emir Khoandschah* commonly called *Mirkbond*, or *Mirkbound*, with other modern *Persian* authors, constantly and uniformly assert, that they write from such authorities, and therefore we have no just reason to doubt them, unless we could shew the contrary (A).

It is from the author beforementioned that we take, for *On what* the most part, what is delivered in the following pages con- *authorities* cerning the *Oriental* history of *Persia*. He is allowed to *this history* have been a person of great learning and judgment by such *is founded*. as are well versed in oriental history, and his works are e-

(A) This famous historian is quoted by various names, and those names have received some alteration from the different orthographies used in oriental appellations; sometimes he is called *Mirchond*, sometimes *Mirkbond*, and sometimes *Chondemir*; he wrote a general history from the beginning of the world to the year of the *Hegira* 900, under the title of *Raoudhat al Safa*; he was a person of great natural parts, and of much learning, perfectly well skilled in the *Persian* antiquities, and wrote from the best histories extant in his time (1); for this reason we find him often quoted by the very learned Dr. *Hyde* (2), and indeed by all the writers of note on *Persian* affairs. His fame became known in *Europe* by an abridgment of his work, published in *Spanish* by *Texeira*, which is, however, far from being correct. There is a better extract extant in a book cited at the bottom of the page (3); we shall have occasion to speak hereafter of this author and his works, when we come to the history of the age in which he lived, and shall therefore put an end to this note here.

(1) *D'Herbelot tit. Mirkbond.*
cap. viii. 152.

(2) *Hyde rel. vet. Pers.*
(3) *Les Etats, Empires, & Principautés du*
Monde. Paris 4to, 1662. p. 999.

steemed as oracles throughout the east. We may justly hope therefore, that what we transcribe from him, with the addition of such circumstances as we can meet with elsewhere, will render this section as useful and as agreeable as could be expected on so abstruse a subject. Without further introduction, therefore, let us proceed to the catalogue of kings afforded us in his writings.

A TABLE of the kings of PERSIA, to the time of ALEXANDER the Great, according to MIRKHOND.

The first Race,

Or the Dynasty of the PISCHDADIANS.

1	<i>Kejomaras, or Cajoumarath</i>	40
2	<i>Siamek</i>	
	<i>Kejomaras resumes the kingdom</i>	
3	<i>Hûshangh, or Houschenk</i>	50
4	<i>Tabmurash</i>	30
5	<i>Gjemshîd, or Giamschid</i>	
	<i>Dahâc, Zahâk, Zoâk</i>	
6	<i>Apbridûn, Phredûn, or Feridoun</i>	
7	<i>Manugjahr, or Manougeher, surnamed Phirouz</i>	120
8	<i>Nodar</i>	7
9	<i>Apherâsiab, or Afrasiab</i>	12
10	<i>Zab, Zaab, or Zoub</i>	

The second Race,

Or the Dynasty of the KAIANITES.

1	<i>Kaikobad</i>	100
2	<i>Kaikaus</i>	150
3	<i>Kaikhosru</i>	60
4	<i>Lohrasp or Lohorasb</i>	120
5	<i>Gushtâsp, or Gustasp, or Kischtasps</i>	120
6	<i>Ardschir, surnamed Bahaman</i>	112
7	<i>Queen Homai</i>	32
8	<i>Darav 1.</i>	4
9	<i>Darav 2.</i>	14

A Table of the same kings, with the years of their reigns, according to other oriental authors.

The first Race,

1	<i>Kejomaras, or Cajoumarath</i>	560
	<i>Siamek slain after a short reign</i>	
		<i>Kejo-</i>

<i>Kejomaras resumes the Kingdom, and reigned</i>	30
<i>An Interregnum</i>	200
2 <i>Hushang, or Houschenk, surnamed Pischdad</i>	50
3 <i>Tahmurasb</i>	700
4 <i>Giemshid, or Giamschid</i>	30
5 <i>Dahâc, Zahâc, Zoak</i>	1000
6 <i>Aphridûn, Phridun, or Feridoun</i>	120
7 <i>Manugjahr, or Manougeher, surnamed Phirouz</i>	500
8 <i>Nodar</i>	7
9 <i>Apherasiab or Afrasiab</i>	12
10 <i>Zab, Zaab, or Zoub</i>	30
11 <i>Gustasp son of Zoub</i>	30

The second Race,

1 <i>Kaikobad</i>	120
2 <i>Kaikaus</i>	150
3 <i>Kaikhosru</i>	60
4 <i>Lohrasp, or Lohorasb</i>	120
5 <i>Gushtâsp, or Gustasp, or Kischtasb</i>	120
6 <i>Ardschir, surnamed Bahaman</i>	112
7 <i>Queen Homai</i>	32
8 <i>Darav 1.</i>	14
9 <i>Darav 2.</i>	

It is evident enough from the years set down in the two *The nature* tables above, that there is a great mixture of fable and un-*thereof in* certainty in the accounts we have of these princes reigns; *point of* but there may notwithstanding this be a great deal of truth *style, &c.* in these relations, and, by comparing them with what the *Greek* and other writers of the *Persian* affairs have given us of the same times it may be very possible to extract a better idea of the antient *Persian* empire, than could have been had without consulting the oriental writers at all. Reason will be everlastingly the supreme judge of facts, and if a history be attended with continual improbabilities or absurdities, men of sense will either doubt or reject its authority, whether its author lived in the east, or in the west. On the other hand, where a history is composed of a series of mixt facts, some probable and some romantic, the candid reader will receive those, though he throw away these, and will not destroy the wheat, because there are tares amongst it. As to the style of the following history, we have not pretended to follow the rhetorical pomp of the *Persian* authors; on the contrary, we have delivered ourselves with the utmost plainness and perspicuity, and have endeavoured, as far as in our

our power lay, to rescue truth out of those metaphoric clouds, which often obscure the writings of the eastern historians. Farther remarks of the same nature we leave to the discernment of our readers.

Keyomaras.

Keyomaras, or *Cajoumarath*, is allowed by all the oriental authors to have been the first king of the first race, surnamed the *Pischedadians*, from *Pischedad*, which signifies a just judge, and was the surname given to *Hushangh* the second king of this race, however, afterwards attributed to them all. The manner wherein *Keyomaras* ascended the throne was this. In the province of *Aderbayagjan* the inhabitants feeling the sad effects of anarchy, and finding that liberty could not be enjoyed, where every one was free to do what he pleased, they unanimously resolved to elect one who should be obeyed by all, and to whose judgment they would submit as to an irrefragable law. His conspicuous virtues determined them on this occasion to *Keyomaras*, whom therefore they immediately owned for their monarch, invested him with royal robes, and put a bonnet called *Tagi* on his head, kissing his feet in token of submission, which customs last mentioned were preserved in use by his successors¹. His elevation had a proper effect on the mind of this new king; he applied himself to every branch of his duty; he erected courts of justice; he taught men to build houses and to live in villages; he invented various manufactures, such as the making of woollen cloth, and spinning, and weaving silk; in a word, he civilized his people, and merited, by his wisdom, justice, and goodness, that dignity, which, out of modesty and a foresight of the cares it would be attended with, he for a long time refused². The happiness enjoyed by such as lived under so excellent a prince invited the neighbouring people to put themselves under his protection. Thus his empire was extended by the same means that it began, viz. through an opinion of his worth; and he upon their submission treated his new subjects with the same care and kindness as he had always shewn to his old. He sent his brother to take a view of these new-acquired dominions, and went afterwards to look upon them himself. In the province of *Chorasan* he met with his brother, and embracing him tenderly, he to perpetuate the memory of that interview erected the city of *Balch* where it happened, that word being derived from a verb, which signifies *to embrace*. He was also the founder of abundance of other cities of *Persia*, particularly

¹ MIRKHOND, *Procem. Hist. select chronicle*.

² *Tarik Montekheb*, i. c.

*Kabulstan, Sigistan, Gom, &c*¹. This prince had two sons, the name of the elder was *Nazek*, a young man of wonderful prudence, who addicted himself intirely to study, for which reason he withdrew himself from his father's court, and lived with his wife in a little hermitage, where he gave himself over to contemplation; his father, who was himself a very learned man, went frequently to visit and converse with his son in his cell. Once going thither on the same errand, he found his son dead with several wounds upon his body: on a strict enquiry he was informed, that this cruel fact was committed by certain robbers of *Tabrestan*. These *Keyomaras* pursued into their own country, defeated them, and after putting many to the sword made slaves of the rest, and employed them in his buildings^m. The other son of *Keyomaras*, or rather his grandson, was *Siamek*, with whom the wife of *Nazek* was big when he was murdered. This child as soon as he was born *Keyomaras* adopted, bred him up with the utmost care, and having instructed him in all the arts of reigning, he with the consent of the people transferred the sovereignty to him, and made him king in his life-time. An event singular enough, if we consider, that *Keyomaras* was the first to whom a crown in this country was offered, and the first also, who, disgusted with the weight of regal authority, desired to lay it down.

Siamek proved a gracious and a warlike prince. Within a *Siamek*. short time after his accession some of his neighbours entered his dominions in a hostile manner, whereupon he immediately raised an army, marched against them, and gave them battle, where fighting valiantly he received a mortal wound; he was carried out of the battle, and died in the arms of his wife, whom he left, as his father left his, big with child, conjuring her with his last words, if she brought forth a son to put him continually in mind of his unfortunate death, and to exhort him to revenge it on the people, who in so short a time had deprived him both of his life and empire. *Keyomaras* by this unlucky accident was forced to ascend the throne again. The first thing he did was to celebrate the obsequies of his deceased son with great magnificence; the next to take vengeance on those who had slain *Siamek*; after which he reigned for many years with great applause.

THERE is nothing more uncertain than the lineage of this king, and the time in which he flourished. Some oriental writers have fancied him *Adam*, and because he was the first

¹ MIRKHOND. Hist. Sect. 1.
Oriental. tit. CAIUMARATH.

^m D'HÉRELLOT, Biblioth.

king, would needs have him to be the first man also ; but men of better judgment and cooler imaginations have conceived, that this notion was owing to a mistake, and that the ancient *Persians* called him *Adam* by way of honorary surname, signifying, that he was as much the father of their nation as *Adam* of mankind. The most judicious among the *Persian* writers believe him to have been the son of *Aram*, the son of *Shem*, the son of *Noah*, and that he chose to erect the seat of his empire not far from mount *Ararat* and the countries first planted after the flood. His religion is another disputable point, some holding him an idolater, and believing, that the magnificent pile he reared for the burning of the body of his son *Siamek* gave birth to the *fire-worship* ascribed to the *Magians*. But if we may credit graver authorities, *Keyomaras*, like most antient kings, was at once both *prince* and *prophet*, taught his people the true religion of the patriarchs, particularly the existence of one infinite Almighty Being, and of a created evil being, the indefatigable enemy of mankind. The romance writers allow him a thousand years of life, and say, that of these he reigned five hundred and sixty. How long he reigned before he resigned his throne to *Siamek* is uncertain, but from his resuming the sceptre to his death it is generally allowed there intervened thirty yearsⁿ.

Hushang. *Hushang*, or *Houschenk*, surnamed *Pischdad*, was a person of great parts, as well as great courage, and is equally famous throughout the east, for the extent of his knowledge and his mighty feats of valour. He is said to have given a regular body of laws to his subjects, whence he was called *Pischdad*. He also divided his country, and established governors throughout, encouraged the working of mines, and invented most of the instruments of agriculture, as also the art of conveying water through subterraneous passages, for the moistening of their grounds ; to him likewise they ascribe the taming of leopards and other beasts of chace, and the introducing of furs for keeping the body warm in winter. As he made his kingdom flourish through his wisdom, so he extended it by his courage, and after a reign of fifty years was killed by the fall of a piece of rock, thrown from the mountains of *Damavend*, by an army of *Barbarians* who came to invade his territories. Some are of opinion, that he made the province of *Chusistan* the seat of his empire, by erecting there the famous city of *Susa* or *Shushan*^o.

ⁿ SHARISTANI ap. HYDE rel. vet. Persar. c. xxv. p. 175.

^o Leb Tarik. MIRKHOND. hist. sect. 3.

THERE is hardly an antient prince in the world whose name is more famous in romance than that of *Hushang*, there is a *Persian* book which bears the title of *Hushang Nameh*, i. e. *Hushang's* history, which, for the many wonderful things it contains, has been translated into the *Turkish* tongue. In this famous piece it is recorded, that our hero bestrid a monstrous animal, called *Rakhsche*, which he found in the dry island, or new world, being the issue of a male *Crocodile* and a female *Hippopotamus*; this steed fed upon nothing but the flesh of *Serpents* and *Dragons*. After once *Hushang* had made this animal submit to the saddle, there was no giant so terrible, no monster so frightful, but he attacked and subdued; amongst the rest of his conquests he reduced the people of *Mahiser*, so famous in the eastern romances for their having fishes heads, and thence esteemed a race of formidable monsters. The truth seems to be, that this prince subdued that people on the *Persic* gulph, called by the *Greeks* *Ichthyophagi* from their living upon fish, whence the fruitful imagination of eastern poets deduced a people with fishes heads. The same fabulous writers ascribe to this monarch a certain book bearing the title of *Giavidan Khird*, i. e. *the wisdom of all times*; this is a very famous piece, and is certainly very antient, and has been translated into various languages, particularly into *Arabic*, by the son of the vizier of the *Caliph Alnamon*, and into *Turkish* under the title of *Anwar Sohaili*, it has also been in part rendered into *French*, and is in itself a very excellent treatise, whence in all probability it came to be attributed to this monarch, so famous for giving laws and teaching wisdom and civility to his people; the reader will find a fuller account of the treatise beforementioned at the bottom of the page ^p (B).

Tabmuraish

^p D'HERBELOT. Art. HOUSCHENK.

(B) This piece is penned with all the enthusiasm natural to eastern writers; there are in it, however, some very fine sentences, amongst others these which follow:

“ Great kings are gods on earth, and have all the attributes of
 “ power, wisdom, and mercy, in a superior degree, with respect to
 “ private persons, as the Almighty hath over them. Let not this,
 “ however, encourage them to use their subjects with rigour.
 “ Thunder is seldom heard, but the sun shines every day; we see
 “ ten thousand instances of God's goodness, for one extraordinary
 “ act of vengeance; let kings imitate him by doing all the good
 “ they can, and always remember, that though death is in their
 “ power, yet life is not; they may order a man to be cut into a
 Vol. V. N “ thousand

Tahmu-
rasb.

Tahmurasb, surnamed *Diùbend*, i. e. *the humbler of the devil*, supposed by some to be the son, by others the grandson, of *Hushang*, and by a third party his cousin, succeeded that famous monarch, and governed with great reputation. For finding that the wars of his predecessor had introduced both poverty and confusion in his dominions, he to remedy the first remitted all taxes for three years, and to reduce things into order made new laws, and took care that the magistrates should every where put them in execution. He is the first *Persian* prince recorded to have had a vizier or prime minister; it is very possible, that the disorder in which he found the affairs of his empire, engaged him to make use of such an officer. This king fortified the frontiers of *Persia* to prevent sudden invasions, and shewed so happy a mixture of wisdom and valour in his disposition, that several of the neighbouring nations, struck with the felicity of his subjects, voluntarily submitted themselves to him, and acknowledged him for their sovereign. At last, after a glorious reign of thirty years, a pestilence, which raged throughout his dominions and destroyed with equal rapidity both man and beast, cut the thread of his life at *Balch*, to the great grief of his subjects ¹.

¹ MIRKHOND. Hist. Sect. iv. D'HERBELOT tit. TAHMURASB.

“ thousand pieces, but there their dominion ends, they cannot call
 “ him into being again; beware therefore of sudden judgments,
 “ and of penitence coming too late.

“ Ministers are as the hands or instruments of kings; men look
 “ not for an account of their actions from them, but from their
 “ master; a king therefore should look well to his ministers; for
 “ it is as vain to throw the weight of crimes upon them, when
 “ the people rise in rebellion, as it would be for a murderer to tell
 “ the judge, that it was not he but his sword that killed his neigh-
 “ bour. Bad princes have sometimes had good ministers, but good
 “ princes never have bad ones long.

“ The passions of men may by long acquaintance be thoroughly
 “ known, but the passions of women are inscrutable; therefore they
 “ ought to be severed from men, lest the mutability of their tem-
 “ pers should infect others. Their natures, humours, and consti-
 “ tution, require restraint; large and coarse stones are employed
 “ in ordinary buildings; marble and alabaster in palaces; but
 “ diamonds we lock up in cabinets; and as things are rare or com-
 “ mon, of small value or of great price, we set them to shew, or
 “ shut them up close (4).

(4) *Humaïoun Namesh. ap. Beauchamp's Essays, Sect. iii.*

Gjemshid,

Gjemshid, or *Giamschid*, or rather *Gjem Schid*, his name *Gjem* being *Gjem*, to which *Schid* as a surname was added, because *schid*. of his wonderful beauty, *Schid* in the *Persic* language signifying *the sun*, his eyes having such a lustre that none could look him steadily in the face, though some authors are of opinion, that he received this addition to his name, not from the beauty of his person, but from the glory which resulted from his actions. It is not very certain, whether this prince was the son of his predecessor, his nephew, or his grandson, but all agree that he was of the family of *Keymaras*, and had a just right to the throne. The reputation of his ancestors inspired him with a laudable ambition of equalling at least, if not excelling them. With this view he encouraged all learned and wise men to come to his court, where he highly preferred them; amongst the rest were two persons of singular abilities, on whom he chiefly relied, the one, a *Jew*, says our author *Mirchond*, whose name was *Fael Issuf Rabban*, and the other a *Greek*, called *Fithagores* i. e. *Pythagoras*; but this must be a mistake; for though we have no certainty as to the chronology of these times, yet it is easy to discern from the circumstances of things, that *Gjemshid* flourished at a considerable distance from *Pythagoras*; but such errors as these are not infrequent among *Oriental* writers, through their want of understanding thoroughly the history of *Greece*, of which, however, they have most of them a general idea. By the advice in all probability of these wise counsellors, *Gjemshid* divided his subjects into three classes; the first consisting of soldiers; the second of husbandmen; and the third of artificers^r. In his time music, vocal and instrumental, and astronomy were first introduced in *Persia*. He was also the first who built granaries in *Persia*, into which he caused every year a certain quantity of corn to be carried, that in case of any deficiency in their harvests famine might not be felt. In his time likewise wine came to be esteemed, or rather brought into general use, throughout his territories from the following accident. A woman, who was much in *Gjemshid*'s good graces was afflicted with an inveterate head-ach, which all the physicians in the court of *Gjemshid* were not able to alleviate or remove; this woman went into the place where the king's wine was kept, and drank of it very freely; and finding that it in some measure relieved her, she returned thither again after resting herself for some hours, and drank yet a greater quantity which compleated her cure; this she told to the king, and it being divulged through the

^r MIRKHOND. Hist. Sect. v.

court, every body began to regard wine as an universal medicine, capable of removing the most stubborn diseases. Among the most illustrious events of this great monarch's reign, we may justly place the rectification of the kalendar which he undertook and perfected, instituting two years, a civil or ordinary year, and an ecclesiastic year, in which there was in the space of one hundred and thirty years a month intercalated^c (C). He likewise instituted the *Nauruz*, i. e. the solemn observation of the new year, concerning which we are told that it had its rise thus ; king *Gjemschid* going in progress through his provinces arrived in *Aderbayagjan*, and shewing himself on a royal throne to his people, the sun shone with such lustre on his crown adorned with precious stones and feathers, that the people shouted aloud, and said, This is *Nauruz*, i. e. the new day, whence the king took the opportunity of instituting a festival, wherein, besides the presents made to the prince, 'twas usual for him to receive and grant the petitions of all sorts of people, to release prisoners, and to do all other acts of clemency and benevolence which could be expected from him. As to the particular ceremonies attending this festival, the reader may probably be pleased to know that it lasted six days. On the first of these the king gratified his people, or, if the phrase may be allowed, his commons. The second day he paid the same regard to the learned men attending his court. On the third his priests and privy counsellors presented their petitions. On the fourth he heard the suits of his nobility and kindred. On the fifth those of his children. The sixth belonged to himself. In the evening of the fifth day a young man handsome in his person was picked out, and appointed to wait at the king's door all night. At day-break he entered the chamber without ceremony, upon which the king with an air of familiarity asked him whence he came, whither he went, what his purpose, and his name, wherefore he came, and what he carried ; to

^c HYDE, *rel. vet. Persar.* c. xiv.

(C) The reader might probably expect here an account of the kalendar, as it was settled by *Gjemschid* ; but as we shall be obliged to treat at large of this matter in another place, viz when we come to speak of the æra of *Vezdegherd*, we thought it needless to interrupt the series of our history here with an imperfect account of this matter. The curious and learned reader may have recourse to Dr. *Hyde's* book, where he will find this intricate subject treated at large (5).

(5) *Relig. vet. Persar.* c. xiv.

which



which the youth answered, *I am Al Mansur, i. e. August ; my name is Al-Mobarek, i. e. the Blessed ; I came hither from God, bearing the new year.* Then he sat down, and immediately entered the nobility, bearing each a silver vessel, in which were wheat, barley, pease, vetches, pulse, a sugar cane, and two pieces of gold fresh from the mint. Out of this basin first the *Wasir* or *Vizier*, then the treasurer, afterwards the nobility, according to their rank, each offered his silver vessel to the king. At the conclusion of the ceremony a very great loaf made of several kinds of corn was brought in and placed before the king, who, after eating some of it himself, intreated such as were present to eat the rest in these words, *This is a new day of a new month, the beginning of a new year ; it is fit therefore that we renew our ties to each other.* Then rising up in his royal robes he solemnly blessed his nobility, bestowing on them rich gifts^c. The evening of this day the *Persians* called *Phristaph*, on which they did every thing that might testify joy and strong hopes of seeing a pleasant year. A great part of his reign *Gjemschid* remained in *Segjistan*, thinking it the properest province of his empire for his court, till affairs in the east were thoroughly settled ; then he changed it for the proper *Persia*, where he erected the noble city of *Estechar*, which most take to be the *Persepolis* of the *Greeks*, though some believe it the city of *Schiras*. If what the antient *Persian* writers deliver of the extent of this city of *Estechar* be true, viz. that it contained a square of twenty four leagues, then it is possible that both opinions may be true ; but if we measure the probability of this account by the other things related of this prince, such as that he made the tour of the whole earth, was skilled in the occult sciences, and possessed a magic cup of incomparable virtues ; we may safely restrain the bounds of this city, and though we allow it to have been very great, especially for those times, yet we may conceive it not to have taken up more than a third part of the space they have assigned it. It is universally allowed, that *Gjemschid* gave himself up entirely to the study of the arts of reigning, and some say, that he was much helped in his political contemplations, by considering the transactions among the bees, and that he drew many customs from the hive into the court of *Persia*. Among other inventions the signet ring is ascribed to him, and that mode, which still prevails throughout the east, of preferring the left hand to the right as the more honourable ; he likewise directed,

^c CASWINI, ap. Hyde, p. 237.

that the different degrees of people should be distinguishable from their garb ; in a word, he made it the whole business of his life to render his kingdom flourishing and his people happy, in which he succeeded to his utmost wish. But this great felicity proved the source of the deepest misfortunes ; for having reigned long and gloriously, he unaccountably took it in his head that he was immortal, sent pictures of himself throughout his empire, and ordered them to be worshipped with divine honours. This madness soon lost him the hearts of the people, so that the province of *Segjistan*, by the persuasion of a certain great captain, who was related to the king, and whose name was *Abad*, took arms, and, when they had formed themselves into a regular army, marched under the command of *Zoák* or *Dabâc* towards *Schiras*, where *Gjemschid* met him with a powerful army which he had raised ; the engagement was fierce and bloody, but in the end *Gjemschid* was defeated and taken prisoner, upon which the tyrant ordered him to be immediately sawn asunder, which was performed in *Zoak's* sight. This is the account given by *Mirkbond* and the best *Arabian* histories ; others say, that he escaped from the battle and wandered through his dominions. He left behind him a son whose name was *Phridun* or *Aphridun* of three years old, whom his mother *Phramak* found means to conceal from his enemies, and to breed up privately, till providence enabled him to ascend the throne of *Persia* *.

Dehoc.

Dehoc, *Dabâc*, *Zabak*, *Loák* ; some authors affirm, that the name of this prince is only an alteration of a nickname bestowed on him by the *Persians*, viz. *Deh-ak*, signifying, that he had ten ill qualities, which made him hateful and abominable, and that his real name was *Piurasb*. It is very uncertain of what family this prince was ; some report, that he was lineally descended from *Siamek* the grandson of *Keyomaras* ; others that he was an *Arabian*, the son of *Uluan*, descended in a direct line from *Abad*, the chief of the *Adites*. The truth seems to be, that he was an *Arab* by the father's side, but descended of the house of *Keyomaras* by the mother. There is indeed another fabulous genealogy or two, which scarce deserve to be mentioned, because they are glaringly false ; the one supposes but two generations between him and *Adam*, the other that he was descended from *Ham* the son of *Noah*, and is to be looked on as the *Nimrod* of the scriptures. It is very likely, that all these stories were invented to disgrace a prince whose cruelty rendered him odious, or that they hap-

*D'HARBELOT. tit. *Gjemschid*.

pened through some mistakes in reading or transcribing the works of antient poets. As this monarch gained the crown by his sword, so he governed fiercely, and with little regard to his subjects. He was, however, a person of great genius, and deeply skilled in the occult sciences, in one word, he is represented to us as a compleatly wicked man; one whose abilities answered the evil intentions of his soul, and whose person struck beholders with horror, for he had a meagre pallid visage, eyes wild and sparkling, an air fierce and haughty; at the same time that his body was deformed, and his whole appearance terrible. The natural sourness of his temper was irritated by a sharp and incurable disease, consisting in two painful ulcers, one on each shoulder, the anguish of which resembled the pain following the bite of a serpent, whence the story inserted in a famous oriental romance, that the devil, having for many years obeyed him, demanded at last as a full reward, that he might have leave to kiss his shoulders, which being granted, an ugly serpent immediately took post in each, and gnawed itself a den in his flesh. Either some forcerer, or the devil in a dream, suggested to *Zoak* an inhuman remedy for this evil, viz. that of washing these ulcers frequently with the warm blood of men; or, as others say, applying to them the brains of men newly slain. At first the tyrant put to death criminals of all sorts; but when there were no more of these, he fell without mercy upon the innocent, that he might have wherewith to alleviate his pain. The priests and other persons in authority had recourse to all the arguments they could use to engage him to have recourse rather to the blood or brain of sheep, but to no purpose; those, however, who were intrusted with the care of these unhappy wretches destined to slaughter for the tyrant's ease, often out of mere pity let them slip through their fingers, so that flying to the mountains in order to preserve themselves and their benefactors from danger, they there formed themselves into a particular nation, called since the *Curdes* *. All his reign long *Zoak* caused *Phridun*, the son of his predecessor, to be searched for, but to no purpose, his mother took care to hide him out of the reach of *Zoak* and his other enemies. However, the tyrant discharged his wrath upon her father, whom he put to death, as he did many others, whom he suspected inclined to the interest of the young *Phridun*. The chief cause of these proceedings was a dream, wherein the tyrant beheld three men who came to attack him; these he thought threw him down and bound him. Afterwards, one of them gave him a mortal wound on the head, then the other two loosened his gir-

* *MIRKHOND. hist. sect. vi.*

dle, tied his feet therewith, and carried him into the territory of *Damavand*. Having applied to the most skilful interpreters of dreams in his dominions to know what this signified, they unanimously agreed, that it portended the loss of his kingdom and of his life, because amongst the *Persians* the girdle is a mark of dignity ; now this *Zoak* conceived could never be done but by *Phridun* and his party. Among the numbers put to death, on various accounts, by *Zoak*, were the sons of a certain smith, whose name was *Gao*, or, as others write it, *Kaoh*. This man, driven to madness at the sight of his childrens blood, ran up and down the streets, crying out for justice and help against the tyrant, holding up a leathern apron in his hand, as if it had been a standard. In a short time the army he got together became very formidable, so that he made himself master of various strong forts and great cities, particularly of the city *Heri*, or *Herat*, the capital of *Chorasán*, where he staid for some time to put his affairs in order ; and when he found that he was in a condition to bid *Zoak* battle, he made a long oration to encourage his people, assuring them amongst other things, that he had not taken arms with any view to his private advantage, but that, as soon as he had restored them to their liberty, he would leave them to elect whom they would for a king. The people with one accord offered the sovereignty to him, which he as positively refused, telling them, that as the sense he had of his own injuries had put him upon first taking arms, so he would never consent to injure others ; that *Phridun* the son of *Gjamschid* was their lawful prince ; that they ought to bring him immediately from his retreat, and put him at their head. Popular humours are easily turned ; the army on this speech grew as loyal to *Phridun* as they had been grateful to the smith. *Phridun* observing the spirit of his people, and being informed that *Zoak*'s army was by no means hearty in his interest, marched with the utmost expedition to meet him, and the armies engaging, after a brisk action *Zoak*'s troops abandoned him, and he was taken prisoner, whereupon *Phridun* ordered him to be conducted to the mountains of *Damavand*, and gave directions for his being imprisoned in a cave there. This victory being gained about the time of the autumnal equinox, the *Persians* instituted a feast in memory thereof, which they called *Mibirgian*, or rather *Mibragjan* * (D).

Phridun,

* HYDE, rel. vet. Pers. c. viii p. 158. D'HERBELLOT. biblioth. orient. art. PERIDOUN, GAOH.

(D) The history of *Zoak* makes a prodigious figure in the *Persian* romances ;

Phridun, Aphridun, or Feridoun, this prince proved one *Phridun*. of the greatest, wisest, and most successful monarchs that ever ruled in the east; his first act, after being quietly seated on the throne, was to make *Kaoh*, the smith, general of his armies; after which he sent him towards the western parts of his dominions in order to reduce such provinces as, during the troubles of the kingdom, had shook off the *Persian* yoke.

romances; what is related in them of him being to us absurd as well as fabulous, it would be to no purpose to swell out a note with such stories. It is very likely, that the poets immediately after the time of this cruel prince drew the most invidious characters of him they could devise, and heightened all the mischievous things he did with the utmost force of their inventions. If we conceive to ourselves poets writing with this view, and at the same time advert to the genius of oriental writers in general, and to poets in particular, we need not be at a loss for all the strange things that we now read of *Zoak*, and yet allow the first authors of them to have been men of good sense too. Metaphors well understood, allusions readily apprehended, and allegories easily explained in one age, appear all as matters, or at least as circumstances, of fact in ages which succeed; and hence it comes to pass, that a stroke of poetic satyr, or the rhetorical flourish of an author is misapprehended for a strict assertion, and so delivered by historians, who come after, and transcribe all they find, without weighing or considering how or in what manner it was wrote. The first historians in all countries were poets, the second race prose-writers who copied from them; and hence it is, that antient histories are full of grave fables, which through length of time are hard to be understood: this has been the fate of *Greece*, of *Rome*, of *Britain*, of *Ireland*, and why not of *Persia*? But fiction, though it may obscure, yet it does not absolutely destroy truth. *Zoak* was in all probability an *Arabian* invader, who, after making himself master of *Persia*, used his new subjects ill, till the weight of the loads he laid upon them grew too heavy to be born, and then they did what a people may always do, *viz.* threw them off their shoulders and would bear no more. As to what we are told of his being confined in the caverns of *Damavand*, or rather of *Dunbavand*, we think it may be understood to mean no more than that he was kept there in some strong castle. These mountains are in the province of *Aderbayagjan*, which, as we have more than once remarked, is part of the antient *Media*; they are rocky, full of caverns, and consequently have a gloomy appearance. The poets therefore, taking the same licence here allowed them elsewhere, have feigned, that *Tahmurah* after overcoming the *Divs* or evil *Genii*, imprisoned them in these grottoes, and by degrees these expressions grew so frequent, that a wizard or a tyrant was as readily sent to the mountains of *Damavand* as among our common people ghosts are *chained*, or, to preserve the true phrase, *laid* in the bottom of the *Red-sea*.

Kaoh spent twenty years in this enterprize, in which space he added many fine countries to the *Persian* empire ; at length the king recalled him and made him governor of *Aderbayagjan*, which he ruled ten years with equal satisfaction to the people and to his prince, and then died much regretted by *Phridun*, who to do honour to his memory gave all his estates among his relations, and then taking his sons into his own court, bred them up there in a most honourable manner ; and when they grew up gave each of them greater possessions than their father had acquired*. To shew his gratitude yet more, he made the leathern apron, which *Kaoh* had hung upon a stick at the beginning of the insurrection, the royal standard of *Persia*, calling it *Dirfesch Kaviani*, i. e. the standard of *Kaoh*, that he might perpetuate his name and services to all posterity. This standard he adorned with precious stones, to which his successors continually adding, it became at last of such an inestimable value, that being taken by the *Arabians* in the battle of *Cadesia*, it enriched the whole army^a. As *Phridun* was desirous of restoring peace and good order throughout all his dominions, he sent persons, not only of great parts but eminent for their integrity, to govern all the provinces under his dominion. He married also with a view of interest only the daughter of his predecessor *Zoak*, by whom he had two sons *Salm* and *Tur*, but these proving like their grandfather, haughty, obstinate, and cruel, he took a *Persian* lady to his bed, by whom he had a son named *Irege*, equally wise and courteous, so that he became at once the darling of his father and the delight of the people. Thus things passed on till *Phridun*, feeling himself beginning to decline under the weight of age and illness, summoned his grandees together, and having informed them of his design to quit the regal dignity, desired to know which of his sons they wished he should make his successor ; those lords unanimously answered, that if he would no longer govern himself, they desired to have *Irege* for their prince, to which *Phridun* assented ; but to prevent his brothers from taking this ill, he gave to *Tur* all the eastern provinces of his empire, to *Salm* the provinces on the other side, and restrained *Irege* within the compass of *Persia*, *Assyria*, and *Mesopotamia*. From this division came the names of *Turon* and *Iran*, the one signifying that great extent of country which lies to the east of *Persia*, and the other *Persia* itself and the provinces dependent thereon^b. As

* MIRKHOND. hist. sect. vii. ^a D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. DIRFESCH. ^b HYNDE, rel. vet. Persar. c. xxxv. p. 417. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. FERIDOUN.

for *Tur*, he built a noble city which he made the capital of his territories, calling it after his own name *Turon*, and the country *Turquestan*; this city was seated in the province of *Mauaralnabar* in the neighbourhood of the *Caspian* sea, and hence the nation inhabiting that tract of country acquired the name of *Turks*^c. However large those shares might be which *Salm* and *Tur* had received from their father, they still hated him and their brother *Irege*, whose ruin they concerted together. Things being at last ripe for the execution of their projects, *Salm* and *Tur* marched each with great forces into *Aderbayagjan*, and, having joined their armies, they sent a sort of manifesto to their father, wherein they set forth, that with just reason they were displeased with the kindness which he had shewn *Irege*, whom they stiled a bastard, and declared at the same time, that they would never lay down their arms till he was deposed from the sovereignty, and the countries divided between them, which hitherto had been in his possession. *Phridun*, justly displeased at this undutiful behaviour, sent immediately his orders to *Irege* to draw together all the forces he was able, and to march against his brethren. *Irege*, however, desired the king to have recourse to milder measures, in hopes of preserving the peace of the empire. *Phridun* was of a contrary opinion, and determined to reduce the rebels by arms. *Irege*, however, unwilling to do his brothers any wrong, took with him some of his wisest counsellors, and went with them to his brothers camp, in order if possible amicably to adjust the differences between them. They, who wished for nothing more, immediately seized him and struck off his head, which having stuck on a pole, they insolently sent to their father. *Phridun* was excessively grieved at his son's misfortune; he resolved, however, to carry on the war against *Salm* and *Tur*; in order to which he gave the dominions of *Irege* to his son *Manugeher*, who immediately marched with an army against his uncles. They despising his youth quickly came to an engagement, in which the two brothers were routed and lost their lives by the hand of *Manugeher*, who after this glorious victory returned in triumph to his grandfather *Phridun*, who was now grown blind. When he heard the acclamations of the people at the entrance of *Manugeher*, he asked who it was that presumed to enter his presence in such a manner. The young victor cried out, *It is your grandson Manugeher, the avenger of the blood of Irege, who hath slain Salm and Tur with his own hand.* *Phridun*

^c MIRKMOND. hist. ubi supr.

then received him with open arms, and with all the demonstrations of paternal fondness. Afterwards he took the *Tagi* or *Tiara* from his head and put it on that of *Manugeber* or *Manugjabr*, declaring him thereby sovereign of *Persia*, appointing at the same time one *Soam* or *Soham*, a person of great wisdom and valour, to be his vizier ^d. Within a short space after this *Phridun* died, full of years and glory (E).

As to the personal qualifications of this prince, he is celebrated by oriental writers as the *Solomon* of *Persia*, one who made it his whole study to govern his people in such a man-

^d D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. SOHAM.

(E) The oriental writers are universally agreed, that the terms *Touran* and *Iran*, expressive of the two great empires on the other and on this side the *Oxus*, called by them the *Gjeihon*, took rise at this time. It may seem strange, that such large tracts of country should receive appellations from persons who lived and governed them so short a time; for it appears, that *Irege*, *Tur*, and *Salm*, all died in the life-time of *Phridun*, and within a small space after the partition of his dominions amongst them. But when this is more thoroughly considered, the wonder will cease. The monarchs of these extensive kingdoms were, through a long course of ages, at war with each other; and this enmity proceeding originally from the quarrel of their ancestors, it was natural enough for them to call their dominions after those in whose right they held them. The whole empire belonged to *Phridun*; the descendants of *Tur* or *Tour* kept up the claim of their ancestors to the whole; the kings of *Persia* succeeding *Manugjabr* asserted the right of *Phridun* to divide his dominions as he pleased; and therefore it is likely that *Iran* and *Touran* were words first used in *Persia*, and by degrees spread themselves throughout the east. Whether *Tur* was the undoubted father of the *Turks* will admit of some question, since almost all the oriental writers affirm, that *Japhet* had a son called *Turk*, and yet many of them admit, that *Turquestan* had its name from the prince we speak of. It would be needless, and at the same time improper for us to enter into a prolix discussion of that point here, since it must be examined when we come to write the history of the *Turks*; however, we think it not amiss to remark, that there is nothing stranger or more perplexed in this double derivation of the name of the *Turks*, than there is in that of the *Hebrews*, whom some affirm to have been so called from *Heber* the son of *Salah*, and others from the surname of *Abraham*, who was siled the *Hebrew* from his coming from the other side of the river, *i. e.* the *Euphrates*. Such difficulties amuse weak minds, but men of solid understandings easily pass by these doubts, knowing that there is little more of certainty to be found in searching for the rise of denominations of far later date.

ner,

ner, as that they might enjoy greater felicity than if they had lived in a state of freedom. He extended his dominions with a view of extending happiness to those whom he reduced under his obedience. He was a zealous worshipper of the true God, and took such care to repress *Zabiism*, that some *Mohammedan* authors have not scrupled to assert that he was a *mussulman*. It is also recorded of him, that he left this advice with his successor.

Believe, my son, that the days of your reign are so many leaves of a book; be careful therefore to write nothing in any page thereof, that you would not have seen by posterity^c. Many other wise sayings of this great prince are scattered in various authors, which we have neither time nor opportunity to insert here. Some *Persian* writers think, that *Phridun* was cotemporary with *Abraham*. On the other hand, the learned Dr. *Hyde* has entertained a notion that this *Phridun* is the *Phraortes* of *Heredotus*^e; it would take up too much time to discuss this controversy here, and besides we shall have occasion to resume this subject hereafter, and to consider the opinions of the critics on oriental history all at once; in the mean time let us pursue the thread of our narration, and proceed to the reign of *Phridun's* grandson (F).

Ma-

^c D'HERBELOT. Art. FERIDOUN. ^e HYDE, relig. veti. Persar. c. viii.

(F) The reader will easily perceive from the characters he has already seen drawn in this history, that among the oriental nations wisdom as well as valour is thought necessary in a hero. *Phridun* is as famous amongst them, as any of the heroes of *Greece* or *Rome* amongst us; and for the same reason; because he was a man great in all things, in war and in peace, at the head of armies and on the throne. On this account oriental writers preserve with as great care the wise sayings of their princes, as the accounts of their conquests. We have excused ourselves above from the repetition of all that has been recorded of this sort in relation to *Phridun*; but the reader will in all probability be pleased with the following specimens of his sapience, because they contain rules easily applied, and which concern mankind in general.

Man should weigh well the nature of himself,
The varying frailness, of this flatt'ring world,
And the true excellence of heaven's high lord;
Then would he this despise, and trust in him.
'The world deceives us all — In God is truth.
Let not thy riches or thy power prevail
To swell thy bosom with conceits of pride;

Look

Manug-
jahr.

Manugjahr or *Manugeher*, according to some authors, was not the son of *Irege*, but his grandson by a daughter; it is not very material to us which of these opinions is true⁸, certain it is, that he was a prince wise and of a mild disposition, and had a minister, viz. the vizier *Soham* beforementioned, whose fame is still great throughout all the east. *Manugeher*, probably by his advice, made several just regulations in the government of *Persia*; he ascertained, more exactly than any of his predecessors had done, the boundaries of the provinces, into each of which he sent a president or governor, independent of whom he established in every great town or borough a mayor or provost, so that the governors had no opportunity of setting up for themselves, and the provosts were obliged to behave themselves prudently for fear the governor should write against them to court. Observing the infertility of *Persia* to be chiefly owing to the want of water, *Manugeher* considered every way of supplying this defect; he caused fine canals to be cut from the mighty rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates* to refresh the barren countries in their neighbourhood; he took care to collect all the streams issuing from the little springs on the tops of mountains, that their waters might be made as useful as possible. To encourage his subjects to cultivate their lands with care, he employed much time in gardening, and took great pains to discover the virtues of herbs and flowers, causing such as were most valuable to be transplanted from mountains and uncouth places into his own gardens, or those of his courtiers. But while he was thus cultivating the arts of peace, *Apherasiab* the descendant of *Tur* or *Tour*, invaded his dominions with a great army of *Turks*, in order, as he gave out, to avenge the death of his ancestor. *Manugeher*, finding himself too weak to resist so formidable an enemy, retired towards the country of *Tabrestan*; some authors

⁸ D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. MANUGEHER.

Look back, remember those thou hast seen high,
And mark, if thou hast never seen them sink;
Let this teach thee. One end awaits us all!
And when inevitable death commands,
That we should follow to his dreary realm,
Matters it much, if from a royal couch,
Or from a mattress thrown upon the ground,
We rise to take our journey (5)?

(3) D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Feridoun.

say,

say, that there happened a battle between him and *Apherasiab*, and that *Manugeher* was routed. However that matter was, all are agreed, that the king of *Persia* withdrew into a fortress, and prepared to defend himself there against the attempts of his enemy. *Apherasiab* besieged him with all his army, but to no purpose; and the winter drawing on, the *Turk*, being afraid lest his own men should desert him, began to think of peace. Upon this commissioners were dispatched on both sides, and a treaty concluded on these terms; that *Apherasiab* should possess all the country east of the river *Gibon*, and that he should leave *Manugeher* without molestation in possession of *Persia* and the provinces dependent on it. Such was the event of this cruel war, which threatened no less than the subversion of the monarchy of *Persia*^a. As soon as *Apherasiab* was retired into his own country, *Manugeher* began to provide against such invasions for the future. He ordered all his governors to provide their quota's of troops; but these measures alarming *Apherasiab*, he gave orders to his forces to make inroads into *Persia*; but the *Turk* had not the same success in this as in the former war. The precautions of *Manugeher* perfectly answered his end, so that the enemy were not only repulsed wherever they made their courses, but also lost a great number of their soldiers who were taken prisoners. *Apherasiab* therefore very willingly renewed the peace, and left *Manugeher* to act as he thought fit in his own dominions. That wise and good prince made the city of *Segjistan* for a time his royal seat, and when by his presence he had put all things on that side in good order, he sent thither his vizier *Soham* to preserve all things in quiet, and went himself to reside in the centre of his empire, where he applied himself, as he had done before, to the cultivation of arts and sciences, and to every thing which might render his people powerful and happy. *Soham* managed all things in the province of *Segjistan* so as to gain the good-will of the people, as well as to maintain the favour of the court; but in the midst of his happiness an accident fell out which surprised him not a little: his wife was brought to bed of a son with long yellow hair, *Soham* therefore gave him the name of *Zal-zer*, i. e. *golden hair*; this young man when he grew up to years of discretion, gave manifest tokens of an exalted genius, insomuch, that *Manugeher* sent for him and his father to appear at court. Thither they went, and the sight of the young nobleman augmented the esteem and gratitude *Manugeher*

had for his father and family. Loaded with new honours and dignities, *Soham* and his son returned into their own country, and lived there with the same splendor and reputation that they had done before. One day it so happened, that *Zal-zer* went to hunt in the province of *Kablustan*, dependent on the kingdom of *Touran*, but bordering northwards on the *Persian* dominions. *Meherab*, who was at this time governor of that province, being informed of this, went out to meet him, that he might shew his respect to the father by the honours paid to his son. The conversation he had with *Zal-zer* charmed him so much, and made so strong an impression on his mind, that he could not help talking of him to his family upon his return home, which had such an effect on the mind of *Roudabab* his daughter, that she fell violently in love with *Zal-zer* on his report; and, as womens passions are ever sudden and ungovernable, she sent immediately one of her maids into the place where *Zal-zer* was incamped, that she might find an opportunity of speaking with him. Her project succeeded perfectly well, the young nobleman perceiving the maiden gathering flowers, entered into discourse with her, enquiring her condition, and with whom she lived. The girl, properly instructed, answered him, that she was the servant of *Roudabab*, the daughter of *Meherab*, and then fell a talking of the family, expatiating on the wit, beauty, and sweet dispositions of her lady. *Zal-zer* immediately conceived a great esteem for this amiable person, which by degrees ripened into so warm a passion, that he could neither eat nor sleep, till he had concerted the means of speaking to her. An interview, as our author observes, between two persons who equally desire it, is very quickly obtained; the lovers made the best use of their time, that is, they exchanged the most solemn vows of fidelity, and engaged to marry each other, as soon as the consent of their parents could be obtained. To cover his amour, *Zal-zer* made a visit at the same time to the father of his mistress, by whom he was very kindly received, and after staying with him all night, set out on his return to his father in the province of *Segjistan*. Almost as soon as he came home he acquainted *Soham* with all that had happened, and that it was impossible for him to live, at least in any degree of happiness, without the possession of the daughter of *Meherab*. Some difficulty there was in procuring the king's consent to this marriage, for it was hitherto a thing without precedent for a *Persian* to espouse a *Turk*. However, the many services of *Soham* and the great merit of *Zal-zer*, prevailed so far over *Manugher*, that he at last yielded to all they

they desired. The nuptials were celebrated with prodigious magnificence ; the inhabitants of *Segjistan* and *Kabloustan* vying with each other in their expressions of joy on this occasion ; nor were the consequences of this match less happy than its conclusion was splendid ; for at the end of nine months the lovely *Roudabah* was brought to bed of a son who was named *Rustan*, the mighty hero of all the oriental romances ¹. The reader will hereafter perceive, how the loves of this illustrious pair came to find a place in the *Persian* history. Let us now return to *Manugeher*, who spent all his time in putting the affairs of his kingdom in the best order imaginable, with respect both to peace and war ; that is, he took care to banish luxury, to encourage virtue, and to render every man's condition so happy, as to engage him to fight for that government on the continuance of which it depended. The personal qualifications of this monarch have been already in some measure displayed ; it remains, however, that we do him justice in one particular of greater importance than all the rest ; he was a most zealous worshipper of the true God, of which we have the most shining instances in the history of his life and reign, written by *Tabari* ² an antient *Persian* author. By him we are informed, that as soon as this prince heard of the *Turks* passing the river *Gjeihon* in order to drive him out of his dominions, he assembled a great council of his nobility, wherein he delivered himself in these words ;

“ The most holy and high God delivered to me this kingdom, that I might render him praise and glory by my actions as a prince, preserving my people in plenty and ease, and impartially distributing justice, that thereby the glorious gift of God might in my hand be strengthened and increased. If contrary to this my duty I had acted ungratefully towards my creator, then I should justly have deserved to lose my kingdom here, and to suffer everlasting punishment for my wickedness hereafter. The most holy and high God having caused me to be born of royal blood, and in right thereof bestowed a kingdom upon me, let us not my friends basely throw it away, or tamely suffer it to be taken from us ; consider well of the state we are in, and to-morrow I will more largely inform you as to my sentiments of the matter.” The next day accordingly the nobles of *Persia* assembled again, and the king being seated in his throne of state with his royal crown upon his head, and the

¹ MIRKMOND, Hist. Sect. viii. D'HERBELOT. Artic. MAN-
OUGHER.

² Apud. HYDE, Relig. vet. Pers. c. viii.

Mubad Mubadan, or high-priest, seated near him in his golden chair, he rose up and spoke as he had done the day before, ascribing all dominion to the Almighty, and acknowledging that the crown of *Persia* was his gift ; he then observed, that all things depended alike on the will of the supreme being, and that nothing could take effect but by his command, or with his permission. He said further, that God had long indulged the *Persian* nation in the full enjoyment of many blessings, in consequence of which they were bound to live in exact obedience to his laws, that is, making a proper use of the good things bestowed on them. He added, that as to the point at present before them, viz. the invasion of the *Turks*, it came not but by the permission of God, wherefore to him they ought first to apply themselves for its being taken away. He exhorted them to reform their lives, to be constant in prayer, to exert their courage and their understandings, in the defence of their country, and to rest stedfastly in the hope that the Almighty would not forsake them, but restore them again to peace and quiet, either by giving them a victory over their enemies, or inclining the hearts of their enemies to peace. The piety of this prince was rewarded with a very long life and reign ; as to the extent of the former we have no certainty, but as to the latter authors agree in fixing it at 120 years. They say likewise, that the death of *Manugjabr* was like his life majestic and serene, that he called to him his son and successor, gave him in few words his advice as to the government of his dominions, and recommended his subjects most affectionately to his care¹.

Nudar.

Nudar or *Naudar* succeeded his father, but his reign was far from being as happy. He was scarce seated on his throne before his grantees began to form parties and to create seditions in his empire, which weakened it so much, that the *Turks* immediately conceived hopes of conquering it, a thing they had long set their hearts on. With this view *Paslangh* at that time king of *Touran*, the direct descendant of *Tour* the son of *Phridun*, called his sons together ; and having expatiated, first on the right which their family had to the kingdom of *Persia* ; and secondly of the low state the *Persian* affairs were then in ; he told them, that the intent of his drawing them together was to know which of them had courage enough to assert the pretensions derived to him from his ancestors, and to undertake the reduction of the provinces on the other side of the *Gjehon*. *Apherasiab* his eldest son, stung

¹ D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. ubi supra.

with

with ambition, and desirous of excelling his brethren, immediately offered himself to raise an army in order to conquer *Iran*. Accordingly he drew together 400,000 horse and foot, and with this prodigious army entered *Segjistan*. *Nudar*, as soon as he was informed of this, caused his best troops to file off that way, and gave the command of them to *Soham* the father of *Zal-zer*; but he being old and decrepid was forced to march slowly towards the enemy, and even that fatigued him so much, that he died before he had reached the place of rendezvous, an event highly pleasing to *Apherasiab*, who very much dreaded the valour and conduct of this very great man. *Nudar*, not doubting that *Soham* and his troops were already arrived at the place he appointed them, marched with his army towards *Mazanderan*, where, on a sudden and before he expected it, they came within sight of the enemy. The camps being opposite to each other, a *Turkish* champion, whose name was *Basmon*, challenged any of the *Persian* warriors to a single combat, which challenge was readily accepted by *Kobad* the grandson of *Kaoh*, of whom we have said so much in the life of *Phridun*. The combat terminated in favour of the *Persian*, who having slain his antagonist spoiled him of his arms, and carried them as the trophy of his victory to his tent. The *Turks* were prodigiously incensed at this accident, and resolved with themselves to revenge it speedily on *Nudar* and his army. Accordingly, having possessed themselves of all the posts about it, they attack the *Persians* in their camp, where a most obstinate battle was fought, till at length there happened such a prodigious shower of rain, attended with such an extraordinary darkness, that *Nudar* laid hold of this opportunity to retire, and to order his sons *Thus* and *Gustam*, who were at the head of separate bodies, to march speedily to his relief, which they did, accompanied by *Karen* the brother of *Kobad*, who had found means to withdraw the royal treasures out of *Segjistan*, and to send them to a place of safety. *Apherasiab* observing the measures taken by *Nudar*, and conceiving that his intent was to spin out the war, he, to prevent its running into a length, which in the end would have been destructive to his troops, sent an officer of his, whose name was *Karabon*, with positive orders to attack *Karen*, and the body of *Persians* under his command, which accordingly he did, killed their commander, and effectually dispersed the rest. Not long after *Apherasiab* attacked *Nudar* in his camp, and, after obtaining a signal victory, took that monarch prisoner in his flight with many *Persian* nobles. As soon as they came into his presence

Apherasiab ordered them to be cut in pieces, but his brother, a prince of great humanity and wisdom, hindered him, and prevailed on him to content himself with putting them in prison, to which with much ado he yielded. The next step after this victory was to possess himself of the court and treasures of *Nudar*, in order to which *Apherasiab* instantly detached a body of 30,000 men; they entering the province of *Segjistan* made themselves masters of the capital and of the royal palace, the *Persians* being every-where so intimidated that they durst not stir, but submitted tamely to the yoke, which conquest had imposed upon them. *Meherab*, it seems, after the marriage of his daughter to *Zal-zer*, had retired into *Persia*, and lived in great honour and affluence there, till this sudden overthrow of the empire threatened him as well as the rest of its inhabitants. *Meherab*, being a man of great policy, bethought himself of a means to divert immediate danger by sending a messenger to *Apherasiab*, with very rich presents, and a letter to this purpose; “That though he
“lived in *Persia*, he was by nation a *Turk*, and not only so,
“but in some measure allied to him in blood, being lineally
“descended from *Zoak*, wherefore he hoped his family and
“this early testimony of obedience would be sufficient to
“recommend him to his special protection.” Having thus amused the victor, he gave notice to his son-in-law *Zal-zer*, who assembling, as privately as he could, several small bodies of men, appointed them a place of rendezvous, where he himself joined them, and finding them numerous enough to attempt somewhat against the common enemy, he began to act offensively, and in a short time drove the *Turks* out of the province of *Segjistan*. Of which when *Apherasiab* received intelligence, it provoked him so much, that he ordered the unfortunate *Nudar*’s head to be struck off in prison, which was accordingly put in execution without the least regard to his dignity. As to the length of his reign authors are divided, some making it seven, others enlarging it to nine years. *Mirkhond*, whom we generally follow, adheres to the former number. Some oriental writers make this prince contemporary with *Joshua*, others place him much higher; we shall not determine here who are in the right^m.

*Aphera-
siab.*

Apherasiab or *Afrasiab*, notwithstanding this rebellion, or rather insurrection, looking upon himself as monarch of *Persia*, sent an account to his father *Pasbangh* of the happy success with which his expedition had been crowned. But it

^m *MIRKHOND*. Hist. viii. *D’HERBELOT*. Artic. *NAUDHAR*.

was not long before he had news of another nature to send him; for the *Persians*, universally detesting his haughty and insolent temper, began to raise seditions in every part of the kingdom; nay, their aversion engaged them in steps which carried their intrigues farther, and made them endeavour to stir up the brother of *Apherasiab*, who had at first saved *Nudar*'s life, to put in his claim to the throne, promising him first assistance and then obedience. He, burning with the ambition natural to his family, listened readily to the proposal, and advised them to engage *Zal-zer* to invade the provinces in the neighbourhood of *Segjistan* in the spring, assuring them, that the war once begun he would appear in their favour. These negotiations could not be carried on so secretly, but that *Apherasiab* gained intelligence of them, and immediately set all his wits to work to prevent their taking effect; with this view he caused his brother to be assassinated, and then applied himself indefatigably to the raising of troops, resolving to reduce all his opponents. *Zal-zer*, being informed of these proceedings, and vehemently regretting the loss of the young *Turkish* prince, openly excited the *Persians* to take arms, deriding their cowardice, and giving them to understand, that more than half their enemy's strength lay in their fears. His discourses by degrees had such an effect, that the inhabitants of *Persia*, assembling together in small bodies, marched by night through secret and by-ways to his camp, where when they were all arrived, *Zal-zer* found himself at the head of a very formidable army^a. *Apherasiab*, who had his spies every where, receiving an exact account of *Zal-zer*'s situation, immediately resolved to change his manner of ~~raising~~ war, and to act altogether on the defensive. This gave the *Persian* captain a great deal of trouble; but at last he found an opportunity of bringing *Apherasiab* to a battle; it was very bloody, and so obstinate that it lasted till it was dark, and then each army, retiring to its camp, found, that neither side had any reason to boast of victory; the war continued for a long time after this without any decisive action, whereby all industry being destroyed, there followed first a scarcity, then a famine, and on the heels of this a grievous pestilence, which, falling at once into both camps, filled *Apherasiab* and *Zal-zer* with thoughts of peace. Negotiations were not long on foot before a treaty was concluded, whereby it was stipulated, that *Apherasiab* should withdraw his troops and effects without molestation and retire into *Tou-ran*, while *Iran* and all its dependencies should remain under

^a MIRKHOND. Hist. ubi supra.

the protection of *Zal-zer* ; this peace concluded and ratified, it would have been easy for that nobleman to have raised himself to the throne of *Persia* ; but he scorning to barter immortal fame for a short-lived royalty, sought out *Zab* or *Zoub* the lawful heir of the house of *Kéyomaras*, and put the crown upon his head °.

Zab. *Zab*, *Zoub*, or *Bazab*, at the time of his accession to the royal dignity was far advanced in years, but had notwithstanding a tolerable share of health and spirits ; he applied himself to the restoring, as well as he could, the shattered affairs of *Persia* ; the more effectually to do this he associated with him in the empire *Gherfchasp* his nephew, whom some have called *Kischtasf*, and have made him not the nephew and associate, but the son and successor, of *Zab* or *Zoub* ; but this seems to be a mistake, and the ground of it pretty obvious, the father of this *Gherfchasp* being called *Kischtasf*. But to return to *Zab* ; he sacrificed much of the prerogative of the crown to make the people easy, and to enable them to recover their losses after the wretched depredations committed by *Apherasiab* and his troops ; he did more than all this, he threw open the royal treasury, and as often as any sums were paid in there, he first paid his soldiers, and then distributed the rest among the poor. These were certainly high virtues, but this prince is branded for a vice, particularly infamous on a throne, *viz.* that of gluttony, or rather luxury in eating, and is recorded to have been the author of various sorts of sauces and broths, unknown before in these regions. It is not very clear how long he reigned, or who was his successor. *Mirkhond* makes him expressly the last of the first race of kings, who from the surname of *Hushangh* were called in general *Pischdadians*, though to us it seems more probable, that they received this appellation, because during the several reigns of these princes the laws and constitutions of *Persia* were thoroughly settled^p. According to other authors *Gherfchasp* or *Kischtasf* succeeded in the empire by the voluntary cession of *Zab* or *Zoub* ; his mother is said to have been a *Jewess* of the tribe of *Benjamin* ; he proved a prince of great merit, and deserving of a better fate than he met ; for he did all in his power to restore the *Persian* diadem to its ancient lustre. *Apherasiab*, little regarding his treaties, took advantage of the disorder the kingdom was in,

**Gher-
fchasp.**

° KHONDEMIR, in *Khelassat Alakbar*. D'HERBELOT. Art. AFRAZIAB, ZAB. ZOUB. MIRKHOND. hist. Sect. 10. ^p MIRKHOND. hist. Sect. 11. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. NAUBHAR.

to re-enter it with a formidable army, and to possess himself of various provinces. The new king fought under great disadvantages, but in spite of these he frequently defeated the *Turks*, and recovered various places out of their hands; at last, however, he fell into the error of many of his predecessors, that is, he put all his affairs to hazard in one battle, which he lost, and with it his life, being killed fighting bravely for the liberty of his country after a reign some say of six, others of thirty years; but whether the latter may not include the reigns of *Zab* and of this prince too, or whether the former ought to be accounted the time that this monarch reigned alone, we pretend not to determine. In this all are agreed, that here the empire of the *Pischedadians* ended, and that *Apherasiab* the descendant of *Tour* became a third time absolute lord of *Persia*; how he afterwards lost the possession of this empire will be shewn in its proper place⁹. In the mean time it may not be amiss to insert here some remarks on the foregoing period, in order to justify the observation we have so often made, that oriental history, though mixed with fables, is not altogether useless.

In the course of this work our method has been to speak first of the chronology, and afterwards of the history of each country; in the present case it was impracticable, unless we had tormented the reader with needless repetitions and nauseous tautologies. We have therefore chosen to give the series of the *Persian* history relating to the kings of the first race, as it lies in *Mirkhond* and other authors; and, after laying down these facts as foundations of our arguments, to lead the reader by degrees to what we esteem the true state of the ancient *Persian* empire. In the first place it is remarkable, that the oriental writers make this race of kings *Medians* by descent. The province of *Aderbayagjan*, of which they make *Keyomaras* to have been at first sovereign, is a part of *Media*, taking in also a part of *Armenia*, so that in all probability it was one of the first peopled provinces of the dominion of *Shem*, if we suppose that territories were ascertained and set out immediately after the flood. Within this province stands the little town, that is, considering it in its present condition, *Nakshivan*, which the inhabitants affirm to have been the first town built after the flood; and indeed in the *Armenian* language the very name implies as much, it being equivalent to *the first place*, or *first habitation*^r. Thus

⁹ D'HERBELLOT. ART. GHERSCHTASB, KISCHTASB. ^r TAVERNIER. Voyag. tom. i. p. 43. CHARDIN. Voyag. tom. i. p. 250.

the early erecting of a monarchy hereabouts is rendered every way probable, and consistent with the most antient accounts sacred and prophane. As the power of *Keyomaras* increased, he extended his territories towards the east, and towards the south; for it is agreed that he made himself master of *Irak-agemi*, afterwards *Parthia*, and in process of time joined thereto the province of *Phars*, or *proper Persia*, where some historians affirm he founded the city of *Istachr*, afterwards called *Persepolis*, though others deny it, and say it was built later. The successors of this prince conquered *Khirman* and *Segjistan*, and afterwards many other countries on the east of the present *Persian* empire. It was *Phridun* or *Feridoun* who settled the dominions of *Persia* in pretty near the same order we find them at this day; it is evident therefore, that the kings of the first race were not petty princes or tributaries, but lords of a very extensive empire. As to the capital of their dominions in the time of *Keyomaras*, some think it was at *Balch* in *Chorasan*, others at *Istachr*. Perhaps he might first fix his residence at *Balch*, and afterwards remove it into the heart of his kingdom. *Hushang* resided again at *Balch*, *Gjemjchid* settled himself at *Istachr*, and is by most of the *Persian* authors esteemed its founder. In the reigns of succeeding kings, though their royal residence might sometimes be changed, yet *Istachr* remained the capital, and received from time to time great improvements from the *Persian* monarchs. *Kischtasj* the last of them had a peculiar liking to this place, and no doubt took pains to re-edify whatever injuries it might have sustained through the course of a long war. Thus the glory of this city, which was afterwards so famous among the *Greeks* under the name of *Persepolis*, began, as we observed in our description of *Persia*, under the first race of kings^f. How it was afterwards adorned with a royal palace, of which the ruins are still remaining, we shall shew in the history of the princes of the second race; in the mean time let it be remembered, that several princes of the dynasty of *Pischdadians* were great lovers of arts, and great encouragers of ingenuity and learning; if therefore there were in their time, especially in the days of *Manugeher*, who is particularly famous in the oriental history for delighting in architecture and every thing dependent thereon; if in his days, we say, there were any artists capable of carving in stone, they might have employed their time in cutting some of those wonderful histories in *Bass-relief*, which are yet visible in the living rock, behind the

^f Biblioth. Orient. Art. ESTEKAR.

ruins of *Chilminar*, or of the other works of the like kind remaining in other parts of *Persia*. This, we say, is possible, and not improbable, but we affirm nothing; the piety, however, of *Manugeher* is a circumstance nothing unfavourable to this conjecture, that the king praying before the fire, and in sight of the sun, represented in the mountain before-mentioned, might be intended for him. This leads us to the religion of these antient kings which we have already shewn to be very near the true religion, that is, the religion of the patriarchs. As to the worship of fire, it was indisputably a very antient doctrine, and there seems to be no reason for doubting the truth of what some authors have affirmed, that it took its rise in, if not before, the time of *Keyomaras*. Certain it is, that the province where he began to reign was the first in which magism prevailed, and was always held sacred by the professors of that religion on that account; this the very name implies, for *Aderbayagjan* is no more than the *place of fire*, *Ader* or *Azer* signifying *fire*, and *Bayagjan* a *place*, whence it comes to pass, that we frequently find this word thus written *Azerbayagjan*. The high mountain of *Albors* was the principal place of worship in these early times, and the people were persuaded, that celestial fire was preserved there; on this account when the treasures of *Nudar* king of *Persia* were removed out of *Sigjistan*, as we have before related, they were for security placed here. Nay, what is far more extraordinary, this superstition is not yet worn out of the heads of the *Ghaurs*, if we may believe Sir *John Chardin*; on the contrary they yet speak confidently of celestial or elemental fire, which they say is still to be seen in this mountain^c. On the whole therefore, the religion of the *Persians* under the first race of kings differed very little from that which still subsists among the *Ghaurs*. Some indeed have been of opinion, that there were no *Pyræa* or fire-temples at all before the time of *Zoroaster* or *Zerdust*; others, on the authority of some *Arabian* writers, assert the contrary, so as it seems probable that the former is the opinion nearest truth. Our reasons for saying this are these, first the antientest historians extant say nothing of temples till after the time of the *Exodus* of the children of *Israel*. Secondly, because *Herodotus* says expressly, that the antient *Persians* had no temples, but sacrificed on the tops of high mountains *sub dio*; and thirdly, because of *Pyræa* being at that time in use is not consistent with the history of *Zerdust*, as we shall shortly have occasion to

^c CHARDIN. Voyag. tom. i. 253.

shew. From the power and the religion of the first race of *Persian* kings, we come at length to the intricate question, *When they flourished?* or rather how their reigns are to be reconciled to sacred and prophane history? Before we pretend to give the solution of this problem, let us consider a little what sacred and prophane historians say of the antient kings of *Media* and *Persia*. The scripture informs us, that *Elam* was a very antient kingdom, for *Chedorlaomer* came with a great army to reduce the region of *Pentapolis* in *Canaan*, and the circumjacent countries to his obedience in the days of *Abraham*; from thence we hear nothing of this nation, till the kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah* were in their decline. In respect to these antient times the *Greek* writers are very insufficient guides, if we may believe the most judicious writer of history that nation ever produced, viz. *Thucydides*, who very frankly declares they knew very little of their own affairs beyond the memory of man^u, that is, they were able to give no account of them with order and certainty. They were indeed a bold and pretending people in history as well as in other sciences, but they seldom told their stories in a manner capable of gaining them belief. *Herodotus* pretends not to say any thing of the history of the *Medes*, above one hundred and fifty years before the time of *Cyrus*, where he places *Dejoces*, whom he makes the first king of *Media*, and speaks of his advancement to that dignity, in terms^x exactly correspondent to those made use of by *Mirkhond* in his history of the election of *Keyomaras*. *Diodorus Siculus*, who really deserves the highest credit, because he took the utmost pains to be well informed, and spent a long series of years in collecting the materials for his history, gives us a list of ten *Median* kings reigning in all 282 years^y; but the critics are not pleased with these, because *Diodorus* took them from *Ctesias*, and *Ctesias* had his materials from the *Median* and *Persian* records; an odd reason for disbelieving all he says. But it seems, *Ctesias*'s account did not consist well with those that the *Greeks* had given before him, and therefore he lost his credit, and his history was rejected as fabulous. By the same rule of argument our oriental history must be condemned too, for it is as inconsistent with the *Greek* history, as the memoirs of *Ctesias*, and for the very same reason; because it is taken as his history was from what the *Medes* and *Persians* say of themselves. Not to keep the reader long in suspense, there is evidently a great gap of time between the erection of the old

^u THUCYDIDES, Proœm. Hist.
oth. lib. ii. c. 3.

^x CLIO, c. 71.

^y Bibli-

Medo-Persic monarchy, and its being destroyed by the *Assyrian* emperors. The question is, whether we will suppose, that these people lived all that time without doing any thing, because none of the *Greek* historians except *Diodorus* from *Ctesias* have vouchsafed, or indeed have been able, to tell us what they did, or whether we shall admit *Ctesias*'s exploded method, and fill up this chasm with what the *Persians* say of themselves? If this latter course be to be steered, here is room for all the *Pischedadians* at once. But then as to the synchronism of their reigns we desire to be excused from settling it, because at present we see no likelihood of our doing it with any degree of exactness. However, when the *Persian* history, according to oriental writers, shall be deduced as low as the reign of *Yezdegherd*, the last native of that country who swayed its sceptre, we shall reconsider this point, and set the whole chronology of the *Persic* empire in the best light we may. In the mean time we shall conclude these observations with remarking, that *Ctesias* and all others, who have at any time thought of enquiring as to the *Persian* history from the *Persian* records, have found in the most early times great and potent princes reigning here, marching vast armies into the field, erecting great cities, laying up immense treasures, and ruling with an equal mixture of wisdom and magnificence. Now this is exactly what we say from *Mohammedan* writers, who own they have taken all which they deliver from the old *Persian* writers; if therefore all this be fable, 'tis at least very antient and uniform fable, or to speak seriously, it has as much the appearance of truth as any history as antient that we know of. But it is time to leave reasoning and conjectures to return to the thread of our history, and to shew the steps by which *Apherasiab* was expelled, and the *Persian* dominions once more restored to a prince of that country.

The history of the Persian kings of the second race, or of the dynasty of the Kainites.

K *Eykobad*, or *Caicobad*, whom some writers make the *Keykobad* son of *Zab*, the son of *Tabamasp*, the son of *Manugeher*, king of *Persia*, and others call simply the nephew of *Nudar*, was seated on the throne of *Persia* by the famous *Zal-zer*, who was so loyal to the family that raised him, that he twice refused the *Persian* diadem, because he would not injure them. At this time he and his son *Rustan* put themselves at the head of such a body of troops as enabled them to give *Apherasiab* abundance of trouble, and by degrees

to put into the possession of *Keykobod* the greatest part of the provinces of *Persia*. This monarch proved at once a good prince to his subjects in general, and extremely grateful to the persons particularly concerned in raising him to the empire. He intrusted the command of all his forces with *Rustan*, and did nothing in civil affairs without the advice of his father ; by degrees his troops, under the command of the famous hero beforementioned, gained such advantages, that *Apherasiab* retired before them, and was at last driven to such distress that he desired to treat of a peace ; but his commissioners and those of the king of *Persia* differing about the terms, *Apherasiab* hazarded a second battle, wherein, notwithstanding his troops fought with great resolution, he was totally defeated. In the heat of this engagement, *Rustan* desired some of the officers about him to shew him *Apherasiab*, which when they had done, *Rustan* spurred towards him with such an impetuous force that he beat him from his horse, and afterwards dismounting from his own he tied his hands and feet together with a cord, and having laid him before himself upon his own steed rode out of the battle, and threw him in a particular place. *Apherasiab*, finding himself left alone, struggled with such force that he at last got loose ; then taking the cord, he tied the hands and feet of a dead man as *Rustan* had tied his, and retired to a troop of his own horse, with whom he made his escape. After victory had declared itself in favour of the army of *Keykobod*, *Rustan* rode up to salute him. Amongst other compliments of congratulation, he informed him that the war was now at an end, himself having made *Apherasiab* prisoner, whom he also promised immediately to produce. Riding to that end, to the place where he had thrown the *Turkish* monarch, he found with surprise a dead man tied in his place ; for this oversight of his he asked pardon of *Keykobod*, and solemnly promised, that if he met *Apherasiab* in battle again, he would not make the same mistake. But that prince, finding his affairs desperate in *Persia*, retired into *Turquestan*, and sent from thence an ambassador to treat with *Keykobod*, who was easily prevailed on not to carry his arms into *Touran*, when the right of him and his family to *Iran* was acknowledged by *Apherasiab*, and all the scattered remnants of his army withdrawn *. The peace once settled, *Keykobod* applied himself to the restoring the affairs of his kingdom, and in the first place fixed his court at *Spahawn*, which had been built by the famous king *Houshangh*, adorned by

* MIRKHOND. Hist. sect. xii. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. AFRASIAB, CAIKOBAD, RUSTAN.

Phridun, and afterwards given by him to *Kaob* the smith and his family. The reason in all probability which determined *Keykobod* to reside here, was its convenient situation in the heart of his dominions. His court once fixed, the king next bestowed his favours on such as had been instrumental in the expulsion of the *Turks*; to *Rustan* he gave the province of *Zablustan*, on the borders of *India*, watered with many pleasant streams, and adorned with the finest prospects that can be wished. This province afforded a surname to *Rustan*, and received itself a new name from him. That hero being stiled in most of the romances *Zabeli*, because he was governor of *Zablustan*; and that province, or at least a great part of it, was thence forward called *Rustandar*, because it had been the government of *Rustan*. *Maharab*, surnamed *Kabuli*, because he had been governor of *Kubul*, was another of *Keykobod*'s generals, and highly esteemed by him. *Kavan*, one of the descendants of the famous *Kaob* the smith, was also a person highly esteemed by this king of *Persia*; but what particular rewards he received authors do not mention. It seems he was a sort of knight errant, and acquired from thence the surname of *Rezm Khuah*, or *the searcher of adventures*. A fourth captain of *Keykobod*'s was *Keschvad*, surnamed *Zerin Kulah*, from a golden tiara which he was allowed to wear, in reward of the mighty things he had done for the good of the empire. *Keykobod* divided all the spoil that had been brought into his treasury among his soldiers, regulated their pay very exactly, and afterwards employed them in making great roads throughout the empire, setting up public marks at the end of every four thousand paces, which space by the *Persians* is called *Pherfengh*, and from thence by the *Greeks* *Parasang*. As this monarch was renowned for his wisdom and prowess, so he was no less famous on account of his piety; the *Mohammedan* writers insist very much upon this, they assert, that he had many prophets who resorted to his court, that he received, honoured, and obeyed them, and in time was a true believer, by which we are to understand that he was not a fire-worshipper; but in this they are certainly mistaken. They make him also contemporary with *Samuel* the judge of *Israel*, and assert, that he had some intercourse with him. In the last years of his life he grew blind, and continued so till the day of his death, which happened, as some historians say, after a reign of one hundred years, according to others, when he had reigned one hundred and twenty years ^a.

^a D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. REZM KHUAW, &c.

Keykaus. *Keykaus* or *Caikaus*, the son, or, as some say, the grandson of *Keykobod*, succeeded him in the throne of *Persia*, on which he was scarce seated before a war broke out in *Mazanderan*, a province bordering on the *Caspian* sea, which required his presence ; a rebel prince, taking occasion from the demise of *Keykobod*, made himself sovereign there, and fortified the capital in such a manner that he made it the strongest place in the east. *Keykaus* marched immediately against him, and coming with too great an army to be opposed, the rebel shut himself up in the city of *Mazanderan*, and prepared for a siege. *Keykaus* having viewed the place, and having received intelligence that it was extremely well provided with all sorts of ammunition and victuals, gave over all hopes of reducing it by force. But as in such cases 'tis usual for experienced generals to have recourse to stratagems, *Keykaus* devised one which answered his end effectually ; he gave out in his camp, and he corrupted people to give it out in the city, that he was extremely distressed for provisions, and should be on that account obliged shortly to raise the siege. His emissaries in the place immediately insinuated to the keepers of the stores, that by supplying the king of *Persia* with small quantities of victuals immense sums might be got ; this trade once on foot, *Keykaus* paid so well, that in a short time there was not a loaf left ; he then summoned the city peremptorily to surrender, and on a discovery of their circumstances the inhabitants were forced to submit ^b. He had not the like success in another war, undertaken in this province against *Apherasiab* ; for the *Persian* army being defeated, king *Keykaus* was taken and thrown into a prison, from whence he was released by the timely care of his general *Rustan*, who entering *Touran* with a numerous army, wasted all before him with fire and sword, declaring, that he would destroy the whole country if they did not set his master at liberty ; which so terrified the people, that their clamour prevailed on *Apherasiab* to dismiss *Keykaus* on his promise to recal *Rustan*. As soon as the *Persian* monarch had regained his liberty, he made use of the hero we have so often mentioned to curb his enemies on every side ; and he is recorded to have carried his arms into *Mezr*, i. e. *Egypt* ; *Shamah*, i. e. *Syria* ; and *Rum*, i. e. *Asia Minor*. After these wars were over and all things in a quiet situation, *Keykaus*, to shew the high esteem he had of *Rustan*'s services, gave him his sister in marriage ; the name of this princess was *Gubernax*, i. e. *endowed with all virtues*, and with her by way

^b *MIKHOUD. Hist. sect. xiii.*

of portion he gave him the office of generalissimo of all his armies, and made him vicar general of his kingdom, with the title of *Pehelevan Giban*, i. e. *supporter of the Persian empire*. We are not told who it was *Keykaus* himself married, but whoever she was he had by her two sons, named *Siavek* and *Phrailarz*; the eldest of these, viz. *Siavek*, was sent to live with, and to be bred up under, his uncle *Rustan*. How long things continued in this tranquil state does not appear, but the next war we hear of was against *Zulzogar* king of *Arabia*; what provocation he gave *Keykaus* is uncertain, but the king of *Persia* carried his resentment so far, that he had well nigh reduced the whole kingdom of *Yemen*, over which *Zulzogar* reigned, under his dominion; at length it came to the ears of *Keykaus*, that this *Arabian* prince had a daughter the most lovely woman in the world; upon which the *Persian* king sent to demand her in marriage; the king of *Yemen*, desirous to be rid at any rate of such an enemy, sent immediately his daughter to the king of *Persia's* *Haram*. As soon as *Keykaus* beheld *Saudabah*, he was so struck with her beauty, that he conceived himself the happiest man in the world by having her in his possession. Overcome therefore with the violence of his passion, he abandoned himself to all sorts of excesses, giving great entertainments, and encouraging all sorts of diversions in his camp, without so much as remembering that he was in an enemy's country. *Zulzogar*, who foresaw all this, drew together privately a considerable body of horse, and falling unexpectedly on the *Persian* army absolutely defeated it, and made the king and all his court prisoners. The news of this no sooner reached *Persia*, than *Rustan* put himself at the head of the forces left under his command, and marched with them immediately into *Yemen*. *Zulzogar* knew very well, that he had no troops capable of contending with the veterans under the command of *Rustan*, and for this reason he treated the king of *Persia*, while in his power, with the utmost civility and respect, so that he had no great difficulty in prevailing on him to send his general orders to forbear hostilities and to think of peace. A treaty was quickly concluded between the father and son-in-law, whereby the latter quitted all pretensions to the kingdom of *Yemen*, and promised to invade it no more, while the former engaged to be the friend and ally of the *Persian* nation, and to assist it to the utmost of his power; in consequence of which *Keykaus* was immediately set at liberty, with all those who had been taken prisoners with him, and returned triumphantly into *Persia* with his new spouse *Sauda-*

bah c.

bab. Not long after this *Siavek* came to court, and was received with the utmost affection by his father. *Saudabah*, either charmed with the beauty of his person, or affecting so to be, solicited him to an incestuous amour, which he, being a prince of great virtue, rejected with abhorrence; upon which waiting a proper opportunity, when the king was one day alone in his parlour, *Saudabah* rushed in with her hair dishevelled, her night-gown torn, and her breast bloody, crying out for justice against *Siavek*, who had made an attempt upon her honour; the king immediately caused his son to be imprisoned, and obliged him to stand a tryal; some say he underwent the ordeal by fire, however it was, the young prince was acquitted, and the wickedness of *Saudabah* clearly appeared. Upon which the king would have put her to death, if his son had not interceded for her on his knees. These proceedings having created some divisions and heart-burnings in the court of *Persia*, *Apherasiab*, who waited all opportunities of distressing that nation, failed not to take this, and to pass the river *Gjehon* with a great body of troops, in order to besiege *Balch*. *Keykaus*, roused by the impending danger, ordered his son to march into *Sigjistan* with twelve thousand horse, there to join the forces under the command of *Rustan*, in order to make head against the enemy. *Siavek* readily obeyed, and after joining his uncle *Rustan*, marched with such expedition, that they were soon in the neighbourhood of *Apherasiab* and his army; but not thinking fit to hazard an engagement immediately, they took care to pitch on a very strong camp. *Apherasiab*, knowing that his affairs would not permit him to carry on a long and lingering war, attacked them therein, which *Rustan* foresaw, and provided so well for his reception, that he was not only repelled, but his troops suffered so much in the attack, that he began sincerely to think of peace, in order to prevent the coming of this army of *Persians* into his dominions. With this view he sent commissioners to the camp of *Siavek* and *Rustan*, in order to settle the terms of a perpetual alliance; they were very kindly received, and the young prince, his uncle and two *Persians* of great quality, who were of his council, settled with them the heads of a treaty very advantageous to *Persia*, which being ratified by *Apherasiab*, the young prince dispatched an express to carry an account of the peace to his father. It seems the intrigues of *Saudabah* had created this deserving young prince many enemies in his father's court, who

* D'HÉRELLOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. CAUCAUS. MIRKHOND. Hist. sect. xiii.

took the opportunity of persuading the king, that *Siavek* had exceeded his commission, and injured the majesty of the *Persian* empire by the treaty which he had made. *Keykobod*, influenced by these suggestions, dispatched his uncle *Thus* to the army with letters full of sharpness with respect to the young prince, and with directions to deliver up the command to *Thus*, and to signify to *Rustan*, that the king thought him now old enough to take his rest, and therefore desired him to retire to his government of *Segjistan*. *Rustan* obeyed, and the prince continued in the army, which now marched to the frontiers of *Turquestan*, in order to act offensively against *Apherasiab*. When they were arrived in the neighbourhood of the river *Gjeihon*, the prince, taking with him *Piran Vissch*, an officer of distinction in the Turkish army who had remained with him as an hostage, went directly to the court of *Apherasiab*, to shew him how contrary to his humour it was to be guilty of a breach of faith. *Apherasiab* received him with open arms, placed him on a throne by his own, and gave him his daughter *Franghiz* in marriage ^d. The nobility of *Turquestan* were so much charmed with this young prince, and gave him continually such strong marks of their esteem, that *Garfiavesch*, brother to *Apherasiab*, took umbrage at it, and resolved to have him taken off. *Siavek*, who was a prince of great penetration, discovered his intention, and foreseeing that in a strange country it was impossible for him to guard against such attempts, he spoke of it to his wife, who was then great with child, and conjured her in case he should be murdered, to send his son, if she should be brought to bed of one, into *Persia*. A small time after what he feared came to pass, he was killed by some assassins, hired by *Garfiavesch*, who would also have dispatched his wife, if *Piran Vissch* had not luckily entered the room and prevented it. *Franghiz* was afterwards brought to bed of a son, called *Key-chosrau*, who in time succeeded his grandfather. The people of *Turquestan* were so much grieved for the death of *Siavek*, that, to shew their concern, they mourned in *Persian* habits, a custom which has ever since remained amongst them. The news of the prince of *Persia*'s death reaching *Rustan* in his government, he, without expecting orders, entered *Turquestan* with a considerable army, burning and destroying all the country before him. *Garfiavesch* raised a body of troops as soon as he was able, and marched to oppose him; but coming to an engage-

^d D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. RUSTAN, SIAVEK, PIRAN VISSCH. MIRKHOND. HIST. ubi supra.

ment, they were soon defeated, and *Garshavsch* himself had his head struck off by the sword of *Rustan**. The desire this hero had to do all the good he could to the family of his pupil and nephew *Siavek*, put him upon enquiring for his son ; but his mother kept him so effectually concealed, that neither his friends nor his foes could find him out, which gave *Rustan* inexpressible concern ; some years after, however, *Keykaus* sent *Guiu* the son of *Gudarz*, a young *Persian* nobleman of great capacity, into *Turquestan*, in order to discover his grandson. Some say, that *Guiu* having sought the young prince a long time in vain, met him by chance one day as he was hunting, and, knowing him by the resemblance he bore of his father, addressed himself frankly to him, told him his name and his commission. *Key-chosrau* listened greedily to the proposal made him of retiring into *Persia*, but desired, that he might carry his mother and *Piran Vissch*, the old and faithful friend of his father, with him, that they might be safe from the attempts of their enemies. This being agreed to, all things were concerted so well, that they quitted *Turquestan* and got safe into *Persia*, little to the satisfaction of *Apherafiab*, who was mighty well pleased with having in his hands the heir of the *Persian* diadem. He ordered them immediately to be pursued by several roads, but all to no purpose, though they passed the river *Gjeihon* in sight of their pursuers. On the arrival of *Key-chosrau* at the court of his grandfather, the face of affairs suddenly changed ; those who had been avowed enemies of the prince *Siavek* his father were immediately removed, and *Keykaus*, to shew his affection for the young prince, made him generalissimo of his armies, and raised *Guiu*, who had brought him back, to the highest honours. Thus, who had been no friend to *Siavek*, began to be apprehensive of the power of *Key-chosrau*, and therefore took all opportunities of influencing *Fraiberz*, the son of *Keykaus*, by suggesting to him, that this new-come prince would rob him of the crown of *Persia*, which ought by no means to be placed on the head of one descended by the mother's side from *Tour*, the implacable enemy of their name and nation ; these seeds of dissention sown, the *Persian* court was quickly in disorder, all the nobility taking one side or other, to the no small detriment of the affairs of the nation. *Keykaus* in the mean time was unwilling to declare either against his son or his grandson. At last, to prevent, as far as in him lay, the inconveniencies

* D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. CAICAUS, SIAVEK, GHERSCIAVESCH.

that

that might attend a disputed succession, he resolved to give the competitors for the crown a fair opportunity of displaying their abilities, and to declare him who had the greatest desert his heir. One *Bahaman*, who had been intrusted with the city of *Ardebil* or *Ardevil* in the province of *Aderbagjan*, had made himself prince of that place, and thrown off his allegiance to the king of *Persia*. *Keykaus* sent a body of troops, under the command of his son *Fraiborz*, to invest the town on one side, and an equal number under *Key-chosrau* to sit down before it on the other, informing both the princes, when they set out for their respective commands, that whoever reduced the place, he would declare successor to the throne. Thus, according to his repeated professions of friendship to *Fraiborz*, set out with him for the army, and did all that in his power lay to make him master of *Ardevil*, but to no purpose; *Bahaman*, apprised of the siege, had provided all things necessary for a long defence, and was himself so consummate an officer, that he triumphed over all the attempts of the *Persian* army under *Fraiborz*. *Key-chosrau* had better success; the troops commanded by this young prince behaved better than those under his uncle, insomuch, that *Bahaman*, finding it impossible to hold out, surrendered *Ardevil* into his hands. According to agreement therefore, when he returned to court, *Keykaus* declared him heir apparent of the crown, and thereby put an end to the contention which had so long subsisted. Some small time after this, the good old monarch, wearied with the fatigues of royalty, retired from the world, and left his grandson in the possession of the kingdom, after a reign of one hundred and fifty years^f.

ACCORDING to the method we have hitherto pursued, we should here take leave of *Keykaus's* reign. But as it is our design to inform the reader, as far as we are able, of every thing relating to the history of those kings we speak of, we find ourselves obliged to take notice here of some variations in circumstances, into which the *Persian* historians have fallen, as to the most material facts reported in the history of *Keykaus*: Thus, as to *Saudabab*, some make her to have been the daughter of *Gherfchiavafsch* brother to *Apherasiab*; they say likewise, that she was the mother of *Siavek*, and that taking some disgust in his father's court, the young prince fled to that of his uncle in *Turquestan*, where, marrying the daughter of the king, he made himself so con-

^f MIRKHOND. Hist. ubi supra. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Ait. CAICAUS & CAIKOSRAU.

siderable, that his grandfather by the mother's side caused him to be destroyed^s. *Mirkhond*, speaking of the invasion made by *Rustan* on *Apherasiab*'s dominions, in revenge for the death of *Siavek*, mentions one *Keydab*, the son of *Apherasiab*, who commanded the armies of his father, and who was slain in single combat by *Rustan*. If there be any fact in this, then it is probable, that this duel is represented in the figures cut on the rocky mountain of *Nachs-Rustan*, which we took notice of in our description of *Persia*ⁿ. A *Persian* writer hath taken upon him to assert, that *Keykaus* ought to be regarded as the *Nimrod* of the *Hebrews*, and he will have it, that both these names signify *the long liver*, or *the immortal*, adding, that *Keykaus* was so called because of his extraordinary long reign, viz. of one hundred and fifty years. *Mirkhond*, like a good historian, reports this fact, and observes, that some have stigmatized *Keykaus* with building the tower of *Babel*, and attempting to scale heaven thereby, but he says expressly, that this story is fabulous, and ought not to be regarded; the king of *Persia* being a wise and pious prince, who knew well, that to ascend to heaven, there was no need of towers. But to proceed in our history^l (G).

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^s D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Oriental. Artic. GHERSCHIAVESCH.

ⁿ MIRKHOND. hist. ubi supra. Univers. Hist. Vol. IV. p. 464.

^l D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. NEMBROD.

(G) To prevent the reader's falling into any confusion with respect to the wars recorded in this history, it may be necessary to observe, that the *Persians* had for their neighbours, under the monarchs of the first and second race, on the north-east the inhabitants of the extended country of *Touran*. We have already spoken so copiously of the sense and derivation of this name, that there is no necessity for our adding any thing further on that subject; here it is sufficient, that we observe, the boundaries thereof were never well fixed, and that it was always designed by an indefinite term, as well by the *Romans* as by the orientals; the former stiled all the provinces on the other side that river which they call *Oxus*, the antient *Persians* *Gjeihon*, and the modern *Amu*, *Transoxana*; and the orientals called the same provinces *Mauaralnabar*, i. e. *on the other side the river* (6). This country was inhabited by the *Turks*, properly so called, whom some conceive to be the same nation with the *Tartars*, and that those we generally call *Turks* have very little right to that appellation (7). On the east of *Persia* lay the empire of the *Indies*, then governed by

(6) D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Oriental. Art. Touran. (7) History of the Tartars, Vol. II. p. 384.

Key-chofrau or *Kai-khosru* succeeded peaceably to the throne of his grand-father, and shewed himself worthy of that preference which had been given him ; for in the first place, he took care to rectify all abuses in courts of justice throughout his whole dominions, displacing all such officers as had made themselves odious to the people, and taking every method he could devise to put the poor into a condition of earning bread, issuing for this purpose great sums out of his treasury, and giving audience with the greatest ease to all degrees of people. When he found his kingdom in tolerable order, he summoned a grand council of his nobility, wherein having represented

princes who were natives of that country. To the south of *Persia* lay the peninsula of *Arabia*, governed by its own kings ; and on the west the territories of *Sham* or *Schamah*, for so the *Persians* stiled *Syria*, and the other dominions of the kings of *Nineveh* and *Babylon*. Nothing can be darker or more confused than the accounts we have from the *Persian* historians of the state of their neighbours in those times of which we are now speaking. To us there seems some reason to doubt, whether the word *Kbakhan*, made use of to signify the supreme monarch of grand *Tartary* by *Mirkhond*, was really heard of in those early times ; it seems more likely, that our *Persian* historian bestowed that title, which is now frequent, on the monarch mentioned by the antient historians to have reigned then in these parts, in order to familiarize the style of his history to his cotemporaries. As the country of *Touran* bordered as well as *Iran* on the *Caspian* sea, and as the last battle fought by *Apherasiab* happened in the plains of *Kbuerezm*, it was natural enough for him to fly into the mountains nearest at hand, in hopes of returning that way into *Touran* ; and when he found the enemy possessed of the passes near the mouth of the river *Gjehon*, he had no other way left than to endeavour to get through the mountains of *Adebayagjan*, and so round the *Caspian* sea, till he entered *Touran* on the north ; in which, however, we need not wonder that he proved unsuccessful, since from those times to ours, no conqueror whatever has had the honour to make that tour with his troops, excepting only the *Tartar* hero *Zinjis Khan*. From the observations in this note it will be very plain to the reader, that *Iran* under the reign of this monarch *Key-chofrau* contained very nearly the same extent of country and the same provinces, which are still comprehended under the empire of *Persia* ; and that whatever difference there might be, must have lain on the provinces in the west side of the empire, the bounds of which are not exactly laid down by the *Persian* historians. As to the new kingdom on the *Persian* gulph erected in favour of *Fraiborz*, we shall have occasion to mention it hereafter ; in the mean time let us remark, that the situation of this kingdom proves the extent of *Key chofrau's* empire towards the south-east to have been pretty near the same with the present *Shab's*.

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the miserable death of his father, and the mighty mischiefs which had been done them by the inhabitants of *Turquestan*, he desired them to speak their minds freely, whether it would not be for their interest, as well as for his honour, if an army were immediately raised for the reduction of *Turquestan*. They came unanimously into this proposal, whereupon *Piran Vissch* returned into his own country, from whence, as we have heard, he fled with *Key-chosrau* and his mother. The king of *Persia*, knowing that without unanimity no war could be carried on with any reasonable hopes of success, took pains to reconcile himself to *Thus*, and to his uncle *Fraiborz*, and to shew that his reconciliation was sincere, he intrusted them with the command of thirty thousand horse, and sent them to open the war by invading the dominion of *Turquestan* ^k. At their setting out he spoke to them thus, “ You must know, “ That before my father married the princess *Franghiz* my “ mother, he had by the daughter of his friend *Piran Vissch* “ a son called *Ferud*. This young man I am informed has “ at present a command in the army of *Apherasiab*; but “ wherever he is, remember that he is my brother, and that “ wherever you find him you do him no injury, but render “ him all the honours due to so near a relation of mine”. It happened unluckily, that the *Persian* army no sooner entered the country of *Turquestan*, than *Ferud* came to reconnoitre them at the head of a body of horse. His scouts informed him, that the *Persians* were by far more numerous than the troops under his command; but he, to shew his valour, instead of retiring, attacked very briskly the army under the command of *Thus*, who, as soon as he understood that *Ferud* was at the head of the *Turks*, ordered his forces to retire, and presenting himself before the young prince, informed him of the order he had received from his brother the king of *Persia*. *Ferud*, full of imprudent bravery, would not be persuaded to retire, but causing the *Turkish* horse to make a fresh attack, the *Persians* repulsed them with great slaughter, and *Ferud*, to the mighty regret of the whole army, was found dead upon the place ^l. *Key-chosrau* received this news with great concern, and apprehending that *Thus* had been in some measure instrumental in his brother’s death, he sent orders to his uncle *Fraiborz* to take upon him the command of the army, and to send back *Thus* a prisoner, to answer in *Persia* for his conduct. *Fraiborz* executed the king’s commands exactly with respect to *Thus*, and then marched farther into *Turquestan*. *Apherasiab* gave the command of the great army he

^k MIRKHOND. Hist. sect. xiv.
Orient. Artic. CAICHOSRAU.

^l D’HERBELOT. Biblioth.

had raised to *Piran Vissch*, the most experienced of his generals, and who was perfectly acquainted with the *Persian* discipline. This excellent officer did all that could be expected from him, he gave *Fraiborz* and *Gudar* so much trouble, and knew so well how to encamp his troops out of danger of an attack, that at length the *Persians* were constrained to retreat, not without very considerable loss; *Gudar*, who commanded in the rear, having no less than seventy gentlemen of his own family slain ^m. The news of this defeat obliged the king to take other measures; he therefore removed his uncle from the command of the army, and gave it to *Gudar*, to whose valour and conduct it was owing, that any part thereof escaped. He also sent *Thus*, who had fully justified himself as to the death of *Ferud*, with a reinforcement of troops, in order to enable him to carry on the war. *Apherasiab*, perceiving that the *Persians* were resolved to destroy his empire, called to his assistance the *Kha-khan* or king of great *Tartary* and *Schangal* king of the *Indies*, and by the help of his confederates pushed the *Persian* troops so closely, that they being far inferior in number were forced to retire into the mountains of *Chorasán*, where they threw up intrenchments, and fortified their camp in the best manner they could. *Key-chosrau*, informed of their distress, sent orders to *Rustan* to march with the utmost diligence to their assistance. That experienced general readily obeyed his master, and the *Persian* army that was besieged in the mountains, when they heard of his approach, made no question of carrying the victory. *Rustan*, as an earnest thereof, deceived the vigilance of the *Turkish* officers, and passing their advanced guards in the night, entered the *Persian* camp, before the enemy was aware. The next day the most bloody battle was fought, that hitherto had been seen in *Persia*. *Rustan* did wonders, he took prisoner the *Kha-khan* and *Kaimus*, one of the principal generals in the service of *Apherasiab*. In the end victory declared itself for the *Persians*, and *Apherasiab*, having lost half his army, was obliged to retire with the rest into his own dominions. Notwithstanding this mighty loss, the king of *Tarquestan* meditated new invasions, exhausting his whole country to draw together an army sufficient for his purpose. *Key-chosrau* on the other hand set four great armies on foot, the chief of which lay in the neighbourhood of *Balch*, under the command of *Gudar*. Against him *Apherasiab* sent a detachment of his choicest troops under the command of *Piran Vissch* the best officer in his dominions. The two armies had not long been in the neigh-

^m MIRKHOND. Hist. ubi supra. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. CAICHOSRAU.

bourhood of each other, before an action ensued, wherein *Piran Vissch* was killed and his army beaten. When *Gudar* saw the body of *Piran Vissch* on the ground, he alighted from his horse, and remembering the courtesies that nobleman had formerly done to *Siavek*, and to *Key-chosrau*, when a young man, he bedewed it with his tears, and took care afterwards to see it interred with all the honours due to so great and worthy a man. Of which when the king of *Persia* was informed, he highly commended his general, and spoke with very great regret of the death of his old friend ⁿ. *Apherasiab*, when informed of this new disaster, sent his son *Schidah* to command the remains of the army, which he caused to be reinforced as soon as possible. By this time *Key-chosrau* was come in person to his army, and marched at the head thereof, through the plains in the neighbourhood of the *Caspian* sea. *Schidah*, thinking this a proper place to give battle, advanced with his army, and attacked the *Persians* with great resolution; but his success was not answerable to his valour, for he was killed in the beginning of the engagement, and all his army cut to pieces. The king of *Persia* surveying the field of battle, and the vast number of dead bodies which lay thereon, cried out aloud, *Khwarefmi-bud*, i. e. *I have seen my desire*; whence the plains in which this battle was fought, and the province wherein they lie, received the appellation of *Khwarezm*, which they still retain. *Key-chosrau* pushed on the war now with the greatest vigour, marching directly towards the capital of *Turquestan*, whither *Apherasiab* had retired; but this prince not thinking himself safe there, because the people murmured loudly at the evils they felt, first sent away his *Haram*, and then retired himself. His wives and children fell a short time afterwards into the hands of *Key-chosrau*, who treated them with all imaginable kindness and respect; *Apherasiab* wandered from province to province with a small body of troops, till being shut up in the mountains of *Aderbayagjan*, he was at last taken prisoner, and by the orders of *Key-chosrau* put to death ^o. Thus ended this long and bloody war, which had well nigh exhausted both empires. After it was finished *Key-chosrau* fixed his court at *Balch*, for the conveniency of governing *Touran* as well as *Iran*; there it was, that seeing himself in full possession of two great empires, this monarch did what none of his predecessors had thought of. He com-

ⁿ D'HERBELLOT. Biblioth. Orient. ubi supra, & Artic. *PIRAN-VISSEH*.
^o D'HERBELLOT. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. *CAI-CHOSRAU*.

puted all the levies which had been made on *Persia* for the carrying on the war against the *Turks*, and out of the mighty treasures which were fallen into his hands, he restored to every family the amount of the taxes they had paid. He sent for his uncle *Fraiborz*; and after having commended him for his fidelity, he erected several provinces on the shore of the *Persian* gulph into a kingdom, and made him sovereign thereof. He assembled the nobility of *Touran*, and having shewn them the folly of hating the inhabitants of *Iran*, as they had hitherto done, he advised them to consider of ways and means for re-establishing the peace of their country, and assured them he would contribute to it as far as lay in his power. He then marked out the quarters, and settled the yearly pay of his army, took an exact account of the state of all the provinces, reformed several abuses in religion; and when he had done all this, he said he had reigned long enough for his own glory, and that it was now time for him to quit the world, and dedicate the rest of his days to God. With this view he introduced his successor *Lohrasp*, into a grand assembly of the nobility, he put the *Tagi* on his head, and retired himself to a cell in the desert, having attained to the age of ninety years, sixty of which he had passed upon the throne ^P.

WHAT has been above related of the reign of *Key-chosrau* is taken from the best and most credible historians, and connected with all the accuracy in our power; let us now see what other remarkable facts have been related of this monarch, which could not so well be reduced into the order we have followed. With respect to the decisive battle fought against the king of *Turquestan*, some writers tell us, that it was not a general engagement, but that twelve *Turks* and as many *Persians* fought in the fight of both armies, which providence decided in favour of the latter; and this combat is very famous in oriental romances, where it is generally stiled *Genk duazde Rokh*, i. e. *the combat of the twelve heroes*. The terms on which this combat was fought were these; that if the *Turks* were victorious, the *Persians* should own *Apherasiab* for their lord, but in case the *Persians* were successful, then the *Turks* were to retire into their own country, and so quit all pretensions to *Iran* ¹. *Apherasiab* complied with the agreement, and marched directly back into his own country; but, say the same writers, he soon after broke the peace by sending his son with a numerous body of horse to make in-

^P MIRKHOND. Hist. ubi supra. D'HERBELOT. ubi supra.

¹ D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. ubi supra.

roads into *Persia*. In consequence of which followed the battle of *Khuarczm*, in which they make *Apherasiab* and his brother to have been present. They add, that, after the loss of the battle, *Apherasiab*, with the remains of his army fled into the mountainous countries on the banks of the *Caspian* sea, intending to pass if possible behind it, and so through the extended territories of the *Kipjaks* into his own dominions; but his efforts were vain, the forces of *Key-chofrau* surrounding the handful of troops *Apherasiab* had with him in the mountains of *Aderbayagjan*, so that he was at last taken prisoner and put to death^r. *Mirkbond* and the writers we have followed do not say much as to the personal bravery of *Key-chofrau*, but there are writers who inform us of a very extraordinary act of chivalry performed by this monarch. They tell us, that in his reign there appeared in the mountains, which separate *Irak Agemi* from *Phars*, or as we call them, *Parthia* from proper *Persia*, a monstrous serpent, which struck the people with such terror that they abandoned their habitations, and left all the adjacent country desolate; this formidable dragon they stiled *Gavschid*. The king, being informed of this, resolved like a good prince to go immediately and destroy this monster. *Key-chofrau* hunted it for some time before he came up with it, but at last he found it in its den in the mountains of *Aderbayagjan*, and his guards flying at the sight of the dragon he attacked it alone, and killed it with his own hand. On the spot where this remarkable deed was done, a *Pyræum* or fire-temple was erected, called in succeeding times *Deir Gavschid*, i. e. *the habitation of Gavschid*, renowned to this day amongst the *Persees*, and held by some to be the first fire-temple erected in *Persia*, which however we doubt, if they mean, as certainly they do, that it was erected in the reign of *Key-chofrau*^s. Though some writers are silent as to the valour of this prince, yet all who treat of his reign expatiate loudly of his wisdom and piety. Some believe him a prophet, most acknowledge that he conversed with the prophets, and was in a peculiar manner favoured by the Almighty for the great regard he always shewed towards religion and religious persons. During his reign flourished *Lokman* the famous philosopher of the east, called by way of surname *Lokman Al Hakim*, i. e. *Lokman the wise*. It would lead us far out of our way should we enter here too deeply into the history of this extraordinary person; we shall therefore content our-

^r MIRKHOND. Hist. ubi supra.
Orient. Artic. DEIR GAVSID.

^s D'HERBELLOT. Biblioth.

selves with observing, that it is generally agreed he was by birth an *Ethiopian* or *Nubian*, the oriental word *Habaschi* including both, his parents mean, and himself sold for a slave, and carried from one place to another, till at last he was brought into the land of *Israel*, where he lived under the reigns of *David* and *Solomon*. The *Arabian* writers tell us, that sleeping in this condition during the heat of the day, the angels entered his room and awaked him, with this salutation, *Lokman*, we are the messengers of God, thy creator and ours, who hath sent us to thee to inform thee, that he will make thee a monarch and his lieutenant over the whole earth. *Lokman*, after remaining silent for a small space, returned this answer: If by the absolute command of God I am to become what you say, his will must be fulfilled in all things, and I hope, if it comes to pass, that he will afford me the necessary assistance of his grace, that I may exactly execute his orders; but if he would give me leave to choose, I wish rather to continue in the state I am in, and that he would prevent me from offending him, without which grace all the pomp and grandeur of the world would be to me no more than a cumbrous and insupportable load. This, say these authors, appeared so just in the sight of God, that he bestowed on *Lokman* such an excellent understanding, that he composed, say they, ten thousand apologues, moral maxims, and wise sayings, each of them more valuable than the whole world. A phrase implying no more than that they are highly useful as well as wonderfully sublime. They tell us also, that *Lokman* standing one day in the midst of a great number of people, who all listened greedily to his wise and pleasant discourses, a *Hebrew* of great quality, asked him, if he was not the black slave whom he had seen formerly tending the sheep: *Lokman* readily answered, I am; and how then, said the nobleman, have you attained so high a degree of virtue? Why, answered *Lokman*, by these three easy steps: I have always spoke the truth, I have constantly kept my word, and I have never meddled in any thing which did not concern me. A *Persian* poet hath recorded another extraordinary instance of *Lokman*'s presence of mind; his master sent him with some other slaves to gather fruit in his garden, the rest eat the best, and when his master missed them, they roundly swore that *Lokman* eat them whether they would or not. The matter, Sir, said *Lokman*, is easily decided; let us all drink heartily of warm water, and then let us join hands and run round; his lord commanded the experiment to be immediately made, upon which they all fell a vomiting, with this difference,

that they brought up the fruits which they had eaten, and *Lokman* nothing but the warm water. The comment of the *Persian* poet on this story is so remarkable, that the reader will doubtless be pleased to see it; “When we shall all drink
 “ of this hot water at our trials, in the day of the last
 “ judgment, then whatever has been concealed in the heart
 “ and hidden far from the sight of men, shall be thrown up
 “ in the view of all the world; and the hypocrite, who ac-
 “ quired the reputation of a saint by his dissembling, shall
 “ then be covered with shame and confusion of face.”

What we have reported is sufficient to shew, that there is a strong resemblance between the history of *Lokman*, as reported by the eastern writers, and that of *Æsop*, as we find it written by the *Greeks*. Both were mean in their original; both slaves through the severity of fortune; both famous for their wisdom; and both delivered their maxims in the same manner, that is by way of apologue. But there is a wide difference between the times in which, the oriental authors say, *Lokman* lived, and those wherein the *Greeks* place *Æsop*. As to the first, it is generally allowed, that *Lokman* lived in the reign of *Solomon*, whereas *Æsop* is said to have been cotemporary with *Cræsus* king of *Lydia* and *Solon* the *Athenian* legislator. From the history of their lives, and from the comparison of their fables, there is all the reason in the world to believe, that *Lokman* and *Æsop* were the same person; the difficulty seems to lie here, whether the *Greeks* stole him from the orientals, or whether the orientals took him from the *Greeks*. It seems most natural to believe the former, since in such cases the *Greeks* are known to have been notorious thieves, and to have altered every point of ancient history they were able to their own advantage. Besides the apologue was certainly the favourite mode of teaching in the east, long before that or any other kind of learning was known to the *Greeks*; after all, this is but conjecture, which we offer to the reader's consideration rather than his belief. The chief reason why *Lokman* is so much considered in the east is, because *Mohammed* has mentioned him in terms of respect in the *Koran*, and has affirmed, that God bestowed on him the gift of extraordinary wisdom¹. His fables, which are far from being numerous, have been printed in *Arabic* and *Latin* at *Leyden*, so that *Europe* is now no stranger to the wisdom of that famous person². But to return to *Key-chefrau*; he is reported to have been himself a

¹ KORAN. SUR. LOKMAN.
 Orient, Art. LOKMAN. Note H.

² D'HERBELOT. Biblioth.

very wise and very learned prince, as well as remarkably pious. He was very fortunate throughout his reign, and yet he was so little exalted by an uninterrupted series of good fortune, that he not only resigned the crown, and retired into the deserts on the skirts of the province of *Aderbayagjan*, but left also this remarkable memento to all his successors, by causing it to be engraved in one of the rooms of his palace ^w. (H).

W.

^w MIRKHOND. hist. sect. xiv. D'HERBELOT, Art. CAICHOSRAU.

(H) It is very fit that we should give an account in this note what our reasons were for inserting the life of *Lokman* in the *Persian* history. Not to trouble the reader with too long a detail, we shall acquaint him with no more than two. First, *Lokman* wrote in the *Persian* language, as is generally agreed, and as the learned editor of his fables in *Holland* positively affirms (8). 2dly, It is from *Persian* writers that we have the best and fullest accounts of *Lokman's* life and manners, and as they constantly speak of him as cotemporary with *Key-chofrau*, the third king of their second dynasty, it was but just, that we should insert his memoirs under that reign. Having thus justified our speaking of *Lokman* here, let us be indulged a few thoughts on fable, and on the high reputation which this author has obtained from his writings in that way. It is universally agreed, that the *Apologue* was one of the most ancient methods of instructing, and of consequence that it was invented in the east, where indeed all kinds of science took birth. That this mode of teaching was far elder than *Lokman's* days, admitting that he lived where the oriental writers have placed him, we know from the sacred writings. And that this method was long, if it be not still, cultivated in the east, is a point so notorious, that we need not undertake its proof. Bishop *Patrick* has advanced a very ingenious, though it may be no very solid, opinion in relation to the rise and decay of fable. He says, that it was invented in early times, when mankind were as yet rude, and histories unwritten; that as these came into vogue fable declined, because truth being always preferable to falsehood, men chose rather to appeal to facts which had happened, than to suppose things which might never come to pass (9). But, with the bishop's good leave, the other side of the argument may be taken, and supported with greater force; for points of history are very seldom exactly agreed on in all their circumstances, and consequently can hardly ever be similar one to another; whereas fables, which are indeed representations of facts without names, may be adjusted to the utmost

(8) *Prefat. Erpen. Locm. Fabul. paraphrase on the Proverbs.*

(9) *Vid. Preface to his*
nicety,

We ought not to value ourselves too much on our exaltation above the ordinary rank of men, since we are no more secure of our crowns than they of their estates; that which descended from

nicety, and consequently are able to strike with far greater vigour than any history applied. We will give an instance which will effectually support what we say. Might not *Nathan* the prophet, when he reproved *David* for taking the wife of *Uriah*, have easily bethought him of some history, which would very nearly have represented the case of that prince; but will any man say, that a lecture from history would have penetrated the soul of *David* with so lively a sorrow as *Nathan's* noble application of his parable, *Thou art the man* (10)? Fables shew us truth in an easy natural light, and the mind having thus consented to a doctrine proposed, the understanding afterwards applies; and we learn with the greater ease, because we do not discern the teacher. But to return to *Lokman*, his fame is so great and so universal throughout the east, that to express an high idea of any man's wisdom, they are wont to say, as *the learned Erpenius* expresses it. *Non necesse est docere Locmanum, There is no need of teaching Lokman* (11). His fables were doubtless almost without number, but the collection we have of them is not large; Sir *John Chardin* has printed a *French* translation of them, which agrees exactly with the *Arabic* and *Latin* versions above referred to; we call them versions, because, as we observed before, *Lokman* wrote originally in *Persian*; and at this day, Sir *John Chardin* tells us, this nation is so fond of them, that they are the first things they teach their children, and spare no pains to make them enter into and comprehend their meaning. An instance or two may not be unacceptable (12).

The Boy in the River.

“ A little boy went one day into a river, and, not having learned to swim, had like to have been drowned; seeing a man at a distance he called out to him for help: the man, as soon as he saw the lad's distress, began to expostulate with him on the folly of going into a river before he had learned to swim: the boy instead of answering him, cried out, *Save me, save me, and then chide as long as you will.*”

The Smith and his Dog.

“ An honest smith had a dog that slept all the while his master was at work; but as soon as he left off and sat down with his companions to dinner, the dog waked, and solicited him for

(10) 2 Samuel, c. xii. (11) *Præfat. Erpen. Locman. Fab.*
p. 7. (12) *Chardin. Voyag. tom. iii. p. 227.*

“ meat;

from several monarchs to me will descend, when I am gone, to several others; who then would be proud of what is uncertain in itself, and cannot at best last long?

Lohrasp, or *Lohorasb*, was the successor of *Key-chofrau*, *Lohrasp*. and his near relation; that prince having no heirs male. The

“ meat; *Worthless animal*, said the smith, *how canst thou sleep a-*
 “ *midst the noise of hammers which shake the very earth, and yet*
 “ *wake at the wagging of one's jaws, which scarce make any noise*
 “ *at all?*”

The Goose and the Swallow.

“ The Goose and the Swallow entered into a league of friend-
 “ ship, and resolved to live together. They came unluckily to a
 “ place where the fowlers were watching; the Swallow, as soon
 “ as she saw them, flew away, but the poor goose not being able
 “ to make use of her wings, was taken and killed.”

The passage in the *Al Koran*, referred to in the text, is the whole xxxist chapter, which therefore bears the title of *Lokman*. *Mohammed* speaks in his own person at the beginning thereof, vehemently declaiming against irreligious persons and idolaters, such especially as despised the *Koran*, and lived in the errors of their fathers; he then makes God speak thus: “ We inspired know-
 “ ledge into *Lokman*, and taught him to give God thanks; he that
 “ returneth thanks to God for his graces doth good to his soul,
 “ for God hateth the ungrateful, and praise is in all places due to
 “ him. Remember, thou, that *Lokman* said to his son, O! my
 “ son, believe not that God hath equals; it is an exceeding great
 “ sin; we have commanded man to honour his father and his mo-
 “ ther, his mother bringeth him forth with sorrow, and weaneth
 “ him at two years old; be not thou forgetful of God's benefits;
 “ honour thy father and thy mother, for thou shalt one day be
 “ judged before God.” The rest of the chapter contains a great many excellent admonitions, all of which are put into the mouth of *Lokman*, and consequently shew how high this philosopher stood in the opinion of *Mohammed*. To say the truth, he was a very artful person, and took care never to run counter to popular opinions, where it might be avoided. The character of *Lokman* was too well established to be overturned by him, and therefore he very wisely represented him as one who had long ago taught the same doctrines which he now sought to recommend. Hence, however, it has come to pass, that some commentators on the *Koran* have taught that *Lokman* was a prophet, though others understand what *Mohammed* says of that *Sage's* having only the gift of *Teaching* (13).

(13) *D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Lokman.*

authors who have recorded the principal events, which happened under the reigns of the several princes of the first and second race, differ in no part of their accounts so much as where they speak of the actions of this prince. For the reader's ease as well as our own, we will first give, as succinctly as we can, the story of this monarch's reign, according to *Mirkhand*, and we shall afterwards set down such variations as seem of greatest importance, affixing the authors names from whom they are taken. *Lohrasp* was either nephew to king *Keykaus* or his brother, and was the next heir male of the royal line. He was elected king, and not without considerable opposition; his temper was known to be severe and haughty, the grandees therefore were many of them for putting the sceptre into a milder hand; and at the head of this faction was *Zal-zer* the father of *Rustan*; but their cabals were vain, *Lohrasp* carried it in spite of them all, and was declared king. As soon as he was seated on the throne he determined with himself to raise his reputation, and to extend his empire by making war on both sides thereof; in consequence of this resolution, he fixed his court at *Balch*, and took all possible methods for putting every thing in the best order in the eastern provinces of *Iran*. He sent in the mean time his general *Gudarz* with a puissant army into *Shamah* or *Syria*, with orders to reduce the whole of that large country under his power. *Gudarz* effectually answered his master's expectation; he conquered all *Syria* as far as *Damascus*, and also *Palestine*, with the famous city of *Jerusalem*, called by the *Persians* the *Habitation of the saints*. The reigning king of the *Jews* submitted and promised to pay tribute, for which he put as hostages into the hands of the *Persian* general several persons of quality, whom *Gudarz* quickly afterwards caused to be slain; this provoked the *Jews* to a rebellion, and gave *Gudarz* the opportunity he wanted of sacking *Jerusalem*, where he treated the inhabitants with inexpressible cruelty; and having loaded his soldiers with riches he retired, and carried into *Persia* with him a vast number of captives. King *Lohrasp* had two sons, the eldest called *Gushtasp*, the younger named *Zaris*; the former was of a fierce haughty disposition, but was at the same time warlike, and of great abilities: this young prince drew in many, who were desirous of novelty, to join with him in a rebellion against his father, in which he had at first success, and gained over to him a very considerable party; but *Lohrasp*, having drawn together all his friends, and having also done every thing in his power to engage the people to his service, marched so briskly against his son, that *Gushtasp's* adherents, fear-
ing

ing the fortune of the day in case of a battle, abandoned him by degrees, which he observing began immediately to provide for his own safety, by retiring into *Turquestan* in so distressed a condition, that he lived even at that court unknown and unsuspected. Here, by a very odd accident, he married the daughter of the reigning prince. It was it seems a custom in that country, that whenever the king had a mind to dispose of a daughter in marriage, public notice was given, and the people assembled in great numbers in an open court, where being disposed into the best order the place would allow, the king entered with his daughter, one of whose hands was held in his, and in the other she had a golden apple, enriched with precious stones ; when they were advanced into the middle of the place, the king let go his daughter's hand, and she, after walking round, and observing every body diligently, bestowed her apple and herself on the man she liked best. It happened not long after *Gushtasp's* arrival in *Turquestan*, that the king determined to marry his eldest daughter, and having brought her out into the court after the manner before described, she, after looking a little about her, gave her apple and her person to this *unknown*. The grandees of *Touran* were inexpressibly vexed at seeing themselves despised by the princess for a stranger, whom they supposed of no birth. They therefore engaged the king to make a law, that for the future the princesses of *Touran* should have their choice only out of people of high quality, that the royal line might not be drawn into contempt. The king had still two daughters as remarkable for their beauty as their birth ; these were demanded in marriage by the two sons of a neighbouring and potent prince, to whom the king of *Touran* made no scruple of promising them on this condition, that they reduced under his obedience two lords who had revolted, and who committed great devastations throughout all *Touran*. The young princes, considering the difficulty of this task, had recourse to *Gushtasp*, of whose prowess they had seen frequent proofs, and engaged him to be assistant therein. *Gushtasp*, as soon as he had undertaken to serve them, appointed a hunting-match, and invited the two brothers to be of the party ; he also brought to the chace a small body of resolute friends. When they were assembled he let them into his project, which was to go immediately to a certain castle, where he was informed the two rebel lords had an interview, and to storm it before they could have any intelligence of their expedition ; this was immediately agreed to, and instantly carried into execution. *Gushtasp* entered the place

first himself, and having seized the rebels, put them into the hands of the two princes, who conducted them to court, and presented them to the king. The *Turkish* monarch was prodigiously pleased with this feat of arms, and very readily made good his promise to the princes, by giving them his daughters in marriage. A few days after he caused great feasts to be celebrated, and appointed public tournaments, wherein *Gushtasp* behaved himself in such a manner that he carried the glory of the day from all who were present. The king, who had hitherto shewed him but little countenance, spoke to him on this occasion very kindly, and gave him the highest praise. *Gushtasp* took this opportunity of saying, that if he had excelled in combats that were not in earnest, he had likewise been of some use in quelling the disturbers of the public peace. This struck the king's mind, who easily comprehended the meaning, and, having diligently sought out the truth, made *Gushtasp* henceforward his favourite. It is to be observed, that after the conquest of *Touran* by *Key-chofrau*, though the people were left to live under their own laws and their own princes, yet they were obliged to own the superiority of the monarchs of *Iran*, and to pay them a considerable tribute. *Gushtasp* persuaded his father-in-law that this was at once dishonourable and needless, and therefore advised him to throw off the yoke by refusing tribute, and by making preparations for and declaring war against *Lohrasp*, in case he should dispute his independency. This *Gushtasp* did to be revenged of his father, and from an apprehension, that if he was ever discovered, the nobility of *Touran* in a time of peace would certainly deliver him up. *Lohrasp* was exceedingly surprised at the arrival of the *Turkish* ambassador in his court; he treated him however, with great civility, and endeavoured to get out of him the true source of these extraordinary proceedings. The ambassador at first thought to put him off with trivial answers, but on the king's pressing him, he acknowledged at last, that a certain stranger, who had married his master's daughter, was the true author of all this mischief. *Lohrasp* no sooner heard this, than he guessed it was his son, and immediately dispatched a messenger to enquire privately whether it was so or not; as soon as he was certain, that this new and dangerous enemy of his was his son *Gushtasp*, he took at the same time a most strange and most generous resolution, which was to spare his people at the expence of his crown. He found he was grown old, he saw the ambition of his son was to be satisfied with nothing less than the diadem; and as he knew he was brave and wise, though undutiful

undutiful to him, he determined to resign to him his dominions ; and in order to this he sent his younger son *Zaris* with the *Tagi*, or ensign of the royal dignity in *Persia*, to his brother in *Turquestan*. *Zaris* took care to give his brother private notice of his arrival ; *Gushtasp* went immediately to pay him a visit, and being informed of his father's resolution, accepted the *Tagi* or *Tiara*, and caused himself to be solemnly proclaimed king of *Persia*. His father-in-law was at first prodigiously disturbed, conceiving, that there was some treason against him in these proceedings, but when he found that things were really as they had been represented, he was overjoyed to the highest degree ; and the nobility of *Touran* came in crowds to pay their compliments to the new king of *Persia*. These ceremonies over, *Gushtasp* took leave of his father-in-law, and with his wife *Karathun* set out for his own dominions, carrying with him a grand retinue and a considerable number of camels loaded with riches. *Lohrasp* received his son with all the marks of tenderness and joy ; *Gushtasp* retained him at court for many years, and did nothing without his advice ; at last the good old man withdrew to lead a solitary life, to meditate on the vanities of this world, and to contemplate the wisdom and goodness of God. A short time after he died, having first sent for his son, and given him in his last moments the most salutary counsels, in respect to his own glory and the good of his people. This *Lohrasp* was surnamed *Balki*, i. e. *the Balchian*, because he resided mostly at *Balk* or *Balch*, one of the most antient cities in his dominions ^P.

It must be owned, that the foregoing account taken from *Mirkhond* is by no means agreeable to what other *Persian* authors have written on the same subject. In two of the most celebrated histories of this people we find it recorded, that *Lohrasp* was the grandson of *Keykobod*, and that he was opposed by the *Persian* nobility, not for his cruelty or pride, as *Mirkhond* suggests, but because his father and himself had led their lives in privacy, whence it was believed, he had not the capacity of reigning ; it is also said that he was the first *Persian* monarch who enacted martial laws, and obliged his troops to live like the rest of his subjects, according to the rules of equity and justice, and not as they had hitherto done at free quarter, and in contempt of both. He allowed his general officers and governors of provinces to give audience on a tribunal, raised one story from the ground, and railed

^P MIRKHOND. Hist. Sect. xv.

round about, reserving to himself only this distinction, that he had a carpet or cloth of state thrown before his footstool. We are likewise told, that the name of the general sent by this prince to invade *Syria* and *Palestine* was *Raham*, and that he was surnamed by the *Persians* *Bakhtalnassar*, from whence the *Hebrews* framed the name of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the *Greeks* *Nebuchadonosor*. We have also on the same authority the history of *Gushtasp's* flight, marriage, and succession to the throne of *Persia*; but we are likewise told what little agrees with *Mirkhond's* history, that *Lohrassp*, within a short time after he resigned the throne, was besieged in the city of *Balch* by *Arjasp*, nephew of *Apherasiab* the famous *Turkish* monarch, who, after the town fell into his hands, caused the old king of *Persia* to be put to death, after he had reigned 120 years ⁹ (1). *Khondemir*, the famous *Persian* historian, differs not only from *Mirkhond*, but the writers last cited; he says, that *Lohrassp* was the son of *Keykaus's* brother, and that he was elected on account of his extraordinary virtue;

⁹ LEBTARIK. TARIK. MONTEKEB.

(1) We have already spoken of *Mirkhond* from whom the greatest part of our history is taken; here therefore let us give the reader a short account of the two histories, mentioned in the text, and their authors, that he may be able to judge in some measure of the credit due to each. *Tarikh Montekheb* is the *Turkish* name of a translation of a *Persian* history, stiled in that language *Tarikh Khozideh*, i. e. *the chosen chronicle*, written originally in *Persian* verse, and afterwards reduced into prose by its author *Hamdallah Ben Abibekr Ben Ahmed Ben Nasser Al Mustoufi al Casvini*, i. e. *native of the city of Casbin*. It contains a general history from the creation to *A. H.* 730 (14). The book commonly cited under the title of *Lebtarik* is properly called *Lobb Al Taovarikh*, i. e. *the marrow of histories*; it was written, in the *Persian* language, by *Jabia Ben Abdallathif Al Casvini*; it is divided into four books; the first containing the life of *Mohammed* and the twelve *Imams*; the second the lives and reigns of the kings who governed before the introduction of *Mohammedism*; the third the history of the reigning family in *Persia*; the fourth an universal history of the dynasties prior to *Mohammed*: it comes down to *A. H.* 948, the author dying in 960, or in the year 1552, according to our account (15).

(14) *D'Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. Art. Tarikh. Khodzideh.* (15) *D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Lobb. Al. Taoverikh.*

according

according to him it was *Gudarz* who conquered *Palestine*, and was surnamed by the *Persians* *Bakht-Nassar* ; which surname has occasioned such confusion among the *Hebrew* and *Greek* writers. As to the flight of *Gushtasp*, this writer says, that he retired to the court of a certain *Greek* prince, where he married the king's eldest daughter, called by him *Kenaioum*, and who, as he tells the story, presented him publicly with an orange, which is plainly substituted for the golden apple. Instead of the two rebellious lords he speaks of two terrible monsters, that this *Grecian* prince, whoever he was, insisted should be killed by those who pretended to the young princesses who were still unmarried.

THE first of these was a furious serpent, which had its den in a wood so very thick, that it was thought almost impossible to penetrate it, in order to combat this destructive animal : the other was a lion prodigiously fierce, which traversed the plain country, and tore to pieces all he met with, whether of human kind or cattle. Two of the chief princes of *Greece*, who were pretenders to the daughters of the king in whose court *Gushtasp* lived, were quite abashed at these proposals, despairing of the conquest of the monsters, and consequently of the princesses. However, they informed *Gushtasp* of the answer the king had given them. *Gushtasp* readily offered them his assistance, and accordingly attacked the monsters, killed them both, and gave all the honour of these extraordinary feats of chivalry to the two *Greek* princes, which procured for them the wives they desired. Some time after this, *Gushtasp* growing a little into the king's favour, that prince asked him one day how he passed his time ; *Gushtasp* answered that he sometimes went a hunting, and that lately, as he was taking that diversion, he killed two extraordinary creatures ; the king immediately understood what he meant, and, having caused the matter to be thoroughly enquired into, found that *Gushtasp* had slain the monsters, upon which he immediately made him his chief minister as well as favourite ; and at his persuasion refused to pay the king of *Persia* that tribute which he was wont to send him yearly, and also to declare war against him. *Lobraasp* being informed of this immediately conceived it was his son who had influenced this king to such bold proceedings, and therefore, instead of providing for the war, he sent his younger son with the tiara, or royal diadem of *Persia*, to *Gushtasp* as a pledge of his friendship, and a certain sign that he intended him for his successor. On his return to his father's court, continues our author, the venerable old man went out to meet

meet him, kissed his feet according to the *Persian* custom in submitting to a sovereign ; and, after tenderly embracing him, placed the crown upon his head with his own hands ; after which he retired from the world to lead a recluse life at *Balch*, where he was killed. The prophets *Jeremiah*, *Daniel*, and *Esdra*s, were his cotemporaries^r. If we may believe the eloquent author of the *Shah Nameh*, or *Royal Chronicle*, *Balch*, at the time *Lohrasp* resigned the kingdom to his son *Gushtasp*, was esteemed by the *Persians* as the *Holy City*, the fountain of their religion, and the place worthiest of their esteem, as *Mecca* is now by the *Mohammedans* ; on this account therefore, *Lohrasp* made it the place of his abode, where laying aside his royal robes he put on the habit of a priest, applying himself wholly to devotion, in imitation of his predecessor *Gjemschid* for the space of thirty years till he was slain, as will be hereafter related in a cloister of his own building which he called *Nau-bahar*, i. e. *the new spring*^r.

Gushtasp or *Kischtasp*, the son of *Lohrasp*, succeeded his father with general applause ; he was a prince of great strength and activity of body, of great wisdom and extraordinary abilities of mind. He leaving *Balch* to his father, went to reside at the antient metropolis of the kingdom *Istachr*, i. e. *cut out of the rock*, which he adorned with many fine structures, and reigned there in peace and glory about thirty years ; at the end of that space, there appeared in his dominions a very extraordinary person, who took upon himself the character of a prophet, and declared, that he was sent by God to teach such as would listen to him the right way ; this person was the *Zoroastres* of the *Greeks*, and the *Zerduشت* of the *Persians*. But as the history of this famous person is of very great consequence, we have found it necessary, to prevent confusion, to detach it from the reign of *Gushtasp*, and to deliver what hath been collected of this wonderful man, by authors of all nations, in a regular narration, with all the candor and impartiality we are masters of.

^r KHONDEMIR. in *Khelassat*. Al Akbar. ^r PIRDAUSI in *Shah Nameh*. Hyde. *Relig. veter- Persar*. c. xxiii. p. 302.

The Life of Zoroastres, Zoroaster, or Zerdusht: extracted as well from Greek and Latin, as Oriental historians.

IF to be famous after death can afford any joyful sensation to the immortal spirit, that of this man, whether prophet, impostor, or philosopher, must needs receive high satisfaction from the wide extension of his fame, which has been diffused throughout the whole learned world, and subsisted even to latest ages. The *Greeks*, who were very inquisitive after the inventors of science, amongst the nations whom they stile *Barbarians*, and from whom notwithstanding they drew all the learning they had themselves, have written so confusedly, and so obscurely, concerning *Zoroastres*, that it is hard to know how many famous men bore this name, when they lived, or for what they were eminent. *Arnobius* is thought to have reduced them to four, but such is the misfortune of all who have written about *Zoroaster*, that the sense of this very passage is disputed, some affirming, that *Arnobius* speaks but of three *Zoroasters*, others, that he mentions only two (K).
However,

(K) In the text we have mentioned a passage from *Arnobius*, which has been very differently understood. This *Arnobius* was a rhetorician, and the master of the famous *Lactantius*; being converted to the christian faith, he wrote a large work in a declamatory style against the *Gentiles*, wherein there are many things contained of high use in respect to the history of learning among the antients; for tho', as a christian, he wrote but indifferently, these books being composed soon after his conversion, and before he was well instructed in the faith; yet as to heathen learning he was a great proficient therein; and his authority in such a case as this, must have consequently considerable weight. The passage, which has been so differently interpreted, runs thus; *Age nunc veniet quis super igneam zonam magus interiore ab orbe Zoroastres, Hermippo ut assentiamur auctori: Bactrianus & ille conveniet cujus Ctesias res gestas historiarum exponit in primo; Armenius Hestaris nepos, & familiaris Pamphilius Cyri* (16). *Patricius*, the famous collector of the *Zoroastrian* oracles (17), *Gabriel Naude*, a man of distinguished learning (18), and *Kircher*, who well understood these things (19), believe, that *Arnobius* mentions here four *Zoroasters*, the first a *Chaldean*; the second a *Bactrian*; the third a *Pamphylian*; the fourth an *Armenian*. *Salmasius* will needs have the text read thus (20):

- (16) *Declam. cont. Gentis.* (17) *Comm. sup. Orac. Zoroast.*
 (18) *Apolog. pour les Grand Hommes, &c.* (19) *Obel. Pamphil.*
 (20) *Exercitat. Plin.*

However, four was certainly not too large a number; since authors undoubtedly mention many more. Of these we shall speak

Age nunc veniat quæso per igneam zonam magus interiore ab orbe Zoroastres, Hermippo & assentiamur auctori, Bactrianus, & ille conveniat, cujus Ctesias res gestas historiarum exponit in primo, Armenius, Hostanis nepos, & familiaris Pamphilus Cyri. It is evident by these alterations, that *Salmasius* has got rid of one *Zoroaster*, though one would think he has introduced another; since of the the three *Zoroasters* which he admits to be spoken of in this passage, the first is said to be an *Ethiopian*, or one coming from a country near the torrid Zone, for so *Salmasius* expounds *per igneam Zonam & ab interiore orbe*, which *Ethiopian* or *Libyan Zoroaster* *Hermippus* makes a *Bactrian*; the second *Armenius*, nephew of *Hostanes*, of whose actions *Ctesias* gives us an account in the first book of his history; the third named *Pamphilus*, friend to *Cyrus*. *Ursinus*, from the same words, is positive, that *Arnobius* mentions but two, exploding the *Bactrian Zoroaster* of *Hermippus*, and shewing from *Ctesias* that *Zoroaster* was not so antient as *Eudoxus* fancied, but that he lived in the time of *Cyrus* (21). We are afraid our readers are already fatigued enough with these dry researches as to the *Zoroaster* of the *Greeks*; we hope, however, they will have patience enough to hear what we have to offer by way of apology for this profusion of quotations, of which in the other parts of this *Persian* history we have been as sparing as possible. Our reasons are these; first, in order to gain any credit for the history of *Zerduشت*, as written by oriental authors, there was a necessity of destroying the credit which has been so long given to the *Greeks*; and to do this, the best and shortest method was to shew what the *Greeks* had said, and what from their writings the most able of their disciples had been able to collect, which we presume to say is very little or nothing. 2^{dly}, We thought it necessary to shew the reader, that in order to make some sense of the varying stories of the antients in relation to *Zoroaster*, who by the way is called by a greater variety of *Greek* names, than he is in the oriental languages, though in them, as we have shewn, the orthography of this name is far from being settled; I say, we thought it convenient to shew, that several *Zoroasters* have been supposed, in order to the distribution of the several stories about him. After all, the candidates for the honours bestowed on the true *Zoroaster* may be reduced to two, the *Chaldean* and the *Persian*, and the very ingenious Mr. *Stanley* has, with great impartiality, divided these honours between them. But, thirdly, our history of *Zerduشت* will set this matter in its true light, by shewing, that there is in reality but one *Zoroaster*. If it be enquired, how the *Chaldean* magi came to derive themselves and their doctrines from this *Persian*; and how this is to be reconciled to that chrono-

speak as succinctly as we can ; the first is thought to have been a *Chaldean*, *Suidas* calls him an *Assyrian*, and says also, that he was struck dead by fire from heaven ^c. It is very probable, that this is the same *Zoroaster* spoken of by *Dion Chrysostom*, and said to have appeared in fire ^d. The second was a *Bactrian* and a king, whom *Justin* and the authors who follow him make cotemporary with *Ninus* the *Assyrian*, by whom he was vanquished in battle and slain ^e. He is reputed to have been the inventor of magic, and is said by *Arnobius* to have contested with *Ninus*, not only with steel and strength, but by magical force and the occult sciences of the *Chaldeans* ^f. The third was a *Persian*, as *Laertius* informs us ^g. *Clemens Alexandrinus* styles him a *Mede* ^h, *Suidas* a *Perse-mede* ⁱ ; but they all speak darkly and ambiguously. The fourth was a *Pamphylian*, commonly called *Er*, or *Erus Armenius* : concerning this *Zoroaster* *Clemens Alexandrinus* quotes *Plato*, affirming that he began a book thus : “ This wrote I Zoro-
“ after *Armenius*, by descent a *Pamphylian*, dying in war,

^c Sub voce Ζωροάστρης. ^d Orat. Boristh. ^e lib. i. ^f Decl. contra. Gent. ^g LAERT. in Proem. ^h CLEM. ALEX. Strom. lib. i. ⁱ In vocibus Μάγος Ἀστρονομία & Ζωροάστρης

logy, which hitherto has been approved by all the learned, and sets the *Chaldean Zoroaster* far higher. We shall answer, that in the first place we are not accountable for the mistakes of others, the *Greek* writers knew not what to call him, or where to place him ; for, as Mr. *Stanley* justly observes, “ the same name it is, “ which some call *Zabratiss*, others *Nazaratas*, others *Zares*, others “ *Zaran*, others *Zaradas* ; all which are but several corruptions “ from the *Chaldee* or *Persian* word, which the *Greeks* most gene- “ rally render *Zoroaster* (22)”. What certainty can be expected from such writers ? But then, secondly, lest this should seem an evasive answer, we alledge, that *Zoroaster* was not the institutor of the magi, nor the author of a new religion, which we shall shortly prove at large ; and this, as we conceive, occasioned the great confusion about *Zoroaster* ; it was a received opinion, that he was the founder of magism ; it was easily discoverable, that magism was as antient as the days of *Abraham*, and that it was the religion of *Chaldaea* ; it was natural enough therefore, for such as looked upon *Zoroaster* to be the institutor of the magian doctrines, to say with assurance, that he lived in these times, but then ; discovering from the *Persian* records at what time he truly lived, they chose, rather than abandon their former opinion, to make two *Zoroasters* ; the first a *Chaldean* or *Assyrian*, cotemporary with *Ninus* ; the second a *Persian*, flourishing in the reign of *Darius Hystaspes*.

(22) *Chaldaic. Philosophy*, p. 4.

” and being in *Hades*, I learned of the gods”. He is reported by the same author to have risen again after being ten days dead, and to have told strange things which he had seen in that space^c. The fifth was a native of *Proconnesus*, mentioned by *Pliny* ^d. Some have imagined, not without reason, that he is the same with *Aristæus* the *Proconnesian*, mentioned by *Suidas* to have had an art of letting his soul go out of his body, and return as often as he pleased^e. The sixth lived at *Babylon* at the time *Pythagoras* was carried thither by *Cambyfes*, as we are told by *Apuleius* ^f. As the *Greeks* made several *Zoroasters*, so they placed them in different ages of the world; *Justin* makes him thirteen hundred years older than *Sardanapalus* ^g. *Eudoxus*, cited by *Pliny*, places him six thousand years before the death of *Plato* ^h. *Plutarch* makes him flourish five thousand years before the war of *Troy* ⁱ. Some authors, mentioned by *Suidas*, fix him at 500 years before the *Trojan* war ^k. *Apuleius* ^l, *Jamblicus* ^m, *Porphyry* ⁿ, *Clemens Alexandrinus* ^o, and *Agathius* ^p, place him, where he ought to be placed, about the time of *Cyrus*; and *Pliny*, discoursing on this very subject, says, that the most accurate writers were of opinion he lived a little before *Xerxes* ^q. But however they might differ in circumstances, they all agreed in paying him great honours. *Plato* ^r, *Aristotle* ^s, *Plutarch* ^t, and *Porphyry* ^u, acknowledge him to have been a person of extraordinary learning. *Pliny* tells us, that he laughed the same day he was born, that his brains beat so hard that they lifted up the hand laid upon them, which was a presage of his future sagacity; he adds what is very extraordinary, that he lived in the deserts 20 years, upon cheese so mixed that it did not grow stale ^x. *Solinus* draws his character in few words; He was, says he, *optimarum artium peritissimus*, in the best arts skilful ^y. *Apuleius* styles him *omnis divini arcani antistes*, the chief doctor in all divine mysteries, and adds, that he was the preceptor of *Pythagoras* ^z. *Agathius* tells us he lived under *Hystaspes*, and that he was the author of magism among the *Persians*, changing their old religion and introducing new

^c PLATO. Polit. lib. x. ^d Hist. Nat. lib. xxx. c. 1. & 1. vii c. 16. ^e Sub voce Ἀρίστων. ^f Florid. ii. ^g Ubi supra. ^h Hist. Nat. l. xxx. c. 1. ⁱ De Iside & Osiride. ^k Sub voce Ζωροάστρης. ^l Florid. ii. ^m In vit. Pythag. ⁿ In vita Pythagoræ. ^o Stromat. l. v. ^p Hist. lib. 2. ^q Ubi supra. ^r In Alcibiade. 1. ^s In libro de Magia citante Laertio in Proem. ^t De Iside & Osiride. ^u In vita Pythagoræ. ^x Hist. Nat. l. xxx. c. 1. ^y Cap. 1. ^z Florid. ii.

opinions ^a. *Dion Chrysostom* says more of him than any of these writers, and from better authority, since what he delivered he had from the *Persians* themselves, as we shall hereafter have occasion to shew ^b. *Ctesias*, an author universally condemned, was in all probability more in the right about *Zoroaster* than those who have answered him, since we know from *Arnobius*, that he affirmed him to have lived under the reign of *Darius Hystaspes*, and spent the first book of six, which he wrote on *Persian* affairs, in delivering his history ^c; the sum and conclusion of all we have hitherto said is this, that, except *Ctesias* and *Dion Chrysostom*, all the antients, who have written concerning *Zoroaster*, knew little about him more than this; that he was a very learned and wise man, and the principal of the magi; in respect to which *Eusebius* indeed says, that he wrote a book, which, from the citations he has given us, seems to have contained the chief doctrines of the *Persian* religion ^d.

THE oriental writers are somewhat better agreed in relation to this wonderful man, whom they call *Zerduſht*, *Zaradusht*, *Zaratusht*, and *Zard-husht*, for they, generally speaking, acknowledge, that he flourished in the reign of *Gushtasp*. The author of *Lebtarikh* indeed says, that some old writers found him with *Dohak* or *Zohak*, one of the *Pischiadian* princes ^e; but all the *Persian* historians, who are to be supposed best acquainted with the affairs of their own nation, speak of him, not as the author, but as the reformer, of the magian religion, which, they say, he performed by the assistance of *Gushtasp* (L). With respect to his family, the common opinion

^a Hist. lib. 2. ^b Orat. (Boristhen. ^c Contr. Gentes. ^d Præpar. Evangel.
^e D'HERBELLOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Zerduſcht.

(L) Some *Arabian* writers have endeavoured to insinuate, that what they call the religion of the fire-worshippers is not of great antiquity; but all impartial authors agree in rejecting this notion, and admit, that magism began very early, nay, even before the time of *Abraham*; certain it is, that the oldest book extant in the world favours this opinion; for thus speaks *Job* in his protestation of his integrity, and his fervent declarations that he had always held the true faith, and done all the good he could. “ If I be held
 “ the sun when it shined, or the moon, walking in brightness: and
 “ my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed
 “ my hand: this also were an iniquity cognizable by the judge: for
 “ I should have denied the God who is above (2).” Nothing can

(2) Job. xxxi. 26.

opinion of the *Persian* and *Arabic* writers is, that he either was a *Jew*, or went very early into *Judæa*, where he received his

be clearer than this, nor can any thing more fully prove, that this heresy was as old as the *Persians* make it, who affirm, that *Keyomaras*, their first king, was the author of their religion, and therefore of old they affected much to call themselves *Keyomarsians*, or *Keyomartbites*. But the point they chiefly laboured in respect to antiquity was the persuading themselves and others, that their religion was the religion of *Abraham*. It would be no difficult matters to shew the probable source of this opinion, which we have also touched elsewhere ; but as this work is intended for a body of history, and not a collection of critical enquiries, we choose to insert here some extracts from a celebrated *Arabian* history of the religions of the east, rather than to amuse our readers with conjectures of our own. “ The *Persian* kings in general, says this writer, adhered to the religion of *Abraham*, and their subjects were always of the religion of their prince ; there was likewise a chief or high-priest, reputed the wisest of wise men, from whose mandate there was no appeal, and whose sentence was never reversed, the same reverence being shewn to them as we heretofore shewed unto our caliphs”. A little after he says, “ The peculiar doctrine of the magi was the duality of the spiritual nature, which they affirmed to be good and evil, virtuous and wicked, benevolent and destructive ; these natures they distinguished, by calling the one light and the other darkness, or rather in their own terms *Yezdan* and *Abreman*. Hence it came to pass, that their whole religion, and all the questions of the magi, turned on these two points, the explication of light being mixed with darkness, and of light freeing itself from darkness”. Some pages farther the same author speaks thus : “ Though the magi affirm these two principles, yet the most antient of them did not think themselves under a necessity of affirming that both existed from eternity ; on the contrary, they held only light itself existent, and that darkness was produced ; but in accounting for this they were sometimes at a loss : however, they constantly asserted, that they received these doctrines from wise men and prophets among their ancestors, first, from *Keyomaras* ; secondly, from *Zervan* the Great ; thirdly, from another prophet whose name was *Zerdusht*. The *Keyomartbites* insist, that *Keyomaras* is the same with *Adam*, wherein they agree with some *Indian* and *Persian* chronologers ; yet they are contradicted by others skillful in that art. The *Keyomartbites* also affirm, that their great master established the opinion of two spiritual beings *Yezdan* and *Abreman*, acknowledging the former to be eternal and self-existent, and owning the latter to be produced and created, and that after this manner : *Yezdan*, i. e. God, said in himself, Unless I am opposed, how shall it be ? i. e. how shall my glory arise ? which thought

his education, under one of the prophets with whom he lived as a servant, and, emulous of his glory, set up for a prophet afterwards himself ^c. Who this prophet was, is not well agreed; some say *Elias*, others *Ezra*, and some again one of the disciples of *Jeremiah*. Doctor *Prideaux* thinks *Elias* was too early, and *Ezra* too late, he therefore fixes upon *Daniel* ^e. Dr. *Hyde* inclines to *Ezra* ^h. How true the whole of the story is, is hard to say, since the *Mohammedans* are all great enemies to *Zerduſht*, and if we take a part of their evidence we ought to take the whole, and then it will stand thus; he quitted the service of the *Hebrew* prophet, because having deceived and cheated him, the holy man prayed God to strike him with a leprosy, which accordingly followed; if so, then *Zerduſht* must have been the same with *Gebazi*, the servant, not of *Elias*, but *Elisha*, and consequently the credibility of the whole tale will be destroyed. The *Persees* in *India* pretend, that *Zerduſht* was originally a *Chinese*, that his father's name was *Eſpintaman*, and his mother's *Dodo*; but in this they are mistaken; for as to his genealogy we are not at all at a loss, since it is thus set down in the book *Sadder*; *Zarataſht* was the son of *Purthaſp*, who was the son of *Piteraſp*, the son of *Hitcheraſp*, the son of *Thechſhuneſch*, the son of *Eſpintaman* ⁱ; hence *Zerduſht*, being frequently called the son of *Eſpintaman*, the *Persees* in *India* mistook him for his immediate parent, whereas indeed he was only his remote ancestor. He first took upon him the character of a prophet in the province of *Aderbayagjan*, which was always the residence of the fire-priests, as we have already shewn. *Khondemir* gives us this account of his turning prophet; he says, that *Zerduſht*, from his great skill in astrology, discovered, that another prophet was to arise, not inferior to *Moses*, whose voice all the world was to obey; he from thence took it into his head that he must needs be that prophet; upon this, retiring into a cave and revolving these things in

^c ABU MOHAMMED MUSTAPHA in vita Gushtasp. ap. HYDE, R. V. P. p. 313. MEGJDI in Zinato L'Magjalis. ap. HYDE, p. 315. ^e Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 331. ^h Relig. V. P. c. xxiv. p. 314. ⁱ HYDE. R. V. P. p. 312.

“ thought produced darkness which is opposite to light, and then
 “ began the controversy which has since subsisted between them (3)”. We are informed by the same author, that *Zerduſht* himself owned *Keyomaras* to have instituted that religion he came to reform, so that it may pass for a point tolerably well established, that the religion of the *Persians* is as antient as their monarchy.

(3) *Sbaristani* ap. *Hyde Rel. vet. Persar.* c. xxii p. 294.

his mind, a light suddenly appeared, being no other than an illusion of the devil, who conversing with him out of the midst of the fire, *Zerduſht* no longer doubted, that he had received the mission of prophecy, but immediately set about a book, containing a system of diabolical doctrines, which he called *Zend*, and having finished it, he made it his business to go about the world, teaching this new religion, and erecting fire-temples^k. There is certainly a great deal of truth in what this writer says; but we presume his notion of the devil's appearing in the fire, and dictating diabolical doctrines to *Zerduſht*, is a stroke of *Mohammedan* zeal, and not much to be depended on. That *Zerduſht* really retired into a cave, and there studied, and composed his *Zende-aveſtâ*, is certainly true; and that in this cave he gave himself up to prayer and contemplation, embellishing it with a great number of curious symbols, is acknowledged, and may be proved; but that he was either prompted by the devil, or acted from a spirit of imposture, is what we dare not assert, since his doctrine, if we except his permission of incest, which, however, is no where found in his writings, and is fixed on him only by his enemies; we say, his doctrines, if we except this, do not seem calculated at all for supporting the empire of *Satan*; and if we may believe the divines, and a greater than all divines, the devil is too wise to do or teach any thing which may destroy his own kingdom. We shall content ourselves therefore with observing what has not been observed before, that the Almighty had a peculiar favour for the *Persians*, and even for *Darius Hystaspes* the patron of *Zerduſht*, and spoke many things by his prophets, as we shall prove at the bottom of the page, insinuating his care, that they should not be deceived in the first and principal point of a religion, which, it is agreed, *Zerduſht* made it his business to fix beyond dispute (M). How long he remained

^k D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Zerduſcht.

(M) We have already given our reasons for deferring our thoughts on the chronology of the *Persian* history, till we have deduced it as low as the reign of the last monarch of the *Persian* nation. But this hinders not our applying the prophecies recorded in the sacred scriptures, relating to the *Persian* kingdom, and therefore, for the sake of clearing the memory of *Zerduſht*, we shall in this note shew, first, that the Almighty spoke of and to *Cyrus*, as of and to a prince acquainted with him the true God, and never reproaches either him or his people with idolatry; thus the prophet *Isaiah*, having with wonderful eloquence displayed the power of God, and assured his countrymen, that after all their sufferings, which their
sins

remained in this cave, or how many books he wrote there, is not very certain; we are told indeed, that he brought
twelve

sins would bring upon them, he would yet turn again and remember them in mercy, and raise up a deliverer for them, which was *Cyrus* king of *Persia*; this, saith the prophet, is the God, that
“ saith to *Jerusalem*, Thou shalt be inhabited; and to the cities
“ of *Judah*, Ye shall be built, and I will raise up the decayed
“ places thereof. That saith to the deep, Be dry, and I will dry
“ up thy rivers. That saith of *Cyrus*, *He is* my shepherd, and
“ shall perform all my pleasure; even saying to *Jerusalem*, Thou shalt
“ be built; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid. Thus
“ saith the Lord to his anointed, to *Cyrus*, whose right-hand I have
“ holden, to subdue nations before him: and I will loose the loins
“ of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the
“ gates shall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make the
“ crooked places straight: I will break in pieces the gates of brass,
“ and cut in sunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee the
“ treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that
“ thou mayest know, that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name,
“ am the God of *Israel*. For *Jacob* my servant's sake, and *Israel*
“ mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name, I have surna-
“ med thee, though thou hast not known me (4).” This remark-
able prophecy, which does so much honour to *Cyrus*, was spoken
of him a hundred years before he was born, and surely, if lan-
guage can prove any thing, the style of this prophecy will be suffi-
cient to shew that *Cyrus* was no idolater. We are very well aware,
that there is an expression at the close of what *Isaiab* says of this
glorious monarch, which has been construed in this sense; but we
can easily, and, at the same time, fully prove, that it ought not
so to be understood; the expression is this, *I have surnamed thee,*
though thou hast not known me; the meaning of which, we say, is
this; that God gave him the title of his *shepherd* and his *anointed*,
and actually employed him as the minister of his will, before *Cyrus*
knew any thing of the matter; but how does this shew, that he
was an idolater, or that he worshipped not the true God, though
he was unacquainted with the *Jewish* dispensation, and knew not
that God by the name of *Jehovah*? After the taking of *Babylon*
Daniel certainly explained all these prophecies to *Cyrus*, and shewed
him, that while he believed himself acting only in consequence of
the schemes he had formed, he was indeed fulfilling what God
had told of him; in all which he was furthered and assisted by the
divine power, particularly in his amazing stratagem for taking *Ba-*
bylon, by altering the course of the great river, which, in the pro-
phesy before quoted, *Isaiab* had distinctly foretold, making the
Almighty speak thus: *That saith to the deep, Be dry, And I will*
dry up thy rivers. As soon as *Cyrus* was acquainted with these

(4) *Isaiab* xliv. 26. xlv. 1—6.

twelve volumes to *Gushtasp*, each of which contained a hundred skins of vellum ; but this will be the less wondered at, if

prophecies, he readily testified his obedience to *Jehovah*, and his sincere belief that he was the only true God, as appears by his edict for restoring the *Jews*, which begins with these remarkable words ; “ Thus saith *Cyrus* king of *Persia*, *Jehovah*, God of heaven, hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he hath charged me to build him an house at *Jerusalem*, which is in *Judah*. Who is there among ye of all his people his God be with him, and let him go up to *Jerusalem*, which is in *Judah*, and build the house of *Jehovah*, God of *Israel*, he is the God which is in *Jerusalem* (5). We suppose there needs no commentary to prove, that *Cyrus* was now acquainted with *Jehovah*, and was convinced, that *Jehovah*, who revealed himself to the *Hebrews*, was the only true God, or, as *Cyrus* himself styles him, God of heaven. The very king, of whose reign we are now speaking, viz. *Gushtasp*, knew all this as well as *Cyrus*, for in his decree, relating to the temple of *Jerusalem*, we find these words ; “ That which they have need of, both young bullocks, and rams, and lambs, for the burnt-offerings of the God of heaven, wheat, salt, wine, and oyl, according to the appointment of the priests which are at *Jerusalem* ; let it be given them day by day without fail, that they may offer sacrifices grateful unto the God of heaven, and pray for the life of the king and of his sons (6)”. But the close of this decree is yet stronger : “ God, who hath caused his name to dwell there, i. e. at *Jerusalem*, destroy all kings and people that shall put to their hand, to alter or to destroy this house of God at *Jerusalem*. I *Darius* have made a decree, let it be done with speed (7)”. But let us return a little to *Isaiab*, and mark what God says of himself, after the long description given by him of the power and empire of *Cyrus*. “ I am *Jehovah*, and none else ; there is no God besides me : I girded thee, i. e. *Cyrus*, though thou hast not known me, i. e. by my name *Jehovah*, that they may know from the rising of the sun and from the west, that there is none besides me ; I am *Jehovah*, and none else ; I form the light, and create darkness : I make peace, and create evil : I, *Jehovah*, do all these (8).” It is most evident, that this declaration was made in regard to the errors which had crept into the *Magian* religion in respect to *light* and *darkness*, and the powers presiding over them. That *Zerduشت* rectified these errors, and expressly taught what is declared in the text, that there was one self-existent being, author of *light* and of *darkness*, of *good* and of *evil*, is acknowledged by antient and modern authors, by the friends and enemies of *Zerduشت*, nay by dean *Prideaux* himself, who yet loads

(5) *Ezra* i. 2. (6) *Ezra* vi. 9. (7) *Ezra* vi. 12. (8) *Isaiab* xlv. 5, 6, 7.

If we consider, that the antient *Persian* character took up a great deal of room, and *Zoroaster* did not only deliver the principles of his religion, but also his own history, and the him with reproach, and never mentions him but by the opprobrious name of *Impostor* (9). *Impostor* in what? In teaching that there was but one God, and that men ought not to erect images in his honour, or pretend to restrain him within the narrow bounds of temples; that, instead of such mean notions of the Deity, they ought to look up to the first, and most glorious creature within their ken, *i. e.* the sun, and before him, as the witnesses of his Maker, and the expressive symbol of his omniscience, testify their gratitude, thankfulness, and reverence, for all the favours conferred on them by the Creator and Ruler of all things, resolving with themselves to make a right use of his blessings, by living temperately, and doing good, and not hurt, to their neighbours; till in his own due time God should instruct them farther, by the mission of the *Great Prophet* who was to come, concerning whom *Zerdusht* as well as *Moses* spoke; surely these are no signs of imposture. If it should be asked, How comes it then to pass that the *Persees* have not acknowledged Christ? we may answer by asking another question; Why, have not the *Jews* acknowledged him? These are secrets which God hath reserved to himself, teaching us, however, plainly enough, that it is our duty to endeavour the conversion of both, and of all the nations of the earth, not by the sword, though that was an allowable argument of old, and as such put into the hands of *Moses*, *Joshua*, *David*, and *Cyrus*, but by milder methods, expressive of the christian spirit, by reasoning calmly, and by living piously. It may be justly said, that the greatest impediment to this best of all works, is the laziness of christians, their neglecting to study the grounds of their own religion, and the sources of those errors which blind the minds of others, and hinder their seeing the truth of the gospel. Many learned *Jews* have been converted, nay, and are daily converted in *Germany*, not by the antichristian proceedings of an inquisition, but by proving to them, that, according to the maxims of their own doctors, the Messiah is come, and consequently the obligation to their laws is removed. Might not the same thing be done with respect to these *Persees*? Would they not be sooner invited to christianity, if we should study and explain the writings of *Zerdusht*, with impartiality at least, if not with respect: we say, Would they not be sooner invited by this method, to consider the arguments in favour of the gospel, than by calling him whom they esteem a prophet an impostor, and charging them with idolatry, of which we are morally certain they are not guilty? But our note begins to exceed all bounds, and is already of a length which nothing can excuse, except its subject.

(9) *Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 303.*

rudiments of most sciences therein, as we shall have occasion to shew hereafter, when we come to speak particularly of that book and of its contents. In the mean time, we need not wonder, that he retired so long from the world, or chose a cave for his abode, since works of this nature require silence and composure. The antient prophets resided much in *deserts*, that is, in *unfrequented places*. *Epiëtetus* and other philosophers had their cells, whither they retired to avoid the noise and tumult of the world, and they did all this without reproach; but *Zoroaster's* cave is made the strong proof of his being an impostor; nay, it is said, that his living in a cave was a precedent for other impostors, particularly his scholar *Pythagoras*, who, as *Iamblichus* informs us, had his cave as well as *Zoroaster*. Nay, *Mohammed* borrowed this notion too from *Zerduشت*, and wrote his *Koran* in imitation of the *Zend-avesta*. After all, there is a good deal of prejudice in this; every institutor of a new religion, at least that we have ever heard of, hath collected his doctrines into a book, or directed them to be collected, and left them to his disciples; *Moses* did this; *Zerduشت* did this; and *Mohammed* did this; does it follow, that *Mohammed* had in view *Zerduشت* rather than *Moses*, or that he retired to a cave in imitation rather of *Zerduشت* than of the antient prophets? This is certainly doing him great honour, and even attributing more to him than is his due. We have already shewn, that his retirement to a cave was natural and reasonable; in the next note we shall prove, that, as far as we know any thing of it, there is no just ground to suspect, that it was not innocent, nay laudable, if the instructing of mankind may be esteemed so. This we do not say out of any prejudice in favour of *Zerduشت*, arising from the pains we have taken in compiling his history, but because we are afraid of deceiving our readers, and of complying with popular opinions, at the expence of truth. If we err, it shall be through defect in our abilities, and not from any bias of our inclinations; we therefore make no question, but even such as differ from us in sentiment will be satisfied with our conduct, and approve of our intentions, though they censure our opinions (N).

As

* Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 312.

(N) There cannot be a more difficult task assigned any man, than to reduce into order, and make sense of what *Greek* authors have delivered in relation to oriental affairs; sometimes they speak
truth

As our design in this section is to follow the oriental historians, we think it necessary to insert here what is delivered by

truth and are not believed ; at other times they tell the most arrant falsties with such an air of knowledge, that such as are not acquainted with these matters readily take for granted all they say ; the *Latins* copy, generally speaking, after the *Greeks*, and therefore are as little to be depended upon as their masters, or rather less ; sometimes, however, they tell us truths, and truths which destroy in a line or two all the romantic stories that are told us elsewhere. For example, *Porphry* has quoted an oracle, which, he says, was pronounced at *Delphos*, of a very extraordinary nature ; it runs thus :

*Chaldees and Jews are wise in worshipping
A Self-begotten God, of all things King.*

These *Chaldees* were the *Magi*, which we can easily prove from another learned writer, viz. *Laertius*, who speaks thus (10): It is said, that philosophy had its original from the *Barbarians*, since among the *Persians* were the *Magi* ; among the *Babylonians* or *Assyrians* the *Chaldeans* ; among the *Indians* the *Gymnosophists*, and among the *Celts* the *Druids*. For this *Laertius* quotes *Aristotle* ; nay, *Porphry* himself had the highest esteem for the *Magi*, since he describes them thus ; *Among the Persians those wise persons who were employed about the divinity, and served him, were called Magi ; Laertius*, on the authority of *Aristotle*, or the author of the treatise of *Magic*, speaks of the manner in which they lived ; *They refrain*, says he, *from rich attire, and from wearing gold ; their garments are mostly white ; their beds the ground ; their food nothing but herbs, cheese, and bread ; their chief employment is praying to God, and exhorting men to live uprightly. Dion Chrysostom*, the most polite writer among the *Greeks*, corrects the errors of his countrymen with respect to these *magi*, in these words : “ The *Persians* called “ those *magi* who were employed in the service of the gods ; but “ the *Greeks*, being ignorant of the meaning of that word, apply “ it to such as are skilled in magic, a science unknown to the *Persian* sages (11). ” These *magi* were not only the scholars, but the masters, of *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht* ; they flourished long before his time, and he doubtless acquired the rudiments of that knowledge, which he afterwards so much improved, from them. *Dion Chrysostom* has very happily set down what from good authorities he learned in relation to *Zoroaster*. “ It is reported, says that admirable writer, that through love of wisdom and justice, he, “ i. e. *Zoroaster*, withdrew himself from men, and lived alone in “ a certain mountain ; that afterwards leaving the mountain, a great

(10) *In Proœm. Hist. Dogm. & Vit. Philosoph.*
Boristhen.

(11) *Orat.*

by the *Persian* historians, relating to the appearance of *Zerduſht*, when he firſt took upon him the character of a prophet,

“ great fire deſcending from above, continually burned about him.
 “ Upon this the king, with the prime nobility of *Persia*, came
 “ and prayed with him to God. That he was unhurt by the fire,
 “ delivered himſelf in terms which diſcovered more than human
 “ wiſdom, exhorting the people to be chearful, and to offer cer-
 “ tain ſacrifices, as if God had come with him to that place;
 “ thenceforward he converſed not with all men, but with ſuch on-
 “ ly as were moſt addicted to truth, and by reaſon of their ſtudies
 “ more capable of the knowledge of the gods, whom the *Persians*
 “ ſtyle *magi* (12). ” Having thus learned from an unbiſſed au-
 thor, what it was that led *Zoroaſter* to mountains and deſerts, let
 us next ſee, what we can diſcover as to his employment in his
cave. But before we proceed to quote authorities on this head,
 let us obſerve, that, according to all the accounts we have hitherto
 had of the *magi*, they were very indifferently fitted to act in ſub-
 ſerviency to an impoſtor, ſuch as *Zerduſht* has been reported; for
 they were ſpiritual people, who ſought not power and wealth, but
 wiſdom and truth; they reſembled rather the baptiſt in his coarſe
 cloathing and ſimple diet, than thoſe who are to be ſeen in the
 courts of king, prostituting religion to private ends, and unwor-
 thily taking the name of God in vain, to gratify the pride of mor-
 tals. In our account of the *Persian* religion, we have given *Zer-
 duſht*’s rules for the clergy of all ranks, and from thence it evident-
 ly appears, he thought not of erecting an empire over the con-
 ſciences of men for the aggrandizing the prieſthood, which among
 the *Persians* was hereditary, but endeavoured to make his prieſts
 ſuperior to other men, by the ſingle method whereby one man can
 excel another, *viz* through purity of morals and improvement of
 the underſtanding (13). Such a ſcheme as this needed neither con-
 juring nor fanaticiſm to recommend it, and therefore, *prima facie*,
 it ſhould ſeem, that a man of *Zerduſht*’s character retired to a
 cave, for the ſake of privacy and ſilence, and not to raiſe devils
 or coin lying fictions; theſe are fit works for illiterate and ambi-
 tious men, ſuch as *Mohammed* was, but not for *Zerduſht*. It ſo
 happens, however, that we have ſome proof of this great man’s
 employment in his celi: *Porphyry* tells us, “ that *Zoroaſter*, firſt
 “ among the *Persians*, did conſecrate a natural cave in the moun-
 “ tains in honour of *Mithra*, the king and father of all, ſignifying
 “ by this cave the world framed by *Mithra*; by the other things
 “ diſpoſed within it in fit diſtances, the elements and quarters of
 “ the world (14). ” The very learned *Ceſſus*, as we find him
 quoted by *Origen*, gives us alſo an account of theſe caves in theſe
 words,

(12) *Ubi ſupra*.
 (11) *Idem ſic*

(13) *Universal History, Vol. IV. p. 514*,
 (14) *In Antr. Nymphar.*

phet, and demanded from *Gushtasp* and his subjects the obedience due to a *Messenger* from God. In regard to this we have a copious relation written by a *Perjee*, from the authentic memoirs of antient times, preserved by the judicious *Dr. Hyde*, the substance of which, as it never appeared before in our language, we hope will be well received, though doubtless it stands in need of great allowances, as to the miracles mentioned in it and other things. However, the fabulous history of the *Persians* is at least as well worth knowing as the conjectures

words, “ The *Persians*, says he, in their *Mithrian* rites, represent
 “ symbolically the two-fold motion of the stars, *viz.* of those
 “ stiled fixed, and of the planets, and the passage of the soul through
 “ them. To demonstrate this, they set up a ladder, on the ascent of which there were seven gates with the eighth at the
 “ very top; the first of lead; the second of tin; the third of
 “ brass; the fourth of iron; the fifth of a mixed mass; the sixth
 “ of silver; and the seventh of gold. They attributed the first to
 “ *Saturn*, the slowness of that planet’s motion being intimated by
 “ the lead; the second to *Venus*, on account of the softness and
 “ brightness of tin; the third being of brass, than which nothing
 “ is more solid or durable, to *Jupiter*; the fourth to *Mercury*, because, like iron, he is suited to all sorts of labours, from whence
 “ profit may be drawn; the fifth, because of its mixture, variability, and irregularity, to *Mars*; the sixth to the moon,
 “ and the seventh to the sun, because of the likeness in their colour to silver and gold (15.)” Here is a great deal of philosophy, but no witchcraft or enthusiasm in these representations; and if *Zoroaster* be condemned, either as a magician or an impostor, on account of the furniture of his cave, what will become of our makers of orreries? We will conclude this very note with observing, that the most judicious *Dion Chrysostom*, whom we have so often quoted and commended, knew well the folly and falsehood of the *Greeks*, in what they reported of the religion of the *Persians*, and of their consecrating horses to the sun (16.) They were far, says he, from fancying the chariot of the sun, the most sublime spectacle in nature, they were acquainted with the supreme charioteer who put the universe into motion, and still guides it. Of this subject, not *Homer*, not *Hesiod*, but *Zoroaster*, and the *magi*, his disciples taught by him, have sung in strains worthy of the glorious theme. But all their discourses are to be interpreted in a very different manner, nay directly opposite from the comments of our writers. They acknowledge, that the director of the universe is inaccessible and inscrutable; they compare the motions of the sun and moon to horses under direction, but as to horses consecrated to them, the *Greeks* have reported numberless fables.

(15) *Celsus ap. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. vi.* (16) *Orat. Borissben.*

jectures of western authors on this subject, which are often as improbable, and always as uncertain. Thus then proceeds our author : “ In this reign flourished *Zerduſht* the prophet. “ He, coming into the presence of *Gushtasp*, informed him of “ his commission in these terms. I am a prophet, sent to “ thee by the most wise God, and this book, *viz.* the *Zend-aveſta*, I brought from *Paradiſe*; also he gave me this “ caſſock and this girdle, ſaying, Put on this caſſock, and “ gird thyſelf with this girdle, that thy ſoul may be delivered “ from *Gebenna*, and that thou mayeſt find ſalvation; go “ alſo and propagate the true religion throughout the world. “ When *Gushtasp* had heard this meſſage from the prophet, “ he ſaid, But how ſhall I know that thou art really a prophet, and came to me from the moſt high God? For “ without a ſign the truth of what you ſay cannot be known, “ neither ought a religion to be received, till it be ſupported “ by miracles. If therefore thou art truly a prophet, ſhew “ us ſome ſign, that I may know and be aſſured thou art a “ meſſenger of God. When *Zerduſht* heard what the king “ demanded, he in compliance therewith wrought the following miracle. He planted before the gate of the palace “ a cypreſs tree, which grew in a few days ſo wonderfully, “ that it was near ten fathoms in girth and full ten in height; “ and in the top of this tree he erected a ſummer-houſe. “ When the king had beheld this miracle, he was convinced, and determined in his mind to embrace the religion “ of *Zerduſht*. He was, however, adviſed to call for certain wiſe men who might diſpute with *Zerduſht*. This was “ accordingly done, but they could not convince him; on “ the contrary *Zerduſht* prevailed. Theſe, however, hating “ him, deviſed this method for his deſtruction. *Zerduſht* “ had his lodgings in the palace, and as often as he went out “ he left his keys with the porter. This porter they corrupted, and engaged him to be ſilent and not diſcover any “ thing they did. They then made uſe of him to gain entrance into the lodgings of *Zerduſht* when he was abroad, “ and when they had ſo done, they threw into his wardrobe, “ put into his book *Zend*, and into his cloak-bag, all ſorts “ of unclean and impure things, ſuch as the bones of cats “ and dogs, and the hair and nails of dead bodies; theſe they “ ſcattered amongſt his things; which when they had done, “ they went out, ſhut the doors carefully, and returned the “ keys to the porter. *Zerduſht* in the mean time walked “ in the ſimplicity of his heart, praiſing God, but his enemies conſidered not this. They immediately addreſſed “ themſelves to the king to this purpoſe : This wicked man, *viz.*

“ viz. *Zerduſht*, is employed every night in diabolical practices, by which, O king, thy heart will be inevitably insnared, unless thou wilt instantly send some of thy guards to search his apartments, that thou mayest be certified whether these things be so or not. The king sent hereupon his guards to the apartments of *Zerduſht* to search them, and to bring all things they found in them before him. This accordingly was done, and all sorts of unclean things, such as the bones of dogs and cats, the hair and nails of dead bodies were found in his chest of cloaths, his book of *Zend-aveſta*, and in his cloak-bag. The king seeing all this, turned to *Zerduſht*, and said in a high passion, How is this, thou profligate, and what is it thou hast been doing? *Zerduſht* heard his accusers and the king patiently and without emotion. At last he thus answered for himself; O king, all that thou seest I know nothing of, neither belongeth it to me. Then the king called for the porter, and having examined him, the king threw from him the book *Zend*, and commanded *Zerduſht* to be shut up in prison. Thus, notwithstanding his innocence, *Zerduſht* was thrust into confinement, which he endured chearfully, standing all day in one posture, praying to and praising God, without receiving any sustenance whatever. It happened shortly after, that a black horse, of which the king was particularly fond, was taken in an odd manner, its four feet shrinking up to its belly in such a way, that the creature fell down to the ground, and could no way be raised up. The master of the horse, called in the Persian language *Mih-mard*, when he came, as he was wont, into the stables, and perceived what had befallen the king's favourite steed, went immediately and acquainted *Gushtasp*. The king no sooner heard it than he went in person to the stable, and, having viewed the horse, called for the wise men who had engaged him to imprison *Zerduſht*, and desired them to contrive immediately some remedy for this extraordinary malady of the horse, which they were unable to do, and confessed as much to the king. When *Gushtasp* found this, he grew very uneasy, because he valued his horse extremely. On the fourth day the porter went to see *Zerduſht* in prison. Of him *Zerduſht* enquired news, and why he came not before to visit him. The porter told him the court was much disturbed, on account of a misfortune which had befallen the king's black courser. *Zerduſht* bid the porter tell the king, that, when he should be released out of prison, he would quickly restore his horse. The porter ran with this news to the
“ king,

“ king, who, as soon as he was informed thereof, sent for
 “ *Zerduſht* out of priſon, and carried him with him to the
 “ ſtable. *Zerduſht*, ſeeing the condition the horſe was in,
 “ turned to the king, and ſaid, Sir, this is no eaſy matter,
 “ but, on the contrary, a cure very difficult to be perform-
 “ ed. One thing, however, I have to deſire, that what
 “ you wiſh may be performed ; it is this ; That you believe
 “ with your whole heart, that the religion I taught you is
 “ true and came from God, which if you do ſincerely, I
 “ ſhall be able to reſtore your ſteed, otherwiſe it muſt re-
 “ main in the ſtate it is in. Then the king, ſtruck with
 “ the awful ſteadineſs of *Zerduſht*, believed according as he
 “ deſired. Upon which the prophet advancing to the black
 “ horſe, ſtroaked his right fore-foot with his hand, where-
 “ upon the fore-foot immediately withdrew out of the belly
 “ of the horſe, and hung in its natural poſition. Then *Zer-*
 “ *duſht*, turning to the king, ſaid, It is neceſſary, Sir, that
 “ both your ſons come hither, embrace the religion I have
 “ taught, and promiſe to make war on infidels for the pro-
 “ pagation of this religion. Then came inſtantly *Baſhuten*
 “ and *Iſphendiyar*, the ſons of *Gushtaſp*, and embraced the
 “ religion of *Zerduſht*, as he had deſired. Upon this the
 “ prophet went again to the horſe, and with his left hand
 “ ſtroaked the horſe’s left fore-foot, which immediately the
 “ creature extended in its natural ſtate. Then turned *Zer-*
 “ *duſht* to the king, and ſaid, Sir, it is ſtill neceſſary, that
 “ *Ketayun* the mother of *Iſphendiyar* ſhould embrace this re-
 “ ligion. Then *Gushtaſp* ſent one of his attendants with
 “ *Zerduſht* to the palace, and the prophet, being come into
 “ the queen’s preſence, addreſſed her thus : O thou matron
 “ of matrons, whom God hath preferred above all women,
 “ and raiſed high above your ſex, by giving thee *Gushtaſp*
 “ for thine huſband, and *Iſphendiyar* for thy ſon, like whom
 “ there is none upon the earth. Behold now the king of
 “ kings and thy ſon *Iſphendiyar* have embraced, and with
 “ their whole hearts believe the truth of the religion I have
 “ taught : it is neceſſary, O queen, that you alſo receive
 “ and believe it. Then answered *Ketayun*, Whatſoever my
 “ huſband and my ſon believe, that alſo will I embrace and
 “ believe. Then *Zerduſht*, returning to the black horſe,
 “ put up his prayers, and ſtroaking with his right hand the
 “ right hind-foot, it was reſtored to its natural ſtrength :
 “ Then *Zerduſht* turning to the king, ſaid, You ſee your
 “ horſe has recovered three legs ; it is neceſſary for the re-
 “ covery of the fourth, that you interrogate your porter,
 “ and get the truth out of him, that the innocent may not
 “ be

“ be blamed, seeing if he the porter told the truth, then the
“ horse will fully recover, or otherwise remain in the state
“ it did ; the king thereupon ordered the porter to be
“ brought, and caused him to be severely threatened, that
“ he might discover the truth, as to the scattering unclean
“ and abominable things in the lodgings of *Zerduſht* ; the
“ porter, dreading the king’s anger, most humbly besought
“ him to grant him his life, which the king having promised,
“ he then opened the whole conspiracy in these words : Four
“ of these wise men, who are so much in your favour, that
“ I was afraid of refusing them any thing, gave me a bribe,
“ and, taking the keys from me, did all that your majesty
“ has heard and seen. When the king had heard all that
“ the porter had to say, he was extremely sorry, and made
“ a long apology to *Zerduſht* for the injury he had done him,
“ in causing him to be so long imprisoned, without any
“ grounds at all, beseeching him to pass by and forgive it.
“ Then the four wise men were hanged on a gibbet, and
“ *Zerduſht*, having lift up his hands in prayer, stroked with
“ his left hand the left hind-leg of the horse, which imme-
“ diately fell from his belly, and rested on the ground as it
“ used to do, so that quickly after the beast rose and stood
“ upon all his feet. At this the king greatly rejoiced, treat-
“ ing *Zerduſht* with greater honour and respect than ever,
“ causing him to be placed on a golden seat, himself, *i. e.*
“ the king believing the book *Zend-avasta*, and living in
“ exact conformity to its precepts. It is reported, that some
“ time after this king *Gushtasp* applied himself to *Zerduſht*,
“ and said, there is one thing that I desire of thee, and I de-
“ sire it so earnestly, that I hope you will not refuse it, since
“ if you grant me this request, then shall I be thoroughly sa-
“ tisfied, that thou art a prophet sent unto me by the most
“ high God. *Zerduſht* desired the king that he would ex-
“ plain himself, that he might apply to God for the gratifica-
“ tion of the king’s will. Then king *Gushtasp* said, My de-
“ sire is this, that while I am yet alive my soul may be sa-
“ tisfied as to its future state, by beholding the joys of hea-
“ ven, that it may be certain concerning them, and at ease.
“ Moreover, I desire, that I may know all things that shall
“ pass till the day of judgment, with the same exactness as
“ I know things present. 3dly, I desire, that in all the wars
“ I wage on account of religion, my body may remain as it
“ is, and I become invulnerable. 4thly, I desire, that my
“ soul may continue to exist to the day of resurrection, and
“ that I die not at all. The prophet of God hearing this,
VOL. V. Y “ answered,

“ answered, I will certainly put up my prayers to the crea-
 “ tor of all things, neither doubt I at all, that the most high
 “ God will grant what you have desired. But your four re-
 “ quests must be yielded to four different persons, since it be-
 “ longs to God alone to enjoy them all at once. Do you
 “ therefore consider who these persons shall be, and I will
 “ put up prayers that one of your requests may be granted to
 “ each. Then king *Gushtasp* desired for himself, that he
 “ might be permitted to behold his place in paradise, and take
 “ a distinct view of all that was therein. He likewise menti-
 “ oned three other persons on whom the remaining blessings
 “ should be bestowed. Then *Zerduشت* being satisfied, re-
 “ tired to his own lodgings, and spent the whole night in
 “ prayers and praises to God, beseeching him, that if it
 “ were possible all these things might come to pass. The
 “ next day when light appeared, and the sun displayed his
 “ beams on the tops of the mountains, it came into the mind
 “ of *Zerduشت* to consecrate the four following things, viz.
 “ wine, a rose, a cup, and the kernel of a pomegranate.
 “ And after he had consecrated these by prayer, having the
 “ sacred twigs in his hand, he presented the wine to *Gushtasp*,
 “ and as soon as the king had drank thereof, he fell down as
 “ if in a deep sleep, and continued for three days and three
 “ nights in the same position, his soul within that space
 “ ascending into heaven, and beholding there the joys of the
 “ blessed. At the end of three days he awaked, and going
 “ to *Zerduشت* beseeched him to pardon his incredulity. Then
 “ the prophet gave to *Gjamasp* the rose which he had conse-
 “ crated, which he no sooner smelt, than he knew all things
 “ that passed, all that had happened from the beginning, and
 “ which were to happen, and which should happen to the
 “ day of resurrection. Then *Zerduشت* gave milk in the cup
 “ to *Bashuten*, the son of *Gushtasp*, who by drinking thereof
 “ was made *immortal*. As to the fourth thing, *Isphendiyar*,
 “ having eaten the kernel of the pomegranate, had his body
 “ rendered as invulnerable as brass. After this the religion
 “ of *Zerduشت* spread, and was propagated every where, all
 “ men readily yielding belief thereto, excepting *Argjasp*, king
 “ of *Touran*, who embraced it not ¹”.

THE great desire all people have to magnify the princes
 who have ruled, and the prophets who have taught them,
 hath doubtless encouraged the *Persees* to propagate a multitude
 of strange things in relation to *Zerduشت*; the foregoing long

¹ E libr. rarissim. cui titul. Shah nama-nefr.

quotation is sufficient to shew the nature of their notions, and to excuse us from making any farther transcripts from their books. Let us return therefore to the story of his propagating his doctrines, and let us endeavour to put our materials together, as succinctly as we may.

THE two reigning heresies before the birth of *Zerdusht* were *Zabism* and *Magism*; the latter was far less gross than the former, and consequently there required more care to keep its professors from going over to the opposite religion. For history informs us, and the experience even of our own times renders it manifest, that the bulk of mankind embrace more readily superstition than truth. Hence it came to pass, that the *Zabians* gained ground in *Persia*, and multitudes, especially of the common people, were fallen into wrong notions of the deity, and into gross errors in their manner of worshipping him, living also in continual fear of that evil spirit, whom they conceived to be the enemy of their species, and the continual disturber of the world. *Zerdusht* took pains to root out all these notions, and to make the people easier than they had been, by inspiring them with reasonable opinions; he taught them, that the supreme being was independent and self-existent from all eternity, that *light* and *darkness*, *good* and *evil*, were continually mixed, and in a continual struggle, not through any impotency in the creator, but because such was his will, and because this discordancy was for his glory; that in the end there would be a general resurrection, and a day of retribution, wherein such as had done well, and lived obedient to the law of God, should go with the angel of light into a realm of light, where they should enjoy peace and pleasure for evermore; and those who had done evil should suffer with the angel of darkness everlasting punishment in a land of obscurity, where no ray of light or mercy should ever visit them; that thenceforward light and darkness should be incapable of mixture to all eternity. He took great pains to persuade his disciples of all the attributes of the divinity, especially of his wisdom and his justice; in consequence of which he assured them, that they had none to fear but themselves, because nothing could render them unworthy of the divine favour but their vices. Of all virtues he esteemed what the *Greeks* called *philanthropy*, and the apostles *brotherly love*, the greatest; for which reason he exhorted all his followers to acts of charity and beneficence; sometimes alluring them by promises, at other times driving them as it were by threatnings. The *credenda* of his religion were not numerous nor perplexed, though, according to the

mode of the east, he sometimes made use of parabolic relations ; as for example, when he taught that on the fourth day after death the soul came to the bridge *Tchinavar*, and was there met by the angels *Mibr-Izad* and *Reshu-Izad*, who weighed in the balance the good and evil actions of the soul attempting to pass ; and in case the former prevailed, then it went safely over the bridge, if the latter, it was thrown thence into *Gehenna*, that is into the regions of darkness, where the souls of the wicked are punished ^m. That this is really a parabolic description, and not a literal account, of what is to happen after death, we suppose, appears from the very face of the relation ; for it cannot be supposed, that *Zerduشت*, who was indisputably a very wise and learned man, and who took pains to make all his disciples so, should nevertheless attempt to impose upon them so absurd a thing as this, taken in a literal sense, *viz.* that a spirit divested of matter should travel over a bridge, lying across hell and leading to heaven ; and that, after weighing his actions in a pair of scales, the good angel should either lead him over safe, or the bad one push him down ; this is absolutely incredible. But that he should make use of these terms to insinuate, that the effects of our good and evil deeds transcend the grave, and either lead us to everlasting rest, or project us into never-ending misery, is easy to be understood, and might as easily have been believed. In the book *Sad-der*, which is a compendium of the doctrines of *Zerduشت* collected in his own words, this description of the state of the dead is placed in the first chapter ; and in the second it is thus applied ; men who believe the religion of *Zerduشت* will be afraid not only of great but of small sins ; for since all are weighed and numbered, and according to the preponderating of this or that scale the soul is to be happy or miserable for ever, whoever thinks of this will be afraid of adding weight to the left hand scale, and earnestly desire to heap meritorious actions in that on the right hand, because his all rests on this trial. This is very sound divinity, and very intelligible, where the mind is unprejudiced ; otherwise it is easy to ridicule the *soul-supporting bridge*, and the *action-weighing angels*, and consequently to expose *Zerduشت*, not only as a wicked, but as a weak, impostor. But to proceed ; he carefully instructed those who heard him, and directed them to instruct all who would believe in his religion, that no man ought to despair of the mercy of God, or suppose that it was too late for him to

^m *SAD-DER*, Part. I.

amend ;

amend ; he declared, that though we had a faculty of distinguishing between good and evil, yet that man has no conception of the value which God sets on our actions, nor how far the intention may sanctify even a trivial act, wherefore even the worst of men may hope the divine favour from repentance and good works ; this he exemplified by another parable, which is also recorded in the book *Sad-der*, and which runs in these words : “ It is reported of *Zerduſht*, the
 “ author of our religion, that one day, retiring from the pre-
 “ sence of God, he beheld the body of a man plunged in
 “ *Gebenna*, his right foot only being free, and sticking
 “ without. *Zerduſht* thereupon cried out, What is this
 “ that I see, and wherefore is this man in this condition ?
 “ he was answered, This man whom you see in this condi-
 “ tion was formerly the prince of thirty three cities, over
 “ which he reigned many years, without doing any one good
 “ action ; for besides oppression, injustice, pride, and vio-
 “ lence, nothing ever entered his mind ; and though he was
 “ the scourge of multitudes, yet, without regarding their
 “ misery, he lived at ease in his palace. One day, however,
 “ as he was hunting, he beheld a sheep caught by the foot
 “ in the thicket, and thereby held at such a distance from
 “ food, that it must have perished ; this king, moved at the
 “ sight, alighting from his horse, released the sheep from the
 “ thicket, and led it to the pasture ; now for this act of ten-
 “ derness and compassion his foot remains out of *Gebenna*,
 “ though his whole body be plunged therein for the multi-
 “ tude of his sins. Endeavour therefore to do all the good
 “ thou canst without fear or apprehension ; for God is be-
 “ nign and merciful, and will reward even the smallest good
 “ thou doest.” These hints of his doctrines, compared with what has been already delivered in speaking of the religion of the antient *Persians*, cannot but be sufficient to shew the general import of *Zerduſht*’s scheme of religion ; as to exterior rites, he altered the old method of burning fire on the tops of mountains, and in other places, under the open air, engaging his followers to erect *Pyræa* or fire-temples throughout all the dominions of *Persia*, that this symbol of the divinity might not at every turn be liable to be extinguished. He gave them likewise a liturgy, which they held to have been brought to him from heaven, and therefore refuse to make any alterations therein, though the language in which it is written is long ago grown obsolete, and is very little understood by the priests

“ *SAD-DER*. Port. 5.

themselves.

themselves. The priests, or, as we stile them, the magi, were, according to his institution, of three ranks. The first consisted of the ordinary or parochial clergy, as Dr. *Prideaux* very significantly terms them; their duty was to read the holy offices daily in the chapels, and at certain stated and solemn times to acquaint the people with the contents of *Zerduſht's* books, and to paraphrase on and explain them. In these parochial chapels there were no fire-altars, but lamps only, before which their devotions were performed. The next degree of their clergy had the superintendance of these ordinary priests, and were to them what bishops are to us: these too had their churches, in which were altars, whereon fire was continually kept, there being a certain number of the inferior clergy appointed to attend them, who, by four at a time, waited constantly near the altar to provide it with fuel, and to assist such devout persons as resorted thither, with their advice and their prayers. Above these was the archimagus, *i. e.* the high-priest, or, as the *Persians* stiled him, the *Mubad Mubadan*. *Zerduſht* himself assumed this office, and resided in the city of *Balch*, where he governed his magians, and instructed them in all sorts of learning. As the austerity of his own life and his extensive knowledge supported him in the high reputation he had gained among his contemporaries, he recommended, as we have seen in the rules given by him for the conduct of the archimagus, the same behaviour and the same application to study unto his successors. These injunctions were for many ages pursued by them, and was the reason that they were admitted into the king's councils, sat with him in judicature, and had the education of the heirs of the crown; insomuch that *Pliny* tells us, *in his time this religion was received by many nations, and bore sway in the east over the king of kings*. It remains now, that we give an account of the book of the laws still extant among the *Persees*, and indubitably written by *Zerduſht*, whether he was prophet or impostor; for as to the remaining actions of his life and his immature death, they belong to the reign of *Gushtasp*, and shall be accordingly taken notice of therein.

Zerduſht's book, containing the institutes of his religion, is stiled *Zend* or *Zend-avasta*, usually pronounced *Zund* and *Zundavastaw*, which is not a *Persian* but an exotic word, signifying a *Tinder-box*; its author, in compliance with the oriental custom of giving all important treatises allegorical names, having pitched on this to express the nature of his book, which was to inspire its readers with divine zeal; he
likewise

likewise caused it to be stiled the book of *Abraham*, intimating, that it contained the doctrines held by that patriarch. It is written, not in the ordinary *Persian* character, but in the old *Perfic*, called from thence, among the ordinary *Persians*, the *Zund* character. The very learned Dr. *Thomas Hyde* proposed to the world to publish a correct edition of it with a *Latin* translation, but meeting with no encouragement to undertake so laborious and expensive a work, the world has been deprived of the sight of this great curiosity. It was originally written in twelve hundred skins, and consists of one and twenty parts, or different treatises, all comprehended under the general title of *Zend* or *Zend-avasta*, which is the reason, that we have had in *Europe* so many different accounts of this book and its contents. For the sake of the people who profess this religion, and who have notwithstanding no knowledge at all either of the *Zund* character, or of the language in which that book is written, a very learned priest has taken the pains to make a compendium thereof in modern *Persian*, which is the book *Sad-der*, so often quoted by us from the *Latin* version published by Dr. *Hyde*, and annexed to his impartial history of the religion of the antient *Persians*. This learned critic is of opinion, that *Zerduſht* did not originally intend to have made this book consist of any more than two parts, *viz.* the *Zend* and *Pazend*, resembling the *Mishna* and *Gemara* in the *Jewish Talmud*; the first containing the liturgy and principal doctrines of his religion; the second a commentary on them, explaining and shewing the rationale of them; but as new adversaries rose up daily, and other occasions required new treatises, *Zerduſht* continued to write them, and to add them to his *Zend-avasta*, which still retained the general title of the volume. Amongst the pieces comprehended under that title, there is one bearing the title of *Zeratusht-nama*, i. e. *the history of Zerduſht*, which is no other than his life written by himself. This, that it may be more generally known, has been rendered into the common *Persian* by the priest who published the book *Sad-der* ^p. The celebrated Dr. *Prideaux*, speaking of this book, acknowledges that the rules and exhortations to moral living are written very pressingly, and with sufficient exactness, excepting only in one particular, which is that of incest; for this, he says, is wholly taken away by *Zerduſht*, who teaches, that nothing of this nature is unlawful, but that a man may not only marry his sister or his daughter, but his mother;

• *Histor. veter. Persar.* p. 25.

^p H. R. V. P. c. xxv. xxvi.
and

and he very justly observes, that this is such an abomination, that though all things else were right in that book, this alone were sufficient to pollute it. But in support of all this, the doctor does not quote either the book itself, or its compendium the book *Sad-der*, or any other treatise written by an avowed *Persee*, but the authorities of *Diogenes Laertius*, *Strabo*, *Philo-judæus*, *Tertullian*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus* ⁹. It is but reasonable, that we should suspend our belief till we have a decisive account of this matter, especially if we consider, that in other respects these authors are frequently mistaken. It may indeed be urged, that incest was commonly practised by the *Persian* kings (if we give intire credit to the *Greek* historians); but admitting this to be so, it is no direct proof, that *Zerduſht* allowed it, any more than the contrary practice of the *Persees* at this day is a demonstration that he did not allow it. As to the rest of the contents of this book, we shall not insist farther on them here, because it would lead us into too long a digression from the thread of our history; but the inquisitive reader will find at the bottom of the page some farther memorandums relating to the works of *Zoroaster* (O).

WE will conclude our account of this extraordinary person, with observing, that he is said by credible authors, to have

⁹ Connection of the history of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 320.

(O) In this note we shall speak largely of *Zerduſht*'s writings, that is, as largely as the nature of this work will allow; and, that we may do this clearly, we will consider them, first, as they are known to the *Persees* and oriental nations in general; secondly, as they are known to the *Greeks*.

The *Zend-avasta*, as we have said in our text, is divided into one and twenty treatises, each called by the *Persees* *Nesick*, or broadly pronounced *Nushk*, i. e. *a part*. Every one of these treatises has its proper title suited to the subject of which it treats. Thus *Paxend*, which is the name of the second treatise signifies, *the prop or buttress* of the *Zend*, because it comprehends the reasons supporting the doctrines delivered in the first part, called simply the *Zend*; the sixteenth treatise is that called *Zeratusht-nama*, or *the life of Zerduſht*, mentioned in the text. Dr. Hyde, who, like a generous man, desired, that all the world should partake of the treasures he had in his hands, published the contents of this book, in hopes they might so far move the curiosity of the public, as to enable him to publish the book itself. It contains forty chapters and about a hundred and forty pages, wherein the whole mystery of *Zerduſht*'s

have predicted the coming of the Messiah, and this not in dark and obscure terms, such as might have been applied as well to any other person, but in plain and express words, and such as could not be mistaken; nay farther, it is affirmed, that the wise men out of the east, recorded by the evangelist^r to have come to *Bethlehem*, and there worshipped our Saviour on account of his star which they had seen in their own country, were the disciples of *Zerdusht*. Some of the learned indeed, slighting this relation, have fixed on *Balaam's* prophecy^s, in order to account for that event; and hence without doubt it happened, that so learned a man as *Hornius* was of opinion, that *Zoroaster* might have been the same person^t. Far be it from

^r MATTH. ii. 1. ^s HYDE, H. R. vet. P. p. 384. ^t Hist. Philosoph. lib ii. c. 4. p. 80.

Zerdusht's character as a prophet, and the methods made use of by him for the propagation of his religion, are set forth at large (17). The twentieth treatise in the *Zend-avasta* is called *Bizisphk-nama*, i. e. *the Book of Physicians*, because it treats of the virtues of drugs, and how they may be applied. Thus the writings of *Zerdusht* contain not only the religion, but the learning of the magi, and therefore he recommended it to all his successors in the office of high-priest to be perfect masters of all useful learning. As the book *Zend* is the bible of the *Persians*, so to express a right or just thing, they say *Zend-aver*, i. e. *permitted by the Zend*, and an evil action they call *Na-Zendaver*, i. e. *not permitted by the book Zend*. *Zend laph*, signifies a *zealous Persian*, but *Zend chuan*, which literally rendered is a reader of the *Zend*, signifies not a common reader, but him who reads it in the parish church, so that it is equivalent to what the *Jews* call *Chacham*, and the *Mohammedans* *Imam*. As to the notion of *Curtius*, of the magi's singing their prayers, it is not, strictly speaking, true, though they have a particular tone of voice proper to the recital of their prayers, in which they agree with the modern *Jews*, and perhaps with many other nations (18). Dr. *Prideaux* is very severe on this method of devotion, and compares it to the manner of popish priests celebrating their mass (19); but in respect to those things which are regulated by custom, perhaps those censures should be spared, since it is hard to find the reason why the custom of one country should render ridiculous the custom of another.

As to what the *Greeks* knew of *Zoroaster's* writings, it is difficult to say what ought to be believed; *Eusebius* speaks of a collection

(17) Hist. vet. Pers. c. xxiv. p. 329, 330. (18) Ibid. p. 342. (19) Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 309.

from us to countenance any superstitious stories, and as far be it from us either to conceal or to detract from truth, or what has the appearance of truth ; we are writing the life of *Zerduſht* from such authors as have come to our hands, we ought not therefore to omit mentioning a circumstance of such consequence, and supported by various testimonies. If the distrust

of physics written by this great man, and quotes from thence the following description of God's attributes, affirming them to be the express words of *Zoroaster* ; “ God hath the head of a hawk, he is
 “ the first incorruptible, eternal, unbegotten, indivisible, most like
 “ himself, the charioteer of every good, one that cannot be bribed,
 “ the best of things good, the wisest of things wise ; he is more-
 “ over the father of equity and justice, self-taught, self-existent,
 “ infinitely perfect, omniscient, and the sole ruler of nature (20)”. *Suidas* ascribes to him four books of nature, one of precious stones, five of the wisdom of the stars (21). *Pliny* says he wrote two millions of verses, on which *Hermippus* wrote commentaries, a treatise on agriculture, and a book of visions (22). But of all the works mentioned by the *Greeks* his oracles are the most considerable, because of them there are still some remains, could we be sure they were genuine ; but *Porphyry* says expressly, that some christian heretics, boasting of the secret works of *Zoroaster*, attempted to deceive the world, and, if they believe what they say, are deceived themselves, since these treatises are no better than forgeries (23). The famous prince of *Mirandula* gave the oracles yet extant some reputation by the following account of a manuscript in his own possession ; “ I was, says he, forcibly taken off from other things, and
 “ engaged to study the *Arabian* and *Chaldean* learning, by certain
 “ books in both those languages, which came to my hands, not accidentally, but, questionless, by the disposal of God in favour of
 “ my studies ; hear the inscriptions and you will believe it. These
 “ *Chaldaic* books, if I ought to call them books and not treasures,
 “ are the oracles of *Zoroaster*, *Aben-Exra*, and *Melchior*, magi, in
 “ which those things which are faulty and defective in the *Greek*
 “ are read here perfect and entire. There is also an exposition
 “ by *Chaldaic* wise men on these oracles, concise, and somewhat
 “ obscure indeed, but full of rare mysteries, and curious learning.
 “ There is besides a book of the *Chaldaic* theology, with a copious and admirable discourse of the wisdom of the *Persians*, *Grecians*, and *Chaldeans* (24)”. *Ficinus*, to whom he directed this letter, found these books after his decease, but so worn and illegible, that nothing could be made of them. Some of these oracles,

(20) *Eusebius Prepar. Evangel.* (21) *In voce Ζωροάστρης.*
 (22) *Hist. Nat. lib. xxx. c. 1.* (23) *In vita Plotini.* (24)
Epist. ad Ficinum.

which

trust which critics affect to shew of all things reported by oriental writers should be sufficient to overturn the credit of these predictions in the judgment of an impartial reader, it is not our fault ; we are to relate, but in cases of this nature every man must determine for himself (P). On the whole
we

which escaped the injuries of time, were first published at *Paris* by *Lewis Tillet* in 1563, with the commentaries of *Gemistus Pletbo* ; the same were afterwards translated, and with the comment of *Proclus* published at *Paris* 1607. But *Franciscus Patricius*; having greatly enlarged them by excerpts from *Proclus*, *Hermias*, *Simplicius*, *Damascius*, and *Arnobius*, sent them into the world with an accurate translation of his own. From him our ingenious countryman Mr. *Stanley* took them, and published them with the commentaries of *Pletbo* and *Pfellus*, at the end of his *Chaldaic* philosophy in 1661 (25).

(P) The wisdom of the east was not only a scripture phrase, but used also by the best prophane authors, who knew very well, that notwithstanding the boasting of the *Greeks*, science came originally from that corner of the world. It is a common, but no very probable, opinion, that they were kings who visited our Saviour in his cradle ; though they might indeed come from a king, that is from the king of *Persia*, to enquire for the Messiah. That they might come, as some have insisted, from *Arabia* is true, because *Arabia* lay in their way ; but that the magi came from another country than *Persia*, in which they always flourished, is what cannot easily be believed ; but that these magi or wise men went into *Judæa* in pursuance of *Zerdusht*'s prophecy, is a point to be proved, not by us indeed, who have not seen the *Zend-avasta*, but even without seeing it we shall be able to justify what we have said in the text, and defend ourselves from the imputation of superstition, if we can but produce probable authorities. *Sbaristani*, whom we have more than once quoted in his history of the religions of the east, says expressly, that *Zerdusht* prophesied in his *Zend-avasta*, that in latter times there should arise a man called *Oshanderbegha*, i. e. *Homo Mundi*, which differs little from the title Christ often gives himself of the *Son of Man*, of whom *Zerdusht* prophesied, that he should teach the world true religion and justice, that for a time his kingdom should be oppressed by the devil ; but in the end this righteous person shall triumph, and shall establish peace and happiness upon earth (26). To this let us add a very extraordinary passage from the travels of Mr. *Tavernier* : “ They give, says he, three children
“ to their prophet, and though they have not hitherto appeared
“ in the world, their names are however settled. As he passed the

(25) Vide Preface to the *Chaldaic Oracles*. (26) *Sbaristani*
ap. Hyde rel. vet. Persar. c. xxxi. p. 383.

we may be permitted to say, that on a view of what different authors have delivered concerning *Zerduſht* and his writings, he ſtands fairly entitled to the character we have given him of an extraordinary perſon, eſpecially when we reflect, that his miniſtry was of no long continuance, according to the moſt

“ river, ſay they, *ab ipſo cecidere tres ſeminis genitalis guttæ*, which
 “ are preſerved to the end of the world. That God ſhall ſend a
 “ virgin for whom he has a favour into the ſame water, who, *per*
 “ *receptionem primæ guttæ*, ſhall be impregnated, and bring forth
 “ a ſon, who ſhall be called *Ochder*, he ſhall appear in the world
 “ with great authority, and ſhall oblige it to receive the law of his
 “ father, and ſhall diſcourſe with much eloquence, and confirm what
 “ he ſays with miracles. The ſecond who ſhall be called *Ochi-*
 “ *derma*, ſhall be conceived in the ſame manner, he ſhall ſecond
 “ his brother in his deſigns, and ſhall aſſiſt him in preaching, he
 “ ſhall ſtop the courſe of the ſun ten days, to force by that ſign
 “ the belief of the people whom he teaches. The third ſhall be
 “ conceived by the ſame mother in the ſame way ; his name ſhall
 “ be *Senoietbotius*, he ſhall come into the world with greater au-
 “ thority than either of his brothers, that he may reduce all na-
 “ tions to the true religion ; after which ſhall be the general refur-
 “ rection, when the ſouls in heaven and in hell ſhall return and take
 “ poſſeſſion of their bodies, the mountains and all the metals ſhall
 “ then melt, and ſinking into the gulph of hell ſhall fill it up, ſo
 “ that the manſions of the devils ſhall be ruined. After this great
 “ change the earth ſhall be plain and pleaſant, and men ſhall live
 “ happily therein, praizing God and his Prophet (27)”. Dr. *Hyde*
 obſerves very judiciously, that theſe three ſons represent the three
 ſtates of the Meſſiah. His nativity, when his coming was publiſhed
 to the world by various means ; his miniſtry while he continued
 upon earth, preaching and doing miracles ; and his ſecond advent
 when he ſhall judge the world in righteouſneſs, and his ſaints ſhall
 rejoice and ſing (28). But the ſtrongest evidence of this matter is
 the teſtimony of the famous *Abul Pharajius*, who writes thus :
 “ *Zorodaſht* or *Zerduſht*, the preceptor of the magian ſect, began
 “ to teach in *Aderbayagjan*, or as ſome ſay in *Aſſyria*. He taught
 “ the *Persians*, that our Lord Chriſt would manifeſt himſelf, com-
 “ manding them to carry him gifts, telling them that in the latter
 “ times a virgin ſhould conceive without the help of man, and that
 “ when ſhe ſhould bring forth, a ſtar ſhould appear ſhining in the
 “ day time, in the middle of which the figure of a virgin ſhould be
 “ ſeen. You therefore, O ! my children, having notice of his
 “ birth before all other nations, when ye ſee that ſtar, follow it,

(27) *Tavern. Voyage. Tom. I. lib. iv. p. 485.* (28) *Hiſt. Rel. vet. Perſ. c. xxxi. p. 383.*

most authentic accounts not above five years, that is from the time of his presenting himself to *Gushtasp* to his being slain at the sack of *Balch* ; but it is now time for us to return to the history of *Gushtasp*, and of the remarkable events which happened during his reign (Q).

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“ ‘which will direct you to the place where he is born, adore him,
 “ ‘offer him your gifts, for he is that word which established the
 “ ‘heavens (29)’. This passage is quoted by Dr *Hyde*, but there
 is another in the same author which he has not mentioned, which
 we therefore shall from that excellent author exhibit to our readers ;
 “ ‘The same year *Cæsar* the emperor sent *Cyrenius* into *Ju-*
 “ *dea* in order to tax it. *Joseph* the husband of *Mary*, going up
 “ upon this occasion from *Nazareth* to *Jerusalem*, that he might
 “ give in his name, when he came to *Bethlehem* in the way *Mary*
 “ did bring forth a son. The magi brought their gifts from the
 “ east, and offered to Christ gold, myrrh, and frankincense. Be-
 “ ing questioned on this head by *Herod* in their passage, they an-
 “ swered thus : A person of great fame among us, in a book which
 “ he left us, hath thus admonished us : There shall hereafter be
 “ born in *Palestine* a male child descending from heaven, whom the
 “ greatest part of the world shall obey ; now the sign of his ap-
 “ pearance shall be this ; Ye shall see a strange star which shall di-
 “ rect you till it stops, which when ye shall behold, take ye gold,
 “ myrrh, and frankincense, and offer them to him, and adore him,
 “ then return ye, lest great evil should overtake ye. Now there-
 “ fore this star appearing, we come to do as we were commanded
 “ (30) ; a noble testimony surely.

(Q) The death of *Zerdusht* was violent indeed, but we cannot call it unhappy, since his religion did not perish with him, which certainly it would have done, if he had been as bungling an impostor as some would make him. A *Persian* historian tells us, that *Argjasp* overturned the *Fire-temples* erected by *Zerdusht* in *Balch*, and slew seventy priests, putting out the sacred fire with the blood of the magi (31). Whether this must be understood literally or figuratively, it would be difficult to tell, if another historian had not related it more at large. “ Notice, says this writer, being
 “ given to the king of *Touran* by certain merchants, that there
 “ were no soldiers left in *Balch*, all of them having repaired to
 “ the army of *Gushtasp*, and that his father *Lobrasp* was left alone
 “ in that city, with such as attended on the *Priests*, and eighty
 “ priests ; *Argjasp* on this information drew together an army of
 “ fifteen thousand men, sending his son *Kebram* before him, and
 “ following with all expedition himself. It is said, that when
 “ *Argjasp* entered *Iran*, *Lobrasp* receiving advice thereof came out

(29) *Abul Pharajius in Histor. Dynast.* p. 33. (30) *Ibid.* p. 110.
 (31) *Megjdi apud Hyde Hist. Rel. vet. Pers.* p. 319.

The old animosities between the inhabitants of *Touran* and *Iran* broke out into a fresh war, while *Gushtasp* sat on the throne of his ancestors; it is not easy to say, whether this monarch or *Argjasp*, who then reigned in *Touran*, was the aggressor. *Mirkbond* inclines to the former opinion, and makes this a war of religion, undertaken to reduce *Argjasp* and his subjects to the faith of *Zerdusht*, that prince being, according to Dr. *Prideaux*, a zealous *Zabian*^u, which if he was, we know not how to account for it, since it should seem, that the old religion of *Persia* flourished there in the days of *Phridun*; and, as we have seen, *Zerdusht* was not the institutor of a new, but the reformer of the old religion; however it was, *Mirkbond* informs us, that *Gushtasp* having assembled the whole forces of his empire, marched with them into *Touran*, and meeting *Argjasp* in battle he vanquished him, slew his son in the field, and, before the *Turkish* monarch could assemble a new army, possessed himself of his capital, and gave the plunder of it to his soldiers, after which returning triumphantly into *Persia*, he, on some jealousies or suspicion, imprisoned his son *Isphendiyar* in a strong castle, seated on the top of a high mountain, called *Gbird Kouch*, i. e. *the round mount*; but he had soon reason to repent the ill usage of so deserving a prince; for *Argjasp*, irritated by the usage he had met with, raised all the forces of *Touran*, and making a sudden inroad into the province of *Chorasan*, he sacked the city of *Balch*, where he killed *Lobrassp*, the father of *Gushtasp*, in his cloister, slaughtered *Zerdusht* with all his priests attending there on the chief *Fire-temple*, which

^u Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 321.

“ of his retreat, and put himself at the head of a small troop,
 “ with whom he killed many of the enemy, but in the end *Lobrassp* with the eighty priests before mentioned was slain, and the
 “ holy fire extinguished with their blood; with these priests also
 “ fell *Zerdusht* the prophet, who then resided at *Balch* (32). ”
 Hence it came to pass, that *Suidas* affirms of the *Assyrian Zoroaster*, that he desired to die by fire from heaven, and advised his countrymen to preserve his ashes, assuring them, that while they were kept their kingdom should never fail (33). All which the *Alexandrian* chronicle refers to the *Persian Zoroaster* or our *Zerdusht* (34). Of these fables we have said enough, perhaps too much, already.

(32) In *Shahnama-nefr.* ap. *Hyde Relig. vet. Persar.* p. 325.

(33) *Ubi supra.*

(34) *Chron. Alexand.* p. 89.

he

he likewise overturned, committing all the outrages, that a mind stung with the remembrance of what the *Persian* king had done in his own country could suggest^w. Elate with this conquest, he advanced so briskly into the dominions of *Iran* that *Gushtasp* did not think fit to meet him in battle, but chose rather to consider how an army might be drawn together, able to fight that of *Argjasp* on his return. His counsellors advised him to set his son *Isphendiyar* at liberty, and to intrust him with the management of the war. Necessity compelled him to take their advice, and he accordingly sent his brother *Gjamasp* to *Isphendiyar*, not only to release him, but also to assure him, that his father would resign to him the throne, in case he proved victorious. As soon as *Isphendiyar* arrived in the army, the *Persians* took new courage, and numbers resorted to his standard, though they had declined following his father. The young prince failed not to make use of these advantages, and coming suddenly on *Argjasp*, he defeated entirely all his numerous army, obliging him to retire out of *Persia*, and make all the haste he could into his own dominions. After this glorious victory *Gushtasp* received his son with all imaginable marks of kindness and esteem; however, he declined putting him in possession of the crown, and in order to amuse him, he observed, that it would be unbecoming so brave a prince to put his father's crown upon his head, while his sisters, who were taken prisoners at the sack of *Balch*, remained still in captivity. *Isphendiyar* piqued at this pretence of his father, which shewed that he did not think the prince had thoroughly humbled his enemies, that noble youth immediately determined to undertake a new expedition, that his father might have no excuse left for the non-performance of his promise. With this view he selected out of his army 12,000 foot, and as many horse, with whom he advanced towards the frontiers of *Touran*, accompanied by his brother *Bashuten*, who was elder than himself. Having received intelligence, that *Argjasp* was retired to one of the strongest places of his dominions, to which there were three different roads, the one plain and easy fit for the caravans, but so round about, that it required no less than six months time to reach the place; the second pretty difficult, but so direct, that by it a man might reach the court of *Touran* in a month; the third, which was hardly passable, lay through woods and morasses, and afterwards over high mountains covered with snow. *Isphendiyar* having directed his brother to advance as expedi-

^w MIRKHAND. Hist. sect. xvi. LEBTARIK.

tiously as he could through the second of these roads, he with some resolute friends threw himself into the third. They were all habited like merchants, and carried with them jewels and other curiosities of great value. The instructions he gave his brother were these, that when he drew near the residence of *Argjasp*, he should post his army with all the silence imaginable in the neighbourhood of certain meadows which lay near the city, and that as soon as he should perceive a great number of fires lighted in those meadows, he should order his horse to advance, and execute the orders which should then be given them. *Isphendiyar* and his retinue, making the best of their way, reached in seven days the court of *Turan*. The prince being introduced to *Argjasp* as a merchant who fled from the severity of *Isphendiyar*, and was desirous of selling his goods in the dominions of *Touran*; the king received him and his companions with all imaginable courtesy, and accepted very kindly the magnificent present which the prince thought fit to make him. This lucky beginning was followed by a train of success answerable to *Isphendiyar*'s wishes, for in a short time he wrought himself into the highest degree of confidence with the king and his principal courtiers. When therefore he was apprised, that his brother with his forces was arrived at the place appointed, he invited the king and court to a grand collation, in the meadows adjoining to the town. Thither they came in the evening, and great fires being lighted for dressing the provisions, these served as signals to *Basuten*, who at the head of his horse suddenly charged the *Turks*, and made themselves masters of the city. *Isphendiyar*, and those who were about him, dispatched without delay the most considerable of the nobility, the prince killing with his own hand *Argjasp* king of *Turan*. Then putting his sisters, whom he had released out of captivity, into the hands of his and their brother *Basuten*, he advised him to retire with part of his forces into *Persia*, while he with the rest marched against several *Indian* princes, in order to force them and their subjects to abandon idolatry, and receive the religion of *Zerdust*, in which expedition *Isphendiyar* had prodigious success, and returned afterwards into *Persia*, crowned with laurels. When he arrived at *Isfachr*, he expected, that his father would without delay perform the promise, he had so solemnly made and so often repeated, of resigning to him his dominions; but the politic *Gushtasp* intended nothing less. He received his son as before with all the tokens of amity and tenderness; but instead of putting the crown upon his head, he entertained him with a studied discourse on his own great abilities, and the
laudable

laudable obedience he had hitherto paid to all his commands. After this the crafty old prince complained, that there was still one enemy left to be subdued, even in the heart of his dominions, *viz. Rustan*, who, having fortified himself in the provinces committed to his charge, absolutely refused to obey the king's commands, or receive the religion of *Zerduſht*. *Gushtaſp* insinuated, that it was necessary for *Iſphendiyar* to reduce this nobleman before he assumed the diadem, since otherwise he would receive from his father but half a kingdom. Piqued at this behaviour, the generous *Iſphendiyar* set out for *Sigjiſtan*, carrying with him his son *Bahaman*; on their arrival there *Rustan* met him and conferred with him at first with great civility and respect; but when the prince insisted on his yielding obedience to his father's commands, and professing immediately the faith of *Zerduſht*, *Rustan* grew angry, and from hard words they quickly came to blows. As they were both men of great strength and agility of body, as well as of high spirit and unconquerable valour, the combat was long and doubtful; at last it inclined to *Iſphendiyar*, but *Rustan*, collecting all his force into one blow, gave the prince so deep a wound that he died upon the spot, having only time to recommend his son to *Rustan*, and to desire his brother *Bashuten* to take care of his body; both his requests were exactly complied with, *Bashuten* carried back his body into *Persia*, where it received the highest funeral honours. and *Rustan* carefully sent home his son. *Gushtaſp* was inconsolable for the death of so deserving a prince. His grief, however, was forced to give way to the necessity of the state; for the new king of *Touran* no sooner heard what had happened in *Persia*, than raising a great army he invaded that kingdom, and wasted it without mercy with fire and sword. *Gushtaſp*, having collected as great an army as the time would permit, marched with all possible diligence to oppose him, and, after having encountered and entirely routed his forces, constrained him to retire into his own dominions. The public peace being now restored, *Gushtaſp*, to shew the respect he had for his son's memory, resigned the crown to *Bahaman* the son of *Iſphendiyar*, and, according to the example set him by his father, retired from the world to a magnificent pleasure-house he had erected not far from *Schiras*, a palace of such superb architecture, that in after-times, as *Mirkhond* tells us, it was attributed to *Solomon*, the son of *David*, to express its excellence*. In all probability it stood in the neighbourhood of that mountain, which, lying behind

* *MIRKHOND. hist. xvi.*

the famous palace of *Persepolis*, is held to be the sepulchre of the antient *Persian* kings. We have seen from various instances, that it was a common thing among the *Persian* monarchs to quit their thrones, when they found their health and spirits decay, and to spend the last years of their life in contemplation. If we admit that *Gushtasp* was the *Hystaspes* of the *Greeks*, then we may apply what *Ammianus Marcellinus* says of the latter to this retreat. “*Hystaspes*, says this historian, “was a most wise person, who boldly penetrating into the “inner parts of upper *India*, came to a woody desert, whose “calm silence was possessed by those high wits the *Brachmans*; from these he learned the true system of the heavenly bodies and their motions, and the pure rites of true “religion, with which knowledge he returned into *Persia*, “and taught it to the magi, amongst whom it has by tradition been preserved even to this time”[†]. But perhaps, admitting *Gushtasp* and *Hystaspes* to be one and the same person, we ought to refer this expedition to his junior years, when he fled from his father into *Touran*, from whence his journey into *India* was not difficult. There are some *Persian* writers, however, who give a very different account of this matter, of which the reader will have a clearer apprehension, if he recollects what from an antient *Persian* historian we cited, as to *Zerdusht*’s promising king *Gushtasp* to fulfil his extraordinary requests. These historians say, that not *Gushtasp*, but his son *Bashuten*, addicted himself to divine meditations; and that this *Bashuten*, in conformity to the prophet’s promise, was transported to the mountain *Dunbavand* or *Damavand*, with thirty of his guards, where they yet live in the most quiet and happy manner, the approach of all living creatures to their sacred retreat being prevented by thick steams of sul-armoniac issuing from all sides of the mountain[‡]. Our famous traveller, Sir *Thomas Herbert*, ascended this mountain, and passed directly over it without meeting any such steams; he acknowledges, however, that there are vast quantities of sulphur thereon, and that in the night some luminous vapours are seen thereabouts, which he thinks proceed from the sulphur[‡]; but the learned Dr. *Hyde* is for the old opinion, and is for attributing them rather to sul-armoniac, but the doctor confesses, not only that the history of *Bashuten* is fabulous, but that some stories of the same sort related of *Gushtasp* are likewise unworthy of belief[§]. We may with to-

[†] AMMIAN. MARCEL. hist. lib. xxiii. [‡] HYDE, hist. rel. vet. Pers. c. xxiii. p. 306. [§] HERBERT’S Travels. p. 112.

[‡] HYDE, R. vet. P. ubi. supra.

lerable certainty affirm, that the reign of *Gushtasp* was the reign of learning in *Persia*. In his time flourished a celebrated astrologer whose name was *Gjamasp*, surnamed, according to the oriental custom, *Al Hakim*, i. e. *the wise* or *the sage*. That such a person there was, and that he flourished about this time, is pretty clear, but who he was is very far from being certain; some have made him the son of *Daniel* the prophet^c; others the counsellor of king *Gushtasp*; but the greater number, and those too of the most credible writers, say, that he was the brother of that prince, and not only so, but his confidant and chief minister^d. The science, for which he was particularly famous was astrology, and from his skill therein he is said to have predicted the coming of the Messiah. Some treatises under his name are yet current in the east, of which the reader will meet with some account at the bottom of the page (R).

Bahaman,

^c CHALIL. SUPHI. ap. HYDE, R. vet. P. p. 385. ^d MIRK-HOND. ubi supra. LEBTARIK.

(R) Dr. *Hyde*, speaking of the philosopher mentioned in our text, cites a passage from a very antient author, having before told us, that this author asserted, there had been among the *Persians* ten doctors of such consummate wisdom, as the whole world could not boast the like; then he gives the author's words, to the sense following: "Of these the sixth was *Gjamasp*, an astrologer, who was counsellor to *Hystaspes*. He is the author of a book entitled, *Judicia Gjamaspis*, in which is contained his judgment on the planetary conjunctions. And therein he gave notice, that *Jesus* should appear, that *Mohammed* should be born, that the *Magian* religion should be abolished, &c. nor did any astrologer ever come up to him (35)". Of this book there is an *Arabic* version, the title of which runs thus: *The book of the philosopher Gjamasp, containing judgments on the grand conjunctions of the planets, and on the events produced by them*. This version was made by *Lali*, the title he gave it in *Arabic* was *Al Keranat*, and he published it A. D. 1280. In the preface of his version it is said, that after the times of *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht* reigned *Gushtasp* the son of *Lobrasp*, a very powerful prince, who possessed not only *Iran* but *Touran* and *Habasschia*; i. e. *Æthiopia*, that in his reign flourished, in the city of *Balch* on the borders of *Chorasán*, a most excellent philosopher, whose name was *Gjamasp*, author of this book, wherein is contained an account of all the great conjunctions of the planets, which had happened before the time of this astrologer, and which were to happen in succeeding ages, and wherein the appearances of new

(35) *E Lib. Musj. p. 227. ap. Hyde. R. vet. P. cap. xxxi. p. 385.*

Bahaman. *Bahaman*, the son of *Isphendiyar*, succeeded his grandfather *Gushtasp* in all the mighty empire he had acquired. Before

religions, and the rise of new monarchies, were exactly set down. This author, throughout his whole piece styles *Zerdust*, or *Zoroaster*, our Prophet (36). That astrology, by which we mean foretelling future events, or pretending to foretel them, by contemplating the heavenly bodies, was a *Science*, if we may be allowed so to call it, very early in vogue among the *Persians*, might be easily proved if this were a proper place. To say the truth, the very terms in use among astrologers are irrefragable proofs of it, for they are most of them either *Arabic* or *Persic*; and for this reason *Chaldæa*, the mistress of our western astrology, was in antient times always in the possession either of the one or the other of these nations. The notion of predicting the rise and progress of religions from the grand conjunctions of the planets has been likewise propagated in our western parts; *Cardan* was a bold asserter of this doctrine, and if he did not intend it himself, we are pretty certain, that his scholar *Vaninus* actually thought of subverting the belief of the gospel dispensation, by pretending that all religions owed their force and predominacy to the influence of the stars (37). The modern *Persians* are still great votaries to this sort of knowledge; but they distinguish between astronomy and astrology, they stile the former *Elm-nejoun*, i. e. *the science of the stars*, and the latter *Este-Krag*, i. e. *the revelation of the stars*; they have, however, but one word to express astronomer and astrologer, viz. *Manegjim*, which is exactly equivalent to the Greek word *Astrologos*. Of all the provinces of *Persia* *Chorasān* is the most famous for producing great men in that art, and in *Chorasān* there is a little town called *Genabad*, and in that town a certain family, which for 6 or 700 years past has produced the most famous astrologers in *Persia*; and the king's astrologer is always either a native of *Genabad*, or one brought up there. Sir *John Chardin* affirms, that the appointments in his time for these sages amounted to six millions of *French livres per Annum*, which shews how highly these sort of people are yet esteemed in that country. As to the notions they have of the transcendent skill of the antient professors of that art, the author just now mentioned gives us a singular instance in the history of *Alkendi*, a Jew, who was professor of judicial astrology at *Bagdad* in the caliphate of *Almamoun*. Against this *Jewish* astrologer all the *Mohammedans* had a very great spleen; one more hardy than the rest resolved to attack his reputation, and to endeavour to dispossess him of the caliph's esteem; to this end he repaired to *Bagdad*, and finding *Alkendi* in the caliph's presence, he asked him why he took upon himself to know more in astrology than other people? *Because I know* replied *Alkendi* *what you know not, and you know not what*

(36) *D' Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art. Giamap. theatr. & Dialog.*

(37) *In Amphitheatr.*

fore we enter upon the reign of this prince, it is necessary that we should settle his name. *Mirkbond* calls him as we do *Bahaman*,

I know. This provoked the *Mohammedan* doctor so much, that he would needs make a trial of his boasted knowledge in the sight of the caliph. In order to this each drew a circle about himself, and sat down therein with his books and instruments. The *Mohammedan* doctor at last took a piece of paper and a pen, and, after seeming to write a good deal, folded it up, and gave it the caliph, desiring *Alkendi* to give a proof of his skill, by telling what was written in his paper; to which the other after a little time answered, You have wrote but two words in your paper, one is the name of a plant, the other of an animal. The caliph opening the paper found this to be true. And this adventure spread the fame of *Alkendi* throughout all the east. It happened there was then resident in the college at *Balch* a young student of bright parts, who had been scholar to the *Mohammedan* sage, over whom *Alkendi* had triumphed. He was so much piqued at the dishonour done his master, that as soon as he heard this story he bought himself a poignard, and took a journey of twelve hundred *English* miles from *Balch* to *Bagdad* on purpose to murder *Alkendi*. When he arrived at this last-mentioned city, he inquired the time when *Alkendi* taught in the public schools, which when he had learned, he went thither with his poignard under his gown, as if he had been a student come to hear him. *Alkendi* was in the midst of his lecture when he entered the room, but he immediately made a full stop, and turning his eyes on this stranger, addressed him thus; I know who you are, and to what purpose you come. Your name is *Albumazar* (the true orthography is *Ahu M's Shar*) and you will become one of the greatest astrologers of time; but then you must lay aside the bloody design which brought you hither, and you must throw into the midst of the school that poignard which you carried on purpose to kill me. *Albumazar* struck at this speech, first threw down his poignard, and then himself, at the feet of *Alkendi*; thenceforward he applied himself strictly to the study of astrology, and became, as that sage had predicted, wonderfully famous, being known to the learned world by the name of *Albumazar* of *Balch* (38). The reader may perhaps think this a long and unnecessary digression; but we had our reasons for inserting it. We were speaking of *Gjamasp's* predicting the coming of Christ. A very learned countryman of our own has reported the same thing from *Albumazar*, his words are these: "In the sphere of *Persia*, with *Aben-Exra*, there ariseth upon the face of the sign *Virgo* a beautiful maiden, she holding two ears of corn in her hand, and a child in her arms, she feedeth him, and giveth him suck, &c. This maiden, saith *Albumazar*, we call *Adrendefa*, the pure virgin.

(38) *Chardin. Voyag. tom. iii. p. 203.*

Bahaman, and says, that he had two surnames, the one *Dirazdest*, i. e. *long-hand*, because his right hand was longer than his left, and the other *Ardshir* on this account ; when his mother was big with this son, there came a great astrologer to the court of *Gushtasp* his grandfather, and addressing himself to *Isphendiyar*, presented him a small basket, which he told him was for the use of the son that should be born to him, upon opening it there was found a vessel full of milk and a little flour, the person who brought it alledging by way of excuse, that his circumstances did not allow him to bring any thing better. *Isphendiyar* and his spouse were so much satisfied with the present, that they took from thence the name of their son, *Ard* signifying *Flour*, and *Shir* *Milk*, in their ancient language ; hence it came to pass, that this prince was better known by his surnames than by his proper name, being generally called in the oriental histories *Ardshir Dirazdest*, and by the Greeks *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. He is represented by *Mirkhond* as one of the wisest and best princes that ever swayed a sceptre ; he was so solicitous for the impartial distribution of justice to all his subjects, that he sent some favourites of his own privately into the courts of all his governors, that they might bring him exact informations of their behaviour ; and when the time of their governments was expired, he sent for them into his presence, and either rewarded and commended their virtues, or else punished what they had done amiss according to the nature of the offence. In a year after his accession to the throne, he summoned the states of his kingdom, whom he addressed in terms full of tenderness and love ; he told them, that he had assumed the regal dignity, not

“ She bringeth up a child in a place which is called *Abrie* (the He-
 “ brew land) and the child’s name is called *Eisi* (*Jesus*). This
 “ was enough to make *Albertus Magnus* believe that our Saviour
 “ Christ was born in *Virgo*, and therefore cardinal *Alliac* erecting
 “ our Lord’s nativity by his description, casteth this sign into the
 “ horoscope. But that was not the meaning of *Albumazar*. His
 “ meaning was (saith friar *Bacon*) *Quod beata Virgo nata fuit,*
 “ *quando sol fuit in Virgine, & ita habetur signatum in Calendario,*
 “ *& quod nutrit filium suum in terra Hebræorum.* That the said
 “ virgin was born, the sun being in that sign, as also we have it set
 “ down in the calendar, and that she was to bring up her son in the
 “ Hebrew land (39)”. The reader is to observe, that *Albumazar*
 wrote expressly from the antient *Persic* astrologers, it may be from
 the very works of *Gjamasp*, which induced this note.

(39) Mr. John Gregory’s notes on various passages of scripture, p.
 152.

to gratify his own ambition, but to do good to them; he therefore intreated them, if they knew any wrong steps he had taken, or any vices that he had, which were detrimental to the public, that they would freely censure and reprove them; nay, if they held him utterly unworthy of the empire, he exhorted them to depose him, for he said, that kings ought to be public blessings, and that such as were not so ought not to wear the title. The states, after highly commending the king's zeal, and receiving from him whatever they desired, separated, and going into their respective provinces, carried with them the highest sentiments of duty and respect for so deserving a prince. *Ardshir* or *Bahaman* took care to repair all the cities, fire-temples, and public edifices, which, during the wars in *Iran*, had either been beaten down, or through the injuries of time had fallen to decay; this being done, and his empire every where in a flourishing condition, he thought it a proper time to revenge the death of his father, and to reunite the provinces of *Sigjistan* and *Kabul* to his estates; and to this end he raised a considerable army, and marched into the territories of *Rustan*, whither he was no sooner come, than he was informed, that this great warrior was dead, but that his son *Feramorz* had taken possession of his government, and was marching to oppose him with a great army. The king of *Persia*, being desirous that the war should have a speedy determination, did not decline a battle, in which he had all the success he could desire, the enemy being entirely defeated, and *Feramorz* killed upon the spot. He took likewise *Zal-zer*, the father of *Rustan*, prisoner, and returned triumphantly into *Persia*, after obliging the inhabitants of those provinces to acknowledge him for their lawful lord. *Mirkbond* gives us a very extraordinary account of the death of *Rustan*, which happened a little before this war commenced; he had, according to this historian, a brother whose name was *Chajal*, whom he sent to collect his revenues in *Kabul*, where it so happened, that *Chajal* fell desperately in love with the governor's daughter, who was a woman of most accomplished beauty and of the rarest qualifications; the governor, observing how much the young man was smitten, gave him all the interruption possible in his amour, until he promised to do for him whatever he desired, provided he might have his daughter; *Chajal* having promised this, the governor proposed to him the putting of his brother into his hands, that he might secure to himself the absolute possession of his own territories by putting him to death, to which *Chajal*, for the sake of his mistress, assented. On his return home, discoursing with his brother, he informed him, that the governor of *Kabul*, whom

he

he trusted so much, was indeed a very tyrant, and grievously oppressed the people under his jurisdiction. *Rustan*, highly inflamed at this, threatened to put that governor to death, and to extirpate his family, to which end he assembled his forces; but his brother, laying hold of the predominant quality of vanity, which was always prevalent in *Rustan's* temper, persuaded him, that his presence alone was sufficient to fright the governor of *Kabul* into submission, whereupon he set out, attended only by a friend and this treacherous brother. As soon as they arrived in the neighbourhood of *Kabul*, the governor with a very few of his attendants came and made his submission, and most humbly besought *Rustan's* pardon, which *Rustan* having given him, the governor entreated, him to rest that night at his house, which was but a small distance from them; when they came near its gates, *Chajal* rode on his brother's right, and the governor on his left, when on a sudden the ground gave way, and *Rustan* and his horse fell into a deep pit, which had been prepared for him, and so artfully covered with earth and leaves, that he did not perceive it. *Rustan*, being apprised of their treachery, intreated one of the governors attendants to give him a bow and arrows, that he might not be devoured alive by wild beasts; the man touched with his misfortunes, put them immediately into his hands, whereupon *Rustan* drawing the bow with all his strength, let fly two arrows with such dexterity, that he struck the treacherous governor and his perfidious brother each to his heart, dying a little after himself of the wounds he received on his fall. Such, if we yield an implicit belief to the *Persian* historians, was the end of this mighty warrior, the glory and support of his country and of its kings; but we shall shew in the note below, that this story of the life and adventures of *Rustan* must not be understood exactly as they have related it (S). After the reduction of the provinces formerly

(S) The title of this section is *the history of Persia, according to the oriental writers*. It is therefore our duty to report whatever we find in authentic historians; but it does not follow, that we must either believe ourselves, or obtrude on our readers, all things contained in them for matters of fact. We are as sensible as the most inveterate critics can be, that there is much of fable perhaps in the best *Persian* historians, and it is not impossible, that we may sometime mistake their meaning. For example, we know that *Apherafiab*, king of *Touran*, must have lived several hundred years, if what we have set down in our history be true, or else for a long series of years the princes of that country were stiled *Apherafiab*, as the kings of *Egypt* were called *Pharaoh*, and the kings of the *Philistines* were intituled *Abimelech*. But then the same difficulty recurs

merly held by the hero we have just now mentioned, *Bahaman*, or *Ardshir*, extended his empire on all sides; some historians

as to *Rustan*. His father *Zal-zer* lived to be carried away prisoner by *Bahaman*, of whose reign we are now speaking, he must then have been near seven hundred years old, and *Rustan*, who was lately dead, must have been greatly upwards of six hundred; these are incredible things, and therefore we must suppose, that, notwithstanding the *Persian* historians speak all as of one man, there was a succession of heroes in that family, who were hereditary governors of the province of *Sigjistan*, and called from their famous ancestor *Rustan*. Something of this sort we meet with in scripture, where not only two kings of *Gerar* are called *Abimelech*, but both the captains of their host are stiled *Phicol* (40). What renders our conjecture still the more probable is, that the provinces governed by this family took their name, which is more likely to have happened after a succession of governors, than in the time of one man. We mention this merely to prevent a suspicion, that we swallow without consideration all that oriental writers have delivered. When we shall have closed our history of the *Persian* kings, natives of that country, we shall, as we have promised, give a large account of the chronology of these times, and make it as intelligible as we can. In the mean time, let us add a few circumstances, which we have not had occasion to insert in the text, as to the family of which we were just now speaking. The author of the *Gulistan* tells us, that *Zal-zer* gave his son *Rustan* this caution. *Never despise an enemy, however impotent he may seem at present, for a stream, which will scarce bear a straw at its source, grows in its course strong enough to carry away a camel and its burden* (41). We have frequently taken notice of the mighty encomiums bestowed by the oriental romance writers on our hero *Rustan*. Of all his exploits none, however, furnishes them with so much room to expatiate on, as his two days combat with *Isphendiyar*. These stories were so pleasant in themselves, so agreeably embellished by those who took them for their theme, that they gave no small interruption to *Mohammed* in his settling his new religion. It seems there was one *Nesser* who had been in *Persia* about his concerns as a merchant, and there picked up the relation of *Rustan's* combats with *Isphendiyar*, he vehemently opposed *Mohammed*, and laughed at his pretended mission, and the better to carry his point, he diverted the people with these stories, which had such an affect, that when *Mohammed* brought them a new chapter of the *Koran*, they would frequently cry out, *This is an old story; there is no great matter in this; it is not half so pleasant as the stories of Nesser*, which provoked the pretended prophet very much; and put him upon cursing this *Nesser* violently as an enemy to God

(40) Genes. xxi. 22. xxvi. 26.
ent. *Ar. Zal.*

(41) *D' Herbelot. Bibl. Ori-*

torians say, that *Kiresh*, i. e. *Cyrus*, was his governor in *Babylon*; but this is a palpable mistake grounded on a real fact, viz. the great kindness which this prince expressed for the *Jews*; some have reported, that his mother was of that nation; however it was, we may be assured, that he had a very great regard for the chosen people, and did them great kindneses. This prince had a son whose name was *Saffan*, a man much addicted to learning, and especially to astrology, whence it came to pass, that either through his own modesty he pretended not to the empire, or was precluded therefrom by his father on account of his studious life, which that active prince thought incompatible with the duties of a sovereign; however it was, historians are agreed that he did not succeed, nor did pretend to the succession on the demise of his father, but led contentedly a private life, though his descendants afterwards recovered the kingdom, as will be shewn in the next period of our *Persian* history from oriental historians. After a long and glorious reign, wherein he so far extended his dominions, that some will have his surname of *Dirazdest* derived from thence, *Bahaman* or *Ardshir* died, and left his empire to his wife *Homai*, whom some writers also affirm to have been his daughter, and who at the time of his decease was big with child. The favourite saying of

and the true religion (42). It is to these stories of *Nesser's*, and to the behaviour of the people thereupon, that *Mohammed* alludes in the following passage of his *Koran*: “ There is with God great
 “ reward for the righteous. O ye that believe, if ye fear God,
 “ he shall remove your enemies far from you, and pardon your sins,
 “ his goodness is infinite. The wicked have conspired against thee
 “ to punish and slay thee, or drive thee from *Mecca*; but God hath
 “ rendered their conspiracy ineffectual, he knoweth all the designs
 “ of conspirators. When his mirac'es were related to them and
 “ his commandments taught them, they said we have heard them;
 “ we had said the like things, had we so inclined; it is but a song
 “ and a fable of old men: Remember thou how they said, My
 “ God, if what *Mahomet* declareth be true, cause a shower of flint
 “ stones to fall upon us, and rigorously chastise us; he shall not
 “ chastise them when thou art with them, neither when they beg
 “ pardon of him; who is he that is able to hinder God to punish
 “ them? They are not in his grace when they hinder true be-
 “ lievers to enter the temple of *Mecca*, he protecteth only such
 “ as have his fear before his eyes, but most of them understand it
 “ not. Their prayers are very light, they go hand in hand in
 “ the temple, but shall one day feel the punishment of God be-
 “ cause of their iniquity (43). ”

(42) *Ibid. Art. Alcoran.* (43) *Koran. cap. Alfan. i. e. Of the booty.*
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this prince was, *That the gate of a king ought never to be shut*^c.

Homai or *Khamani*, about five months after her accession *Homai*. to the throne, brought forth a son of wonderful beauty. According to the custom of those times, the astrologers were consulted as to the fortune of this young prince. They, it seems, were unanimously of opinion, that his fate would by no means correspond with his face, but on the contrary he would bring great misfortunes on his country as well as himself, for which reason they advised that he should be immediately destroyed. The tenderness of a mother would not permit *Homai* to follow their counsels, and yet her love for her country extended so far, that she determined at any rate to prevent his bringing on it those mischiefs the astrologers had threatened. With this view she caused a little wooden ark or chest to be made, and having put the child in it, covered him with precious stones, and then suffered the vessel to sail down the *Gihon* or *Oxus*. The floating cradle came at last within the view of a poor man washing linen, who was by trade a dyer. He struck with the novelty of beholding a chest on the water, took pains to draw it on shore, and was mightily surprised on finding therein a child with things of such value, not doubting but it was the descendant of some great family. He carried it with the precious stones which were in the cradle with it to his wife; who, concurring with him in opinion that it was the son of some person of distinction, bred it up with as much tenderness and care as if it had been her own; the dyer giving him the name of *Darab*, from the vehicle in which and the element wherein he was found; *Dar* signifying *a wooden vessel*, and *Ab* *water*. When this child was grown up to such an age as required its learning some trade, the dyer would willingly have taught him his own; but the boy shewed a visible reluctance thereto, and appeared to have a strong genius for war. The good old man who had brought him up, far from checking his inclinations, strained his abilities to the utmost to furnish the young *Darab* with an equipage necessary to his serving in the army, then raised for the reduction of *Roumestan*, into which the young hero readily went. This war was of no very long continuance, but *Darab* performed therein such extraordinary feats of arms, that they rung through the whole army; wherein, though the flower of the *Persian* nobility had served, yet none had attained to so high a reputa-

^c MIRKHOND. Hist. sect. xvii. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. BAHAMAN.

tion as this unknown youth. At their return therefore from the war, the commander in chief reported such favourable things of him to the queen his mistress, that she would needs see him. *Darab* upon this was introduced into the royal presence, where, after some discourse about the war and the great things he had done therein, the queen demanded of him what was his name, and who were his father and mother. He answered as to the first, that his name was *Darab*, but that as to his parents he was able to say nothing; that the persons he lived with, and whom he acknowledged for his father and mother, were a dyer and his wife; that the man had taken him out of the water, where he floated in a little chest, and that from thence they had given him the name of *Darab*. The queen, having considered and inquired into this story, owned him for her son, and declared him her successor with the general approbation of her people^f. This princess, all the oriental writers who speak of her agree, had a prodigious capacity, and was wonderfully careful in ordering all things for the good of her people. Above all things she studied the adorning of the glorious capital of her dominions *Istachr*; to this end she erected a noble palace therein, the ruins of which are glorious even to this day, and are the same which the *Persians* call *Chilminar*, and is the palace of *Persepolis*. We will not take upon us to affirm, that these authors are in the right, but we may safely say, that, in all human probability, this palace was built about this time; and the reason which the eastern writers assign for queen *Homai*'s choosing to erect it here is neither absurd nor incredible; they alledge, that *Gushtasp* having erected several *Pyræa* or *Fire-temples*, and cut for himself and for his successors superb tombs in the rock which lies behind this palace, *Homai* was tempted to build a royal house in their neighbourhood, that all these marks of *Persian* magnificence might appear together, and set off each other; to her also are attributed several other monuments of a royal mind and a deep desire of fame, such as a multitude of pyramids, smaller but not unlike those in *Egypt*, scattered throughout all *Persia*, and every where overturned by the soldiers of *Alexander* the Great. This princess is likewise said to have built a city called *Semrim* or *Semirab*, whence a famous *Persian* author hath been led to think, that the *Homai* of the *Persians* was the *Semiramis* of the *Greeks*; but in this perhaps there is more of criticism than solidity^g. The author

^f MIRKHOND. Hist. sect. xviii. D'HERBELOT. Artic. HOMAI.

^g TARIK. MONTEKEBH.

of another *Persian* chronicle is so far from thinking her either the *Semiramis* of the *Greeks*, or so famous a queen of *Persia* as other authors make her, that he has totally omitted her name in his history of the *Persian* monarchs of the dynasty of the *Kainites*^h. *Mirkond*, however, assures us, that she reigned thirty two years, and then resigned the crown to her son *Darab*ⁱ (T).

^h *TARIKCOZIDEH.*

ⁱ *MIRKHOND. ubi supra.*

(T) The oriental histories mention various queens who flourished and did great things in their respective countries, and yet are little known to us in the west. If we consider what the *Persian* historians say of her building the glorious palace at *Istachr*, we shall find it not so improbable as at first sight it may seem. We have shewn before from authorities of all kinds, that in the reign of *Gushtasp* arts and sciences flourished exceedingly in *Persia*; his grandson and successor *Bahaman* must have carried them still higher, for he was very successful in all his wars, and after he had finished them applied himself to the adorning his country with stately buildings, as *Mirkbond* expressly informs us. That his widow therefore, who was also a potent and successful princess, should endeavour to establish her fame by erecting so magnificent a pile, has nothing in it unlikely or incredible; she might adorn this new-raised palace of hers with the spoils brought by her immediate predecessors out of *Egypt* and *Syria*; and as to the grand procession which yet appears on the walls of that palace, if one might be indulged to conjecture, why may it not be supposed to represent the homage paid to *Bahaman* or *Ardshir* by the states of *Persia*, when he assembled them in the first year of his reign, and submitted his conduct, and even his qualifications for the royal dignity, to their censure? That he did this, *Mirkbond* affirms, and that they were profuse in their expressions of gratitude and loyalty on that occasion. What more noble transaction could this princess choose, than this recognition of her husband's right to his crown, from virtue as well as descent, by a generous and wise people. But let this procession be what it will, it may as well be placed here as any-where else, and till the learned by dint of their enquiries and criticisms can furnish us with a better account, we may as well accept of this from the *Persian* historians. As to the modern *Persians*, they, as we have here before observed, speak very tenderly on this head; and if we bar their tales of king *Solomon* and the fairies, have nothing to offer against queen *Hemai*'s being the founder of that stupendous fabric, the ruins of which are now called *Chilminar*, i. e. *forty pillars*, though, if we may trust *Dr. Hyde*, its old *Persic* name was *Hazar-sutun*, i. e. *a thousand columns* (44).

(44) *H. R. Vet. P. cap. xxiii. p. 304.*

Darab,

Darab.

Darab, as we have already heard, was educated by a poor dyer, or fuller, who took of him all the care that could be expected from a man in his low condition. It is reported by a *Persian* writer, that the young *Darab*, being one day at the water-side with his supposed father, addressed himself thus to the dyer: “I should be very glad if you would tell me the truth as to my birth, for I begin to imagine, from the aversion I have to this business, and from my contempt of all manual labour, that I am not really your son, as you have hitherto made me believe.” “Whoever, said the dyer, beheld a ruby and supposed it dropt from a common stone, might conceive that a youth of your shining parts was what till this time you have passed for, the son of a fuller.” “Whatever my parts may be, returned *Darab*, I should be much pleased to hear, without either allegories or metaphors, who I am to suppose myself, and whether that spirit of ambition which I feel in my breast ought to be checked or cherished; upon this the honest old man related to him all he knew, which as soon as *Darab* heard, he demanded the jewels, and having received them went directly to the army, and applying himself to the commander in chief, told him all that his reputed father had related.” The general was at that very time about to give battle to the *Greeks*, he therefore gave no answer to *Darab*, but advised him to keep his own counsel, and to serve the queen valiantly in the approaching engagement. Which instructions of his he exactly pursued, and behaved with such prudence and vivacity in the battle, that the general gave easy credit to what he had told him, and, on his return from the war, presented him to the queen, and gave it as his opinion that he was her son. Which of these stories is true, or which comes nearest the truth, we pretend not to determine. All historians agree, that he ascended the throne as the son of *Bahaman* or *Ardshir*, and that he gave the highest proofs of his royal descent by his wise and gentle administration. His valour had been sufficiently distinguished before he ascended the throne, he suffered it not to rust after he assumed the royal dignity; for at the same time he loved justice, and took care to have it exactly administered throughout all his wide dominions; he was likewise a munificent patron of arts and sciences, easy of address, eloquent in speech, and one of the most humane princes that ever swayed a sceptre. On some account or other he found it necessary to turn his arms on *Filikous*, that is *Philip*, king of *Macedon*; at first by his captains, and at last in person with such success, that *Philip*,
being

being driven to extremities, was obliged to accept such terms as *Darab* thought fit to impose ; and they were these ; that the king of *Macedon* should pay yearly the sum of forty thousand pieces of gold by way of tribute, and should give his daughter, one of the handsomest princesses in *Greece* to *Darab* for a wife, which was accordingly done. The very first night that *Darab* passed with his new spouse, he found her breath so offensive, that he resolved to send her back to her father, notwithstanding that, as some writers say, she was with child. After the *Macedonian* war was over, *Darab* applied himself wholly to the arts of peace, and to the settling such things as were still in disorder, and inventing new methods for giving ease and satisfaction to his subjects. Amongst other wise and glorious acts of this good prince, the settling posts throughout all *Persia* is particularly recorded, which he executed with such skill, that he had news brought him from every corner of his empire, by couriers setting out regularly twice a day. He was the founder of a pleasant and beautiful city in proper *Persia* on which he bestowed his name, calling it *Darabgerd*, i. e. *Mount Darab*, in the middle of which rose a hill in shape of a tent or a pavilion, and without its walls lay a circle of hills, producing salt of various colours, transported from thence into all the provinces of *Persia* ; he likewise erected another city called *Khourch*, and after a reign of four years, according to *Mirkhond* ^k, of fourteen, says another writer ^l, and of twelve, says a third ^m, he died universally lamented, and left the crown to his son (V).

Darab

^k Hist. sect. xix.
TARIKH.

^l TARIKH MONTEKEBH.

^m LEB-

(V) It is certainly no bad caution to an historian, that in his writings he should forget his country, or rather, that he should lay aside that partiality which a man naturally has for his country ; the *Persian* historians, as we have said in our text, represent *Darab* moralizing in his last moments, and reading a lecture on the vicissitudes of this world with his expiring breath, closing all with passionate intreaties, that *Alexander* would use his subjects kindly, and take his daughter *Rouschengh* to wife. Who can avoid admiring a prince, so truly a prince, even in the sight of death ? The *Greek* writers on the other hand make *Darius* moralize too, but then it is in favour of their hero ; he was so struck with the virtues of the *Macedonian*, that he yielded to him his sceptre rather with admiration than disgust. Let us hear what *Plutarch* puts into the mouth of *Darius* on this subject, and we shall be constrained to own, that the desire of making all facts contribute as far as possible to the
glory

Darab II. *Darab* the second, or the younger, surnamed *Darab Kuchek*, came very young to the crown, and what was much worse, came to it without any of the qualities of a prince ; he was of an ill disposition, haughty, brutal, false and cruel, properties which rendered him in a short time hateful to his people, and obnoxious to his neighbours. The *Persians*, unused to such treatment; entered into private negotiations with *Ascander*, the son of *Filikous*, that is *Alexander the Great*, the son of *Philip*, whom many of the *Persian* writers believe to have been the son of *Darab* the first by the daughter of *Filikous*, whom he sent back because of her stinking breath, and persuaded him to enter *Persia* with an army, promising him to join with him as soon as he arrived with a force sufficient to protect them, and to put him in posses-

glory of one's country is not peculiar to *Persian* writers. *Plutarch*, having long expatiated on the virtues of *Alexander*, tells us, that *Darius* was a long time of opinion that he owed his successes to fortune ; but when he understood the truth, he said, " Well, I do not
 " yet perceive the condition of the *Persians* so deplorable, since the
 " world can never tax us now with imbecility or effeminacy, whose
 " fate it was to be vanquished by such a person. Therefore my
 " prayers shall be to the gods for his prosperity, and that he may
 " still be victorious in war, to the end that in well doing I may
 " surpass *Alexander*. For my emulation and ambition lead me in
 " point of honour to shew myself more cordial and friendly than
 " he. If then the father have otherwise determined of me and
 " mine, O *Jupiter*, preserver of the *Persians*, and you his equal
 " deities, to whom the care of kings belong, hear your suppliant,
 " and suffer none but *Alexander* to sit upon the throne of *Cyrus*
 " (45)." One may safely say, that there is as just ground to suspect this passage of forgery as any of the romantic stories in the *Persian* authors. *Darius* worshipped no God but the true God ; he was utterly unacquainted with the *Jupiter* of the *Greeks* ; and it does not appear, that even after *Alexander* conquered *Persia*, he established the superstitions of the *Greeks* there. That *Darius* might recommend his kingdom or his daughter to *Alexander*, or that he might intreat him to use his subjects well, is credible ; but that *Darius* fell in love with the virtues of an enemy, who came unprovoked to lay waste his empire, is a stroke of *Greek* eloquence which may please us well enough in an oration, but can hardly be digested for history. We must therefore bear with the *Persians* as well as the *Greeks*, seek truth in the writings of one as well as the other, receive her kindly as oft as we find her, and not charge one people more than another with concealing or disguising her to serve a turn.

(45) *Plutarch de fortuna Alexand.*

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sion of an empire, of which they held *Darab* to be unworthy. As a pretence for making war, they advised *Ascander* to refuse payment of the tribute which his father had agreed to send annually into *Persia*; and with these negotiations the king of *Macedon* readily fell in. *Darab*, finding that *Ascander* did not send his tribute as usual, sent an ambassador to demand it; to whom *Ascander* answered, that those who paid tribute in his country were dead; but others say, that the pieces of gold in which the tribute was payable, being called by a name which signified at once a piece of corn and an egg, *Ascander* answered *Darab's* ambassador in derision, when he demanded a mighty sum of gold for the tribute in arrear, that the bird which had laid those eggs was flown into another world, alluding to his father's death, who had burdened his subjects with this tribute. This answer terribly provoked *Darab*, who, to shew at once his resentment and contempt of so weak an enemy, sent a second ambassador with a harsh message, accompanied with a present, more expressive of his master's sentiments than any speech or letter could have been; this present was a little casquet, containing a *dibble*, or *planting stick*, a bag full of small stones, and another full of small coin; the first to intimate that he was young and inconsiderate, and that he had better employ himself in his gardens than in matters of state; the second shewing the power and strength of the *Persian* nation; and the third their riches; the whole implying, that it was a rash, imprudent thing, for such a petty prince as he to oppose so great and powerful a monarch. However, this ambassador with his present found *Ascander* on the point of going into the field, and had therefore no opportunity of carrying back to his master any answer. The troops of the king of *Macedon* were not very numerous, but they were all chosen men, such as were valiant in their persons, and at the same time enured to hardships. On his entering *Asia* he met with little opposition, partly through the hatred which the people had conceived against *Darab*, and partly from the generosity of *Ascander's* behaviour, who treated them not as enemies, but subjects. When he arrived in *Armenia*, he received a letter from *Darab*, wherein that monarch pretended great concern for his welfare, advised him not to hazard a battle, but rather to consent to a peace while it was yet in his power, adding some menaces at the close. *Ascander* returned him for answer, that empires were bestowed by God alone, who changed them as he thought proper. After this he continued his march till he entered the province of *Aderbayagjan*,

where he defeated one of *Darab's* captains, who endeavoured to oppose his passage, and having done this he advanced into *Ghilan*; this province, according to *Mirkbond*, was in old times a flourishing kingdom, called by its inhabitants *Endsafet*, i. e. the *White Indies*, in allusion to the beauty of the country, which is far preferable to that of the *Indies* properly so called; its situation also being remarkably happy by reason of the *Caspian* sea on one side, and their easy correspondence with *Tartary*, *Persia*, and *Armenia* lying round them. This country *Ascander* quickly subdued; from thence he marched into the heart of *Persia*, where, in the province properly called by that name, *Darab* met him with a prodigious army; after an obstinate and bloody battle, *Ascander* carried the victory, and *Darab* was forced to fly, leaving his camp, his wives, and his daughters in the power of the victor. In their flight the *Persians* met with a river, wherein many entering heedlessly were drowned; at last a ford was discovered, through which *Darab*, attended by the principal persons in his army, passed; but the soldiers who followed him crowding one another, the weakest were thrown down, and perished miserably in the water. As soon as the king was come to a place of safety he sent once more ambassadors to *Ascander* to treat of peace, offering in case he would send back his wives and daughters, and retire with his troops back to *Greece*, he would renounce all right of tribute, and make some other concessions; at the same time that he entered into this treaty, he dispatched ambassadors also to the kings of *India* and *Macherek*, intreating them to yield him assistance, that he might be able to drive the *Greek* out of his dominions; which they furnished with such readiness, that in a short time he had an army on foot more numerous and potent than that which he had lost. As for *Ascander*, he treated the offers made him by *Darab* with derision, making all the haste he could to engage the *Persian* forces a second time, notwithstanding he was well informed of the great reinforcements they had received. It was not long before he brought him to a battle, in which the *Greek* gained another complete victory, *Darab* flying with a few of his captains to a strong fortress, where, before he could well collect himself, some of his own subjects most treacherously put him to death; that is, they gave him several mortal wounds with their poignards, and then fled to the camp of *Ascander*, leaving their unhappy prince weltering in his blood. *Ascander* no sooner received the news, than he went with the utmost expedition to *Darab's* fortress, and found him in his last agonies, which sight so touched the *Greek*, that,
melting

melting into tears and holding up his hands to heaven, he protested, he had neither knowledge of, nor pleasure in, so execrable a deed. The dying king expressed great satisfaction thereat, assured him, that he thoroughly believed all he said, besought him to chastise the traitors by whose hands he died, and intreated him to espouse his daughter *Rouschengh*, and not to put the several provinces of the empire under the direction of strangers, with all which *Ascander* promised to comply. Then *Darab*, after making many pitiful complaints of the misery of human life and the inconstancy of fortune, all of which are repeated by *Mirkbond*, yielded up the ghost after a reign of fourteen years. Thus far we have followed for the most part the author last mentioned. An author mentioned at the bottom of the page informs us, that, in compliance with *Darab's* last request, *Ascander* or *Alexander* appointed for the governors of *Persia* natives of that country; but that afterwards he had it in his head to have changed this disposition, and to have appointed *Greeks* in their room; but that *Aristotle*, whom this writer calls his vizier, advised him to leave things as they stood, and not to remove any of the *Persian* lords, to whom he had given the direction of provinces. It is very certain, that this circumstance is not, strictly speaking, agreeable to truth: *Aristotle* neither accompanied *Alexander* in his expedition, nor took upon him to dictate to him in matters of state, except in general terms; otherwise it is not at all improbable, that he would have given him the advice mentioned by this author, since it would evidently have contributed to the keeping of the people quiet and easy; and would also have been very conformable to the temper of *Alexander*, who, when in a right frame of mind, always professed a generous regard for mankind in general, and a desire of behaving as an universal parent towards those over whom, as an universal monarch, he sought the power of ruling; at least, this is the idea *Plutarch* would give us of him, as well as *Aristotle*, who, though a philosopher, was a great politician, and had perhaps better conceptions of this conqueror's intentions, than most of the writers who have taken upon them, not only to record, but to criticise, his actions (W). The reader might very well expect,

IAHIA AL CASVINI IN LEBTARIKH. ° De fortuna Alexand.

(W) That *Alexander* should promise a dying monarch whatever he demanded seems perfectly agreeable to his character, as drawn by eastern and western authors; he was fierce in battle, but full of pity towards the vanquished. That *Aristotle* gave him general

expect, that we should here put an end to this section, especially since he has already seen the history of *Persia*, according to the *Greek* writers, concluded at the death of *Darius*. But so it is, that in order to pursue the scheme laid down in the title of this section, we are bound to carry on our history to the death of *Alexander*; for, as we have shewn before, the oriental writers, in order no doubt to save the credit of the *Asiatics*, have pretended, that the empire of *Iran*, with its dependencies, which were then very great, came into the hands of *Alexander*, not so much by conquest as by right; in this light therefore *Alexander* was the last monarch of the *Dynasty* of the *Kainites*, and his reign consequently ought as much to be taken notice of here as the reigns of any of his predecessors^P. *Alexander*,

^P MIRKHOND. sect. xx, xxi. D'HERBELOT. Bibl. Orient. Art. DARAB, ESCANDER.

precepts as to government we may easily believe; and if the authority of *Plutarch* hath due weight, we shall conceive the expedition of *Alexander* against the *Persians* to have been no other than an attempt made by an active philosopher to civilise all mankind. It would be, however, a difficult matter to swallow this; we shall therefore, instead of pressing it farther, produce the passage from the *Greek* author last mentioned, to which we alluded in the text, and which will sufficiently shew, that the *Persian* writers are not absolutely in the wrong, when they ascribe some points of *Alexander's* conduct to the influence *Aristotle* had over him, though they are grossly mistaken in making him his vizier. “ If philosophers, says *Plutarch*, assume to themselves their highest applause
“ for cultivating the most fierce and rugged conditions of man,
“ certainly *Alexander* is to be acknowledged the chiefest of philosophers, who changed the wild and brutish customs of so many
“ various nations, reducing them to order and government.
“ 'Tis true indeed, that so much admired commonwealth of *Zeno*,
“ first author of the stoic sect, aims singly at this, that neither in cities nor in private houses we should live under laws distinct one from another, but that we should look upon all men
“ in general to be our fellow countrymen and citizens, observing
“ one manner of living, one kind of order, like a flock feeding
“ together, with equal right in one common pasture. This *Zeno*
“ wrote, fancying to himself as in a dream a certain scheme of
“ civil order, and the image of a philosophical commonweal. But
“ *Alexander* made good his words by his deeds: For, as *Aristotle*
“ sagely advised him, he did not rule the *Grecians* like a moderate prince, and insult over the barbarians like an absolute tyrant; neither, like one that took particular care of the first as
“ his friends and domestics, but scorning the latter as mere brutes
“ and vegetables, did he fill his empire with fugitive incendiaries
“ and perfidious tumults. But believing himself sent from heaven
“ as

Alexander, son of *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, is by the *Persian* writers stiled *Iscander Ben Filoukous*, which signifies the same thing, only they pretend, that it was a kind of surname bestowed on him for the following reason ; they will have it, that he was the son of *Darab* the first by the daughter of *Filoukous*, whom he sent home because of her stinking breath, but that *Philip* bringing him up as his own son, and leaving to him the kingdom, he called himself out of gratitude *Alexander* the son of *Philip*, though he put in his claim to the kingdom of *Persia* as heir to *Darab* his father (X). The oriental writers

“ as the common moderator and arbiter of all nations, and sub-
 “ duing those by force whom he could not associate to himself by
 “ fair offers, he laboured thus, that he might bring all regions far
 “ and near under the same dominion. And then, as in a festival
 “ bowl, mixing conversations, manners, customs, wedlocks all to-
 “ gether, he ordained, that every one should take the whole ha-
 “ bitable world for his country, of which his camp and army
 “ should be the chief metropolis and garison ; that his friends and
 “ kindred should be the good and virtuous, and that the vicious
 “ only should be accounted foreigners. Nor would he that the
 “ *Greeks* should be distinguished from the *Barbarians* by their long
 “ garments, by their targets, by their scimitars, or turbans ; but
 “ that the *Grecians* should be known by their virtue and courage,
 “ and the *Barbarians* by their vices and their cowardice. How-
 “ ever, that their habit, their diet, their marriages, and custom of
 “ converse, should be every where the same, engaged and blended
 “ together by the ties of blood and pledges of offspring (46). How
 glorious a reputation would *Alexander* have obtained, if his ac-
 tions had been uniform, and apparently founded on such notions
 as are attributed to him by the philosopher ? His burning of *Per-
 sepolis* is a little inconsistent with the idea given us by *Plutarch* ;
 but it is very probable, that great man meant no more than to
 shew us what *Alexander* would have done, if he had always acted
 up to the heroic maxims laid down by his tutor *Aristotle*. On
 the whole, it may be justly said, that it was the passions of *A-
 lexander* only which spoke him a man : in his cooler moments,
 and when he acted without their impulse, he seemed something
 more than man ; such are the effects of an excellent education, and
 of such importance it is, that those who are to govern multitudes
 should be superior in knowledge to the multitude they govern.

(X) The history of *Alexander the Great* has not only been inter-
 mixed with fables by the *Persian* writers ; the eastern authors in
 general, even those most esteemed, abound with very extraordinary
 circumstances relating to that conqueror. *Joannes Malala*, a very

(46) *Plutarch. ubi supra*

celebrated

ters in general bestow another surname upon him, viz. that of *Dhoulcarnein*, or rather *Dulcarnein*, which signifies literally

celebrated writer, to whom we are indebted for a very curious history of the *Constantinopolitan* emperors, hath given us some strokes in his account of *Alexander*, which do not very well agree with what the *Greek* writers have delivered, though he follows them in the main : for example, he makes *Roxana* the daughter of *Darius*, in which he joins with the *Persian* historians, who, as we have seen, alledge, that the emperor of *Persia*, in his last moments, intreated *Alexander* to marry his daughter *Rouscbengh* ; whereas *Arrian* makes *Roxana* the daughter not of *Darius*, but of *Oxyartes* ; but this is a small matter : we have in the same author a story of some length, which is quite in the oriental taste : “ It was the custom, says he, “ of *Alexander the Great*, in the expeditions he made after the “ conquest of *Persia*, to go in disguise with such ambassadors as he “ sent to the courts of neighbouring princes, that in this situation “ he might make such observations as might facilitate his designs. “ Of this it seems *Candace*, queen of the inner or higher *Æthiopia*, “ had notice, whereupon she made strict inquiry as to the form and “ presence of this conqueror ; the result of this was, that she was “ told, he was low in stature, had large broad teeth, some of which “ stood out ; that of his eyes, one was of a light grey, the other “ quite black, which marks she carefully remembered. When “ therefore *Alexander* appeared with his ambassadors in her presence, she instantly singled him out, addressing herself to him in “ these words ; *You, O Alexander, have been too wise for all the “ world, and yet one woman has been too wise for you ;* to which he “ replied, *I therefore grant you and your subjects my protection, as a “ reward for your extraordinary capacity ; I also accept you for a “ wife ;* to which *Candace* readily yielded. After this marriage “ *Alexander* went into *Æthiopia* and several other countries (47)”. If we were critically to enquire into the origin of such stories, we should perhaps find it no difficult thing to shake off all romantic circumstances, and leave only the naked truth ; but the compass of these notes neither admit of such disquisitions, nor indeed does the nature of this work allow them. Our present business is to shew what oriental writers have said of affairs mentioned in the text ; and this therefore leads us to cite what is recorded by *Abul-Pharajius*. This celebrated historian calls *Nebuchadnezzar* by the name of *Bochtanser*, as the *Persian* writers do, and in his short account of the *Persian* kings preserves exactly the names recorded by *Mirkbond* ; I mean the latter race of kings, the descendants of *Gushtasp*, who succeeded after the *Greek* power ceased to have dominion in *Persia* ;

(47) *Chronographia*, p. 249.

ly *with two horns*, in allusion to the two ends of the world, the east and the west, both of which the eastern writers affirm to

he calls the last king of *Persia Darab*, the son of *Darab*; of *Alexander* he speaks thus: “*Alexander*, the son of *Philip*, reigned six years after the death of *Darius*, having also reigned six years before his death. He subdued many nations, so that his dominions extended even to *India*, and the frontiers of *China*. He was called *Dhul-Karnain*, i. e. *two-horned*, because he seemed to have passed from one horn of the sun to the other, i. e. from east to west. Five and thirty kings he slew, and twelve cities he founded; two of these in the province of *Chorasan*, viz. *Hera* and *Marwa*; one in the region *Alfagd*, viz. *Samarchand*, and in *Egypt Alexandria*; when he returned out of *India* he went to *Babylon*, where he died of poison, and his body being put into a chest of gold, was born on the shoulders of kings and nobles to the *Egyptian Alexandria*, where it was interred. It was *Alexander* who began the wall *Yajuji*, which was composed of stone and iron, the iron being let into the stone to fasten it by the help of fire, each of the stones being twelve cubits in length, and eight broad. This wall when it was finished came down to the place called *Babol' Abwah*, in the vallies of the region of *Kaphjak*, from whence it was carried over and through the mountains as far as the sea of the *Greeks*; nor were there wanting many of the *Persian* kings, who to defend their dominions from the incursions of the *Turks*, sought to find the foundations of this wall; at last they were found by *Yazdejerd*, the son of *Babram Fur*, who began to carry on the work, but did not live to see it finished; several succeeding kings prosecuted the same design, but none of them with effect, till God rendered it easy to *Chosroes Nusherwan*, who built it strongly, uniting it to the mountains, and at last brought it down to the sea, placing iron gates at the end, so that a hundred men were then able to defend what would otherwise require an army of an hundred thousand (48)”. Of this wall, as it nearly concerns the history of *Persia*, it is necessary that we should give some further account. The famous *Abu l'Ghazi Baliader Khan* of *Khovarazm*, in his genealogical history of the *Tartars*, has given us the following account of it: “Those of *Kitay* have built a great wall to cover their country, in which there are two iron gates for the passage of the merchants and other travellers. This wall is called *Sat* in *Arabic*, which signifies *Fortress*; in the antient *Turkish* language it is called *Turk-urga*; and in the language of *Kitay*. *Urgu*. *Alexander the Great* caused a like wall to be raised to cover the frontiers of his dominions; but it was composed of all sorts of metals. His design by this wall was to hinder the nation of *Jad-*

to have been conquered by two *Alexanders*, to whom therefore they have given this surname. The first *Alexander*, if any credit could be given to the authors who have written about him, ought to be preferred far before the latter, since he stretched his conquests to the very extremity of the globe,

“ *sutz-Madzuth*, i. e. of *Gog* and *Magog*, from carrying their ravages
 “ into the lands under his dominion, where they had done great
 “ mischief in times past. 'Tis a general tradition with the *Tartars*,
 “ that those people have the muzzle of a dog ; and that this wall
 “ being made up of all sorts of metals, they did all in their power
 “ to make a passage through it by dint of licking, but they could
 “ not succeed. That nevertheless before the day of judgment,
 “ they shall come and lick their way through the wall, and that
 “ then they shall do a great deal of mischief in the world. *Nau-*
 “ *shir Wanadill*, sultan of *Samachy*, caused in like manner a wall
 “ of earth to be built round about his kingdom (49)”. On this
 passage the ingenious editor of that curious work has added the fol-
 lowing remarks ; “ The remains of this wall, which the *Persians*
 “ pretend their king *Naw-shirwan* caused to be drawn from the
 “ *Caspian* to the *Black sea*, are at this day to be seen upon the con-
 “ fines of the province of *Shirwan* and *Georgia* : it begins at the
 “ higher town of *Derbend*, and extends thence north westward
 “ across the mountains of *Georgia* towards the *Black-sea*. These
 “ remains are every where three feet thick, but its height is very
 “ unequal ; for in some parts it is still six and seven feet high, in
 “ others only one or two, and in some places it is quite beaten
 “ down. It appears at first sight to be built of stone, but when one
 “ comes to examine it near, it proves to be only a kind of petrified
 “ earth, sand, and shells, which has formed so solid a body, that
 “ there is no free-stone better than it ; and it is on this account
 “ that our author thinks it might be called a wall of earth. The
 “ late emperor of *Russia*, in his *Persian* expedition, had the curio-
 “ sity to go see the remains of this wall, so far as the situation of
 “ the country and his affairs would permit him ; and he could not
 “ but admire the solidity of that composition, which he found every
 “ where so exceeding hard, that there was no breaking off any
 “ pieces of it without employing a good deal of strength. He
 “ found also some leagues within the mountain a skirt of it which
 “ seemed to be intire, and was about fifteen foot high. In all pro-
 “ bability, this wall had stood intire to this day, if it had nothing
 “ to fear but time ; but the hands of men which built it have also de-
 “ stroyed it ; and most of the towns, burroughs, and villages of the
 “ country thereabouts are built with the ruins of this wall (50)”.

(49) *Geneal. Hist. of Tartars, Vol. I. p. 42.*
Vol. II. p. 722.

(50) *Ibid.*

if we may be allowed the expression, and built a brazen wall in the north in order to hinder the descendants of *Gog* and *Magog* from pouring down like a torrent upon their southern neighbours. It is pretty difficult to discover at what time this mighty hero lived, and as difficult to know when he died. Some writers place him in the days of *Abraham*, and say, that he lived sixteen hundred years; but then they give him for his chief counsellor the prophet *Khedher*, who it is said found out the fountain of life, and having drank thereof rendered himself immortal; which prophet, according to others, was contemporary with *Kcykobod*, of whom we have spoken so much already. As to the latter part of this story, it is easily cleared up, since it is certain, that they confound *Khedher*, the counsellor of this mighty monarch, with a later prophet of the same name, or rather surname, who is no other than the prophet *Elias*, whose translation to heaven in a fiery chariot is by them changed into a discovery of the fountain of life, and gaining immortality by drinking its waters ^q. But enough of this elder *Dulcarnein*, unless we could say more of him with certainty, or even with probability. Our *Alexander* received the same surname from his being monarch both of the east and west. The eastern writers, and especially the *Persian* historians, pay him great honours, and tell a multitude of things concerning him, which are not to be met with in the *Greek* or *Latin* histories; for example, they tell us, that this monarch being asked why he paid greater honours to his tutor than his father, he answered, that it was but just, because his father made him descend from heaven to earth, whereas the instructions of his master had made him to rise from earth to heaven ^r. One day he said to a counsellor of his, who had been long about his person, I am not satisfied with your service, for this reason, I know that I am a man, and that as a man I am liable to errors and mistakes, for which you have never reproved me; if this happened for want of perceiving them, then you must be ignorant and unworthy of your office: but if you did know them, and yet were silent, it was treason ^s. It is likewise reported of him, that to make an experiment of a courtier's temper, he removed him from a higher to a lower office, and afterwards took occasion to ask him how the latter agreed with him, and how he brought

^q MIRKHOND. ubi supra. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art DHOULCARNEIN, KHEDHER. ^r Vit. RABIALAKIAR. ^s HAFEZ. in BAHARISTAN.

himself to discharge its functions ; Very well, answered the courtier, since it is not any office or dignity that does honour to a man, but the man that does honour to it, since every post requires sense and honesty to execute it well, and he who possesses these cannot fail to discharge his duty with reputation. *Alexander*, having heard this, commended him highly, restored him to his former employment, and gave him a great reward¹. Somebody wondering, in the presence of *Alexander*, at his acquiring, so young, so large an empire, and adding it was still stranger he preserved it, he thereupon turned about, and said, By two maxims I have done all this, I have taken care to treat my enemies so well, that they have found it their interest to become my friends ; while, on the other hand, my care of my friends has been such, as to raise out of gratitude a double affection for my service. *Khondemir*, the famous historian, speaking of *Alexander the Great*, informs us, that a person in a very bad apparel presented him one day a petition admirably well penned, the king having read it with great pleasure, and admiring greatly both the thoughts and the style, looked next on the person of the man, and then answered him thus : Friend, if you had taken care to appear before me in a habit as neat and decent as that in which you have cloathed your thoughts, I should have been much better pleased with you than I am ; to which the man readily answered, Your servant has received from nature that capacity of speaking and writing which you are pleased to commend ; but it is to you, great monarch, who are so much famed for your bounty and generosity, that he must be indebted for such a garment as may render him worthy of your regard. *Alexander* was so well pleased with the modesty and justice of this answer, that he ordered a magnificent habit to be brought, and with a considerable sum of money gave it to this wise man in necessity, whose learning till then had left him in rags. In the *Nighiariſtan*, i. e. a book so called, the word signifying literally a *gallery* or *place to walk in* ; we are told that a certain flagrant rebel being brought bound hand and foot into the presence of *Alexander*, that monarch generously restored him to his freedom ; which surprising those about him, one of his favourites had the boldness to say, Sir, if I were in your place, I would not have extended mercy to such a man ; and I, replied *Alexander*, who am not in yours, have pardoned him ; then after a short silence, he ad-

¹ MOIANNABI. ap. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. ESCANDER.

ded, I the more readily pardon my enemies, because there is no comparison between the pleasure one tastes in an act of clemency and in an act of vengeance. *Kbondemir*, speaking of the death of *Alexander*, assures us, that finding his last moments approach, he wrote to his mother two verses to console her to the purport following ; *Your son, after having counted some moments of life, is delivered to death, he is gone like a flash of lightning, and has only left behind him matter of discourse* ^u. It may be supposed, that the intent of these verses was to put his mother in mind, that as human life, so human glory was a mere nothing, and that therefore she ought not to grieve at his being snatched so soon from an empire so lately acquired, since, if he had lived longer, it would have been of no great consequence to himself, and would have furnished only more matter of speculation to those who amuse themselves with repeating the actions, and sometimes censuring the conduct, of others. On what authority these stories are grounded is difficult to say ; they are chiefly recorded by moral and political writers, who aim rather at instructing men by paraphrasing on remarkable actions and wise sayings, than at delivering a dry detail of facts, which without such reflections instruct very little. A *Persian* author of great genius hath related a remarkable story of the hero we are now speaking of, which is in all probability founded on what the *Greeks* tell us of his sparing *Thebes*, because it gave birth to *Pindar*. The *Persian* story runs thus : “ *Alexander* having given orders after the reduction of a very strong place, that it should be given up to the mercy of the soldiers, some of his courtiers informed the king, that there was in this place a philosopher of great note who deserved his majesty’s notice ; the king ordered, that he should be immediately sent for ; when he appeared, it so happened, that he made but a very indifferent figure ; upon which *Alexander*, turning to those who had sent for him, said, with a smile of contempt, what strange figure have you brought me here ? Which so piqued the philosopher, that he repeated immediately the following lines, which he made upon the spot.

O! prince of manners void, though great in fame,
 Why should’st thou slight my person, though uncouth ?
 Dost thou not know, that man’s exterior form
 Is but the scabbard of the enliv’ning mind ?
 Why should’st thou judge then of the weapon’s edge,
 When yet you’ve nothing seen except the case ?

^u D’ HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. ESCANDER.

He added to this poetical reproof the following words in prose :
 “ One may say of a man unendued with virtue, that his
 “ body is no better than a prison, since the soul must find
 “ itself so penned up therein, that any other confinement
 “ would seem liberty in comparison thereof. The vicious
 “ man is tortured continually, there is no occasion for a
 “ hangman and guards to punish or distress him, the very skin
 “ which covers his body is at the same time the unfurmount-
 “ able wall of a perpetual prison.” The same philosopher
 added, “ There is nothing more unreasonable than to envy
 “ others those gifts which God and nature have bestowed
 “ upon them. The bosom of the envious man is continual-
 “ ly full of anger and spleen against his creator, he thinks
 “ every thing amiss which is given to others, and at the
 “ same time covets whatever is not designed for him. As it
 “ is thus the custom of the envious to oppose constantly
 “ the conduct of him who governs the world with infi-
 “ nite wisdom, so the mouth that thus murmurs against
 “ providence deserves no other answer than to be filled with
 “ earth. One of this disposition exclaims at every thing he
 “ sees in the hands of his neighbour ; *For what reason should*
 “ *this man have more than I ?*” At these words he stopped ;
 but *Alexander*, admiring the boldness as well as prudence of
 the man, bad him go on, assuring him, that he took all that he
 said in good part ; the philosopher on this proceeded in his ha-
 rangue : “ Wise men, continued he, are liberal of their
 “ wealth, and give part of it to their friends while they are
 “ alive, while the covetous are such fools as to fatigue them-
 “ selves in laying up riches for their enemies. The raileries
 “ thrown out by the great against such as are in low condi-
 “ tion tarnish the lustre of their high qualities, and take off
 “ that deference which otherwise would be paid them. Who-
 “ ever wearies himself with striking those who dare not strike
 “ again, will be easily beaten when he meets one who dares
 “ oppose him ; and he who puts to the sword without pity,
 “ will one day feel without pity the edge of a sword.”
Alexander at this stopped him, revoked his resolution, par-
 doned the citizens whom he had destined to destruction, and
 rewarded the philosopher for his timely advice^w. It may
 very possibly happen, that some rigid critic may object to
 the inserting of this dubious relation in our history ; but we
 hope, though it should be exploded as a fact, it will yet be
 received as a proper instance of the *Persian* mode of writing

^w FAREZ IN BAHARISTAN.

history, and at the same time we remark this, let us be indulged another observation, that the writings of *Xenophon*, who was very well acquainted with the antient *Persian* learning correspond nearly with the manner of those authors we have lately cited ; for he reasons on all the facts which he delivers, insomuch that his moral and political reflections have in the opinion of many removed him, as well as the *Persian* writers, from the class of historians into that of romance writers. But as his excellent treatise of the education of *Cyrus* has within these few years found many warm and learned defenders, so, it may be, the time is near, when we shall see apologies written in favour of oriental historians, who, like *Herodotus*, may have their credit perhaps restored, when the subjects they treat of come to be examined to the bottom (Y).
The

(Y) It is a common mistake which reigns in *Europe*, that the eastern nations, and particularly the *Persians*, are in the gross very illiterate, and absolutely passive under a heavy tyranny, which they either believe to be established *jure divino*, and therefore not to be contradicted, or else stupidly drag the yoke, without daring to enquire by whom or how it is imposed. One would imagine, that the frequent revolutions which have happened in the east, and in *Persia* particularly, would have overturned this notion, because there could be no such thing as a rebellion or a revolution among abject slaves ; there must be some reasoning to persuade people to take arms on the one side, and some arguments offered to prevent an immediate and total defection on the other ; of consequence therefore, there must in such countries be politicians, nay, and there must have been always politicians, since rebellions and revolutions are no new things. But the truth is, the people of good sense in *Persia* have in all ages had as rational ideas of government as we can pretend to, though it must be allowed, they have unanimously preferred monarchy to all the other forms, or rather have professed a dislike of any form of rule but it ; it is likewise true, that they have a professed fondness for that patriarchal right of kings, which has been turned into such high ridicule by some of our great politicians ; but after all, though they allow their kings to be absolute, yet they do not think they have any right at all to be wicked ; they acknowledge, that we owe them the same duty we do our parents ; but then they will have their kings act like parents too, on pain of forfeiting that respect ; they own, that the prince is to be looked upon as God's vicegerent, this was the old and catholic opinion among the *Persians* ; but at the same time they were far from paying him divine honours, or the king from hiding himself, as the *Greek* writers would persuade us, from the sight of the people, that they might conceive extraordinary ideas of one
who

The *Persians* are not only much charmed with the character of the great *Alexander*, they are also wonderfully pleased with

who dwelt in such state ; the truth of all this will appear from an antient custom in use among the kings, of whom we have been speaking, on the first day of *April*, called from thence, that is, from this custom, *Cherrem ruz*, i. e. *the day of mirth*, on which, as a very antient writer informs us, the king descended from his throne dressed in a white garment ; afterwards riding abroad on a white horse, accompanied by his nobility, he and they gave open and indiscriminate audience to all who approached them, laying aside all distinctions, and acting as if they were equals ; husbandmen and clowns sat down at the same table with the king, without ceremony told him their minds, and without fear made such requests as they thought fit. The king on the other hand addressed them in these terms ; I am one of you, and notwithstanding the elevation of my station, I know that all I have arises from your labour, and that kings could not be without you, any more than you could be without kings ; let us then agree like brothers, since nothing but union can preserve us (51). The foregoing history hath shewn us, that the *Persian* kings in antient times were really as wise, as humane, and as condescending as any that have reigned in the north or west ; it would be invidious to say more so. If we look for the reasons which occasioned this, we may find them even in a *Greek* writer : “ At fourteen years old, says this excellent writer, those who were called the royal preceptors among the *Persians* take charge of the children of the crown ; they are in number four, the most renowned persons in the kingdom for wisdom, justice, temperance, and valour ; the first of these teaches the magic of *Zoroaster*, the son of *Oromazes* (he should have said the worshipper, for *Oromazes* was the name of God), and teaches also the royal institutions, &c. ” As to the modern *Persians*, on whose credit we are now forced to take the history of these early times, they too are wise enough to abhor slavery, and to speak and write as freely about government as we. For example, the famous poet *Sabky* wrote an express treatise on this subject, called *an advice to kings* ; among other wise and prudent admonitions, he delivers these : “ It is the wisdom of kings to be kind to the poor, and not to oppress the rich ; the felicity of a state depends on the good sense and right disposition of the sovereign. The security of his country depends on his administering justice impartially, prosperity follows security, and will be where that is. If a country is once known to be secure, merchants will resort thither ; the gain from thence will be large, and all temporal blessings will abound. If the country become rich, the king cannot well be poor, and besides, at the last day he shall be re-

(51) *Hyde, H. R. vet. P. c. xix. p. 253.*

“ compensated

with that of his vizier as they call him, or, as he was in truth, his preceptor *Aristotle* ; this wise man they call sometimes by the name of *Aristhathialis*, but commonly by way of abbreviation *Aristou* ; they report, that he was wonderfully sagaci-

“ compensated amply by God for so well discharging his duty,
 “ whereas he who acts in a contrary manner will in every
 “ respect meet with a contrary fate. Be always kind to
 “ merchants and public ministers, that strangers being well recei-
 “ ved may carry a good report of you into their own coun-
 “ try ; soon will that kingdom fall wherein the souls of stran-
 “ gers are afflicted ; be wise therefore, use the traveller well,
 “ that wheresoever he goes he may speak well of you.—A
 “ prince ought always to have before his eyes this maxim, domi-
 “ nion really belongs to God, and he has no certainty how long it
 “ shall be delegated to him ; he ought likewise to remember, that
 “ the country he rules was given by God to the people who inhabit
 “ it, to the end he may not be misled by false ideas of things that
 “ have no solidity, and place his trust on joys that may not perhaps
 “ last five days. It is reported of the caliph *Aaron Reschid*, that
 “ he one day said to the famous *Belou* his Brother, *give me some good*
 “ *advice* ; he answered, *There is nothing to be carried out of this*
 “ *world into the other but good and bad works ; it is in your power*
 “ *to carry which load you please*.—This *Beloul* was a very knowing
 “ man, who, that he might have the more leisure to attend his
 “ studies, would never marry. The caliph his brother asked him
 “ another time for his advice, how he might govern his people for
 “ their advantage and his own ; the sage answered, Let your deci-
 “ sions become laws through their apparent equity, and never
 “ make reason yield to your will ; prevent, as far as you can, re-
 “ quests ; give little to such as ask, but think of giving in time to
 “ such as merit and do not ask ; the king is the head ; the people
 “ are the body of the state ; if the king is either ignorant or
 “ wicked, the head will devour the body with its teeth.—The
 “ government of an empire is an affair which requires a genius at-
 “ tentive and collected, and a heart which turns itself continually
 “ towards the Most High God to invoke his aid, that its owner
 “ may turn his feet, his hand, his tongue and his pen aright ; and
 “ the king who acts thus God will undoubtedly endue with grace to
 “ conserve his empire and his piety (52) ”. It is evident from
 these citations, that the *Persians* have at present, and have always
 had very rational sentiments as to the reciprocal duties of governors
 and subjects ; and it is likewise plain, that the diffuse manner of writ-
 ing peculiar to the east is not without its advantages, since the intent
 of history is not tiring the memory, but directing the judgment,
 which is perfectly answered by the oriental mode of delivering the
 wise sayings as well as great actions of famous kings.

(52) *ap. Chardin Voyages, tom. iii. p. 253.*

ous even in his childhood, that he addicted himself very early to the school of *Plato*, and continued therein upwards of twenty years, till he set up for himself, and became author of the sect of *Maschaioun*, i. e. the *Peripatetics*; they affirm likewise, that he died very old, and in high reputation throughout all *Greece*. They are very positive, that he was prime minister to *Alexander*, the son of *Philip*, and, in consequence of this notion, they report a multitude of fine sayings and moral maxims under his name. *Ben Cassan* informs us, that *Aristotle* composed above a hundred different treatises on various subjects, and amongst the rest mentions one which is neither found among his works as we have them at present, nor is at all taken notice of by any of the *Greek* writers. Its title runs thus; *A discourse on the conduct which a great general ought to observe after the gaining or losing of a battle*, which, *Ben Cassan* says, he dedicated to *Alexander the Great*. As to his philosophy, we cannot find that it was thoroughly studied by the antient *Persians*, though in after-times it came to be in high credit with the *Arabians* *. But to return to *Alexander*; *Mirkbond*, who has wrote very copiously of his conquests, affirms, that he reduced many nations to the east of *Persia* under his dominion, and that he advanced as far as the *Indies*, that he was the founder of many glorious cities, particularly of *Heri*, or *Herat*, and *Samarkand*; he reports likewise, that this prince, being mightily taken with the *Persian* learning, caused three celebrated treatises written in that language to be translated into *Greek*, the first relating to physic, the second to astrology, and the third to natural philosophy (Z); he

* D'HERBELOT. Bibl. Orient. Art. ARISTHALIS.

(Z) At first sight it may seem, that *Mirkbond* might have inserted the story of *Alexander's* causing books to be translated out of the *Persic* language into *Greek*, merely to do honour to his country; but it would be unreasonable to suppose this, when we have good grounds to believe, that the fact was really as he reports it. These grounds are, first, that *Alexander* was a very learned and inquisitive prince; and secondly, that it was his custom to transmit whatever he thought might be useful to the common wealth of learning into *Greece*; as for instance, the astronomical observations which were found in *Babylon*. But as *Mirkbond* has set down the subjects of the books, which he alledges were translated by that conqueror's command, the matter seems to be put out of dispute, since all the sciences he mentions were indisputably better understood in *Persia* than in *Greece*. First, as to physic, if we consider the prescriptions of *Hippocrates* and other ancient physicians, we shall find, that the drugs then in use were most of them brought from the east, and not
a few

he divided, says the same historian, his ample dominions into ninety governments; and, after a short and glorious life, ended

a few from *Persia*; and if they had their drugs from these places, why should we question their learning from the inhabitants of these places how to use them? But farther still; among the works of *Zerduſht*, there is a treatise which bears the title of *Bixiſhk nama*, i. e. *the book of physicians*, which is said to treat intirely of the virtues of herbs, and how they ought to be applied; nay, he is reported to have been so very skilful in these matters, that *Sharistani* in his treatise of the religions of the east, which we have so often quoted, attributes expressly all the miracles *Zerduſht* is said to have done to his skill in simples only (53). Now take it either way, if he was inspired, he knew all things, if not, he knew so much of simples as to pass himself for a prophet; consequently there might be treatises on physic among the *Persians* well worth *Alexander's* directing to be put into *Greek*. Secondly, as to astronomy and other mathematical sciences, we have proved in our note N. that they were well known to this people, when they were very little known to the *Greeks*, and that from the testimony of the *Greeks* themselves; it is true, that the modern *Persians* stand indebted for most of their knowledge in these sciences to the writings of the *Greeks*, which are translated into *Arabic* and *Persian*; but the reason of this is plain, because the antient books relating to these abstruse sciences were not so carefully preserved as those which regard history and morality; these being valuable in the sight of many; those precious only in the eyes of few. As to moral philosophy, which was the subject of the third book mentioned by *Mirkbond*, it was the darling study of the antient *Persians*, if we may venture to credit any thing which oriental writers have delivered. Morality is the subject of the book, intituled *Gjouidan Chrad*, ascribed to *Hushang*, a king far older than *Zerduſht*. Morality was the subject of most of *Zerduſht's* writings, as we gather from such fragments of them as we have seen, and especially from the book *Sadder*, which, though written *ad captum vulgi* in verse and in a ballad style, contains as many moral sentences as are to be found in *Diogenes Laertius's* lives of the philosophers. To these arguments in favour of the learning of the antient *Persians* we may add the amazing love of science visible in the modern *Persians*; for we can hardly account for it any other way than by their mixing with the antient inhabitants of this country, and borrowing from their stores, since they far exceed the *Turks*, and indeed all the eastern nations, except the *Chinese*, in their affection for learning; as a proof of which we shall alledge the reigning maxims in their schools, not unworthy perhaps of being echoed in our universities: *Doubting is the beginning of science: he who doubts nothing examines nothing: he who examines nothing discovers nothing: he who discovers nothing*

(53) *Sharistani* ap. *Hyde*, R. vet. P. c. xxii. p. 300.

ended his days at *Babylon* in the thirty sixth year of his life and seventeenth of his reign [†], leaving his conquests to be divided among his captains, who are distinguished by the *Arabs* and *Persians* with the title of *Molouk al Shaouaif*, i. e. *the kings of nations or families*. The *Persians* likewise take notice of *Alexander's* brother *Aridæus*, whom they stile *Ar-dous*, and generally speaking make him the son instead of the brother of that monarch; they agree, however, with the *Greeks*, in representing him as a prince little qualified for empire; but they soften this account, by pretending that he despised grandeur for the sake of wisdom, having learned from *Aristotle* to think those goods only valuable, which neither fortune nor force can take away.

WE have now conducted the history of the *Persian* empire from its origin to its dissolution after the death of *Alexander the Great*; in our next period we shall see it revive again, under a prince descended from their antient kings and of the magian religion. We have referred our researches into the

[†] MIRKHOND. hist. sect. xxi.

is blind, and must remain blind. An extraordinary affection for mysterious theology seems to have been the reigning passion of the antient *Persees*, and of the *Persians* at this day. Among the latter there is a sect stiled *Suphi* or *Sopbi*, who profess themselves admirers of the *Pythagoric* philosophy. *Pythagoras*, as we have shewn, is generally, and not without good grounds, supposed to have been the scholar of *Zoroaster*, and is thought to have learned from him those refined notions with which these men are charmed. To describe the notions of the *Suphi* in few words, we must say, that, according to their own account, they are *quietists* or *enthusiasts*; in the opinion of the vulgar *atheists*. They fast often and to excess, they pretend to ecstasies and conversations with God. They profess themselves friends alike to all men, and believe that the good in all religions are saved. They have a remarkable aversion for churchmen, which is owing perhaps to the outrageous antipathy the clergy shew towards them. Sir *John Chardin* gives us a whimsical instance of this; he says he was present, when a preacher at *Spaunbarun* told the people in his sermon that the *Suphis* were *atheists*, that they deserved to be burnt, and that he who killed one of this sect did an action more pleasing in the sight of God, than if he saved the lives of ten other men. As soon as he came out of the pulpit, five or six *Suphis* who were among his audience cudgelled him heartily; and when our author interposed and begged them to give ear to the poor man's cries, one of them answered briskly, *What! Ought a fellow who preaches up murder complain of a beating?* (54)

(54) *Chardin, Voyages, tom. iii. p. 211.*

chronology

chronology of the writers from whom we have taken this history, till we come [to the utter extinction of the monarchy of the native *Persians* in *Yezdegherd*; but before we close this section, it will be proper to obviate some objections to the bulk of the foregoing history, which may arise from the very tenour thereof. For first it may be said, that there is so much of confessed fable in almost every reign of these *Persian* monarchs, and the years generally speaking assigned for the reign of each are so incredible, that a prudent man will be tempted to reject the whole, rather than take up with a tale full of apparent absurdities. To this we answer, that if it once becomes an established rule to reject every history which carries in it a mixture of fable, all the antient historians must be condemned in the lump. *Berosus*, if we may judge from the fragments which still remain of his work, inserted many fabulous narrations in his *Babylonish* antiquities. *Manetho*, the *Egyptian* historian, can expect no mercy if once this law be owned. *Herodotus*, *Ctesias*, *Xenophon*, and innumerable others ² will share the same fate with *Mirkbond* and the rest of the *Persian* writers. But after all, there is so tolerable an account to be given of that mixture of fable which is interwoven with the *Persian* history, that if a critic's stomach be not very nice, he may, after a little consideration, be brought to digest it. We opened this section with observing, that the antient *Medes* and *Persians* were very curious and exact in setting down all matters of consequence in their chronicles, and in preserving those chronicles through a long succession of time; the truth of this fact we prove from indubitable authorities sacred and profane. As to the style of these records, we may form some judgment of it from the edicts remaining in the sacred scriptures, and from the passage cited in relation to a conspiracy against *Ahasuerus* in the book of *Esther* ³; and from all these it is plain, that though it was noble and sententious, it was far from being hyperbolic or romantic. But these records are no more; what we have now is taken from *Mohammedan* writers, who have certainly altered the old *Persian* history, and digested it according to their own taste; nay, what is still worse, many of these writers, neglecting the more antient and plain accounts of the old *Persian* empire, have taken up with the romances written long after, to tickle the ears of the people, and perhaps to serve other purposes, which at this distance of time we are unacquainted with. Can we wonder after this at the fables recited in the foregoing history? Can we suppose, that strangers, born with a contempt for the *Per-*

² STILLINGFLEET, *Origines Sacrae*, lib. i. c. v. ³ vi. 2.

sees, the descendants of the old inhabitants of this country, will do their ancestors strict justice? Can we believe, that those who, in consequence of the religion themselves profess, are inveterate enemies to that religion which was held by the kings of whom they write, will ever speak of it with impartiality and truth? Or can we doubt, that these writers have made many other alterations, when we find them asserting, of such kings as they report to have lived wisely and piously, that they were not *Magians*, but *true believers*, i. e. of their own religion; whereas nothing can be more certain, than that the *Persian* monarchs from *Keyomaras* to *Yezdegherd* were all of one religion, allowing for such alterations in that religion as are incident to all religions in so long a tract of time? But the egregious length of the reigns of the kings of *Persia* remains yet untouched. To this charge there is indeed no reply, we admit it to be just, but at the same time we can safely say, the same charge may be brought against every antient history extant among the orientals. To give but one instance from the history of the *Tartars* written, by *Abu l' Ghazi Bahader Khan* of *Khovarazm*, from records the most antient and authentic, if the royal author is to be believed, and yet he places but seventeen *Khans* between *Bertizena Khan* and *Kabul Khan*, though, according to his history, there intervened 2550 years between those princes; and in another part of his history he allows a thousand years for the reigns of six princes^b. These are mistakes as great as any that are to be met with in the historians we have cited, and it would be no difficult thing to draw together many examples of the like nature, if this were a proper place. But this single one is sufficient for our purpose; we do not pretend to say, that the numbers set down in our catalogues of kings are right, or capable of being defended; we only alledge, that they are not more preposterous than the numbers which are met with in other oriental historians, who are notwithstanding allowed to have some truth in their works. This confession we hope will procure us some favour, and pave the way to those amendments which we shall offer in due time. But, secondly, It may be objected, that our *Persian* history from the oriental writers, being in most respects directly opposite to the history in the foregoing section, which is extracted from the *Greek* writers, one of the two must be rejected, since opposites can never be alike true. To this we may say, that we would be glad to compound the difference, and to allow that the *Persian* history from the *Greeks* is frequently to be preferred to this,

^b Preface to the genealogical history of the *Tartars*, p. viii.

and that this is in other places frequently to be preferred to that. Something in support of this demand has been already said on account of *Xerxes's* expedition, the life of *Zoroaster*, and the death of *Darius*. Besides, as we have before observed, the *Greeks* differ among themselves, nay, there is not one author amongst them, who in speaking of the *Persian* affairs, may not be proved to have been mistaken in several points, even from his own works. As for instance, *Herodotus*, who in one part of his history makes them worshippers of the elements, and in another polluters, in a third chastisers of them; add to this, that the *Greeks*, like all other writers, were notoriously partial to their country and countrymen, as indeed were the *Persians*; so that on the whole what we ask will not appear very unreasonable, especially when we refer it to the judgment of the reader to compare, to weigh, and to decide as he pleases. But, thirdly, It may be objected, that these accounts, being opposite to what is recorded by the *Greek* writers, and having no authority to support them but their reputed antiquity, they ought for this reason to be rejected, since true history is always supported by concurrent testimonies of natives and foreigners, the latter of which is wanting here; the strength, however, of this objection, which is the last, and perhaps the most plausible of all that can be offered against the foregoing series of facts, will be effectually weakened by the following considerations, which we had no opportunity of inserting in the body of the work. First, amongst those writers which are best known to the learned, there are none which come near the times contained under the beginning of this period. Among the *Greek* historians the history of the *Medes* and *Persians* ascends, as we have shewn, very little higher than *Cyrus*, if we except what *Diodorus Siculus* has transcribed from *Ctesias* (A), which has been generally exploded by the critics^c. With respect

^c Universal History, Vol. IV. p. 141, & seq.

(A) We have so often mentioned *Ctesias* and his works in the course of this section, that there seems to be a necessity of our giving a short account of this author and his works, to render those remarks we have had occasion to make perfectly plain and clear. *Ctesias* lived thirty or forty years after *Herodotus*; he was by profession a physician, and seems to have been very eminent therein; he was taken prisoner by *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, whom he cured of a wound, which he received in the battle which he fought against his brother *Cyrus*. He resided sixteen or seventeen years in the *Persian* court, and, through the favour he was in there, had leave to peruse

respect therefore to writers of great antiquity, if our history be unsupported by them, it is likewise uncontradicted. The first

peruse the royal chronicles and those authentic histories of which we have so often spoken. From these he compiled in XXIII books the history of the antient empires of *Affyria*, *Media*, and *Persia*; which history of his he brought into *Greece*, where it was received with the greatest applause. *Diodorus Siculus*, to whom we are as much indebted as to any antient author whatever, has transcribed into his bibliothek the substance of *Ctesias*'s first six books, after having given us the following character of their author; "*Ctesias* the *Cnidian* was later than *Herodotus*, for he flourished at the time of *Cyrus*'s expedition against his brother *Artaxerxes*, in which being taken prisoner, he was, for his skill in physic, received into *Artaxerxes*'s favour, in whose court he lived in much honour and esteem seventeen years. During that space he digested into a regular history whatever he found worthy of notice in the *Persian* chronicles, wherein, by a fundamental law of the empire, all remarkable actions were exactly registered; and this history he brought with him into *Greece* (55)." *Diodorus* in the very place from whence we have quoted this passage, prefers *Ctesias* to *Herodotus*, as he does in most other places of his book where he cites either of them. *Xenophon*, speaking of the death of the younger *Cyrus*, quotes this writer with applause (56). *Plato* agrees with him as to the power of the antient *Affyrian* empire (57). *Aristotle* also commends him (58), and in a word almost all the antient authors who have written in *Greek* prefer him to *Herodotus*. The very learned patriarch of *Constantinople*, *Photius*, has preserved in his bibliothek an abridgment of this author's *Persian* history, before which he premises, that this writer differed not a little from *Herodotus*, and even from *Xenophon*, who was universally held to have written more knowingly on the affairs of the east, and particularly on those of *Persia*, than any of the *Greeks*; but so it is, that *Xenophon*, as well as *Ctesias*, has been suspected of mingling fiction with true history, because he has not represented the *Persians* as an ignorant barbarous people, plunged in sensuality and sloth, according to the usual custom of his countrymen. Besides his *Persian* history, *Ctesias* wrote also an *Indian* history wherein, it is generally agreed, that there are a great many strokes of fable; this *Indian* history of his has exceedingly hurt the credit of his other writings, and seems to be the true source of those severe censures, which many, and especially modern authors, have passed on this famous historian. *Photius* at the end of his abstract gives us this character of the writer we are speaking of; "The style of *Ctesias*, says he, though it is extremely plain and

(55) *Biblioth. lib. ii. p. 109.*(56) *In Exped. Cyri, p. 266.*(57) *In leg.*(58) *Hist. Anim. lib. viii. c. 28.*

first race of *Persian* kings are to be placed in a void, where if we do not fix them, we know not whom to fix besides, unless

“ simple, is far from being unpleasant ; he uses the *Ionic* dialect,
 “ not every where as *Herodotus* does, but in some words only, for
 “ the sake of varying his language ; what is objected to him of
 “ his frequently running into fabulous stories, is not without
 “ grounds, especially in what he has written concerning *India*.
 “ The delightfulness of this history arises chiefly from his disposi-
 “ tion of facts, which are so placed, as continually to surprise
 “ the reader, and keep his attention engaged ; even his most fa-
 “ bulous accounts being adorned with a very pleasant and easy elo-
 “ quence (59).” Besides these large extracts, there are various fragments of this author to be met with in the works of *Athenæus* (60), *Apollonius* (61), *Plutarch* (62), *Ælian* (63), *Stephanus Byzantius* (64), &c. It would constrain us to draw this note into too great a length, should we pretend to shew wherein this author differs from the *Greek* writers, or wherein he agrees with the oriental authors, treating of the *Persian* history ; for the satisfaction, however, of the inquisitive peruser, we shall subjoin a short account of those reigns which interfere with the foregoing sections of the *Median* and *Persian* empires.

Cyrus is by him said to have married *Amytis*, and to have had two sons *Cambyses* and *Tanyoxarces* ; he allows him to have reigned thirty years, and says, that he died of a wound received in battle.

Cambyses, according to him, married *Roxana*, and after a reign of eighteen years, died of a wound which he casually gave himself in the thigh.

The *Magian*, styled by the *Greek* writers *Smerdis*, is by him called *Sphendadates* ; he computes his reign to have lasted only seven months, and relates him to have been slain by seven conspirators.

Darius, the son of *Hystaspes*, reigned thirty one years, died of a sickness which lasted thirty days, and left his empire to his son *Xerxes*.

Xerxes had to wife *Amystris* ; his children were *Dariæus*, *Hystaspes*, *Artaxerxes*, *Achæmæides*, *Artarius*, *Amytis*, and *Rhodoguna* ; this king was slain by *Artapanus* and *Spamitres*.

Artaxerxes, his wife's name was *Damaspia* ; he reigned forty two years, left but one legitimate son, viz. *Xerxes*, but seventeen by concubines, of whom *Secyndianus* and *Ochus* afterwards succeeded him.

Xerxes the second, he held the regal dignity forty five days, and was destroyed by a conspiracy.

Secyndianus, after a reign of six months and twenty five days, was smothered in ashes.

(59) *Phot. Biblioth. Art.* lxxii. p. 106. (60) *Deipnosophist* x.
 (61) *Histor Mirab* xx. (62) *In vita Artaxer.* (63) *De*
Animal. Natura, lib. vii. c. 1. (64) *Voce Δυσδαίον.*

unless we take up with the feigned catalogue of *Assyrian* monarchs contrived by *Annius of Viterbo*; and as to writers of a later date, our *Persian* history is not destitute of friends amongst them, such as are unbiassed, and against whose credit there is nothing to be said. The royal author of the history of the *Tartars*, speaking of the original of his nation, which he derives, as most of the oriental writers do, from *Turk* the eldest son of *Japhet*; he proceeds thus: “*Turk* was a
 “ man of superior genius, having been the first who invent-
 “ ed many of the conveniencies of life; he made himself
 “ tents, and pitched upon a fixed residence in a place called
 “ at present *Isachkoll*, he had four sons; 1. *Taunak*; 2. *Za-*
 “ *kale*; 3. *Bensazar*; 4. *Amlak*. At his death he appointed
 “ his son *Taunak* for his successor, who became a very rich
 “ and ingenious prince, author of many fine inventions. It
 “ happened one day, that *Taunak* having gone a hunting
 “ and killed¹ much game, ordered a piece to be roasted;
 “ but when he was just going to eat some of it, he by
 “ chance let a bit drop upon the ground, and having taken
 “ it up and put it to his mouth, he found it delicious by rea-
 “ son a grain of salt had stuck to it; which having given
 “ him to understand, that this land was impregnated with
 “ salt, he set himself to improve this discovery, and became
 “ the first inventor of the use of salt, no one before him hav-
 “ ing known what salt was, or that it could season victuals.
 “ Cotemporary with him reigned a prince in the country of
 “ *Iran*, called *Cajumars* or *Keyomaras*. *Taunak* lived 240
 “ years, and at his death left his throne to his son *Ielza*
 “ *Chan*, who lived many years, and before his death appoint-
 “ ed his son *Dibbakin Chan* to succeed him. *Dibbakin Chan*
 “ lived also a long time, and disposed of the succession
 “ before his death to his son *Kajak Chan*, who reigned a
 “ great length of years, and had for his successor after
 “ his death his son *Alanza Chan*. From the days of *Ja-*
 “ *phin* and his descendants to the time of *Alanza Chan*,
 “ the true religion was preserved, and during the reign

Ochus, called also *Dariæus*, married *Parisatis*, he reigned thirty five years, and had the following children, viz. *Arfaces*, *Cyrus*, *Artostes*, *Oxendras*, and thirteen others; he died of a languishing disease at *Babylon*.

Arfaces, this is the same prince whom the *Greek* writers style *Artaxerxes Vinemon*; he overcame his brother *Cyrus*, his wife's name was *Stateira*; and in his time *Ctesias* resided in *Persia*, and compiled his history (65).

(65) *Photii Biblioth.* p. 135, 136.

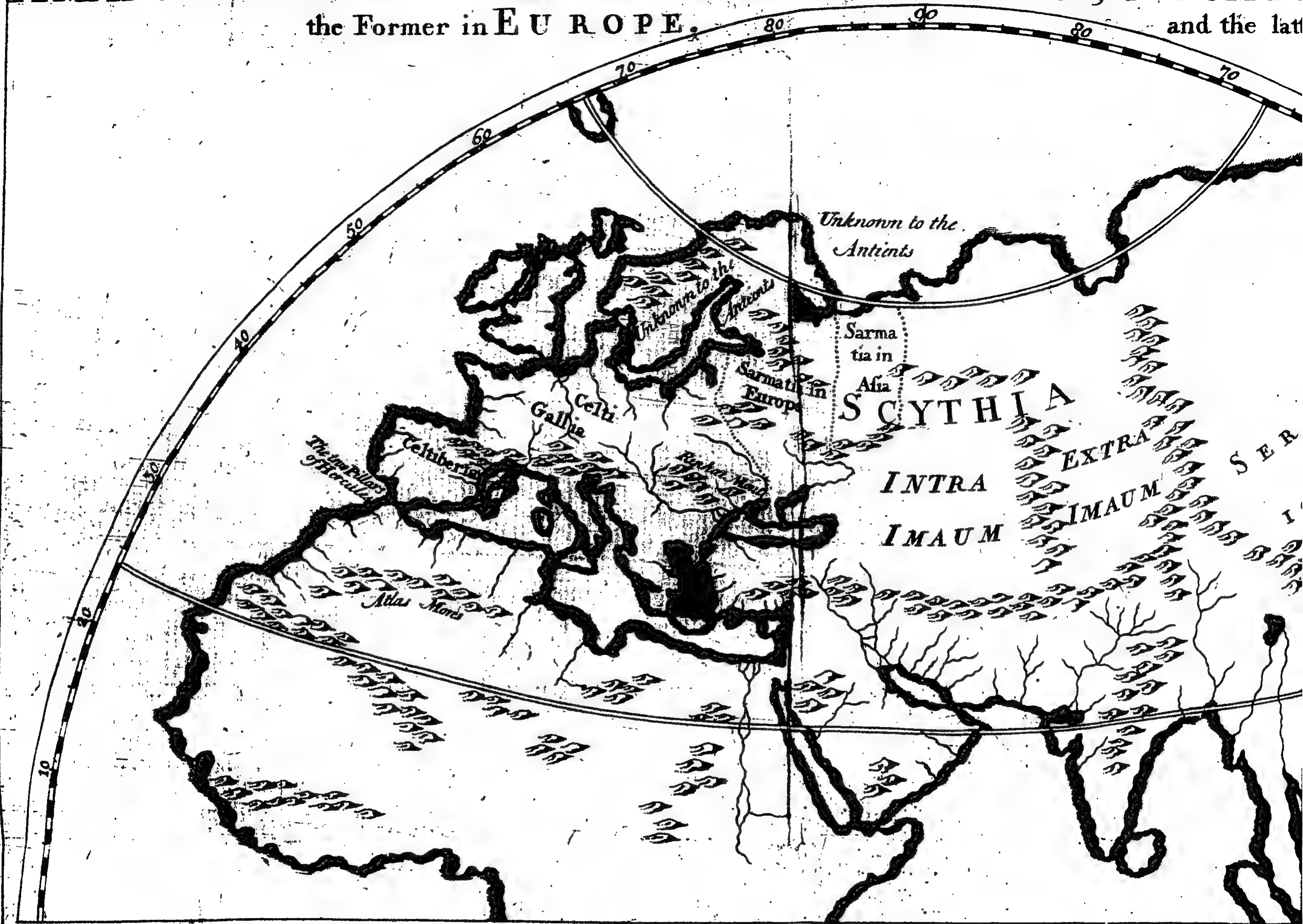
“ of this prince his subjects lived in a profound peace,
 “ having great abundance of all sorts of riches^d. ” From this passage it is evident, that the records of *Tartary* mention this *Keyomaras*. just where the *Persian* historians place him; and it is likewise plain that the belief of the true religion is reported by the same records to have remained untainted in these countries, which is exactly what our *Persian* writers say; the same author agrees with them in many other things, such as making *Sam* i. e. *Shem*, and his descendants the original inhabitants of *Iran* or *Persia*, and in acknowledging *Hushhangh*, the grandson of *Keyomaras* his successor: he relates likewise the wars carried on by the descendants of *Turk* against the monarchs of *Iran*, and proportions the reigns of those *Khans* to the reigns of the kings of *Persia* mentioned in the foregoing history. In Dr. *Hyde*’s learned book of the religion of the antient *Persians*, there are many *Arabic* and other historians quoted in support of such passages of the antient *Persian* history, as he has occasion to touch on in that work. It is true, that learned and judicious writer is far from conceiving, that all these oriental historians have delivered ought to be taken on trust; on the contrary, he points out many of their errors, as he does also those of the *Greek* writers, whence he argues, as we do after him, that intire credit ought to be given to neither, but that the likeliest method for attaining truth is to read and compare both^e. Secondly, the whole series of antient history teaches, that in the most remote ages of the world these countries were very populous, and under the dominion of potent monarchs; this is exactly conformable to what our writers of the *Persian* history and other oriental authors affirm; so that we must either renounce that opinion, which has hitherto been generally entertained, of these eastern countries being first and most fully peopled, or we must admit, that these accounts are probable, if it were in respect only to this point. Thirdly, there remain of the antient *Persians*, these poor distressed creatures who are now stiled *Persees*, as so many living witnesses of the truth of this history. We can no way avoid affording our belief to this proposition, that the religion they profess is the very same which their ancestors held in the reign of *Yezdegherd*; and if so, we must trace this religion from their accounts, those of their conquerors, and such as are to be met with among their neighbour nations. Now the *Persees*, as well those in *India* as those which still remain in their

^d P. i. ch. ii. p. 6.^e HYDE, H. R. vet. P. in Præf.

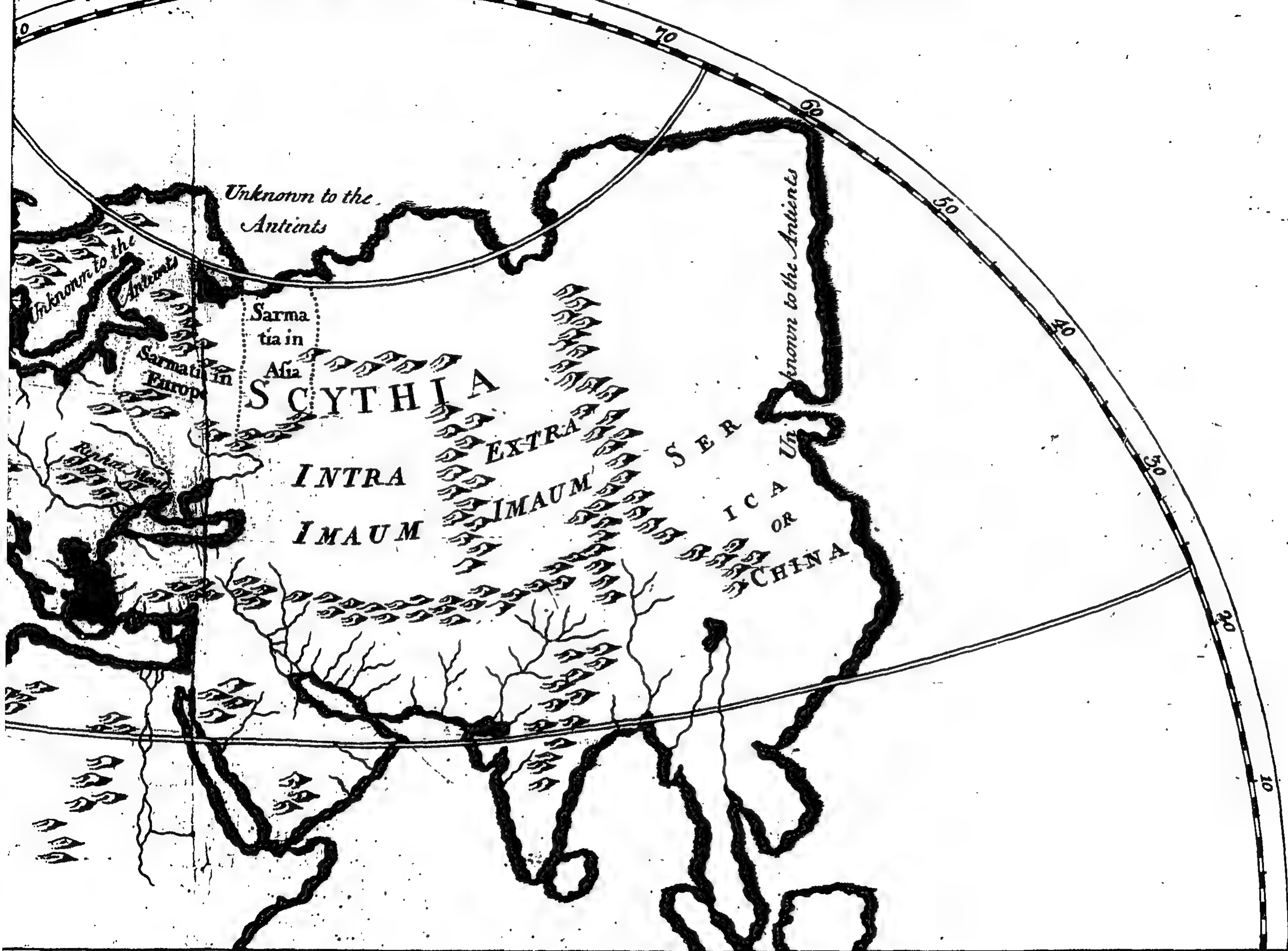
own country, affirm steadily, that it was settled by *Keyomaras*, reformed by *Zerduſht*, and ſo continued till the diſſolution of the empire of the native *Persians*. The modern *Persians*, and the *Arabic* hiſtorians, acknowledge theſe facts to be ſo ; they are likewiſe admitted by ſuch of the oriental chriſtian writers as have come to our knowledge : we may therefore conclude, that there is not ſo much in this third objection as at firſt ſight there may ſeem ; but that, conſidering the nature of the thing, this hiſtory has as ſtrong evidence in its favour as any other hiſtory of equal antiquity, excepting that of the *Hebrews* ; a propoſition which we long ago undertook to prove, and which we have hitherto proſecuted with no ſmall pains. The reader will no doubt take notice of ſome deviations in this ſection from our ordinary method, and of frequent recapitulations of facts, which have drawn this ſection to an extraordinary length ; but at the ſame time we hope it will be obſerved, that this is a ſubject that hath hitherto been untouched, a ſcene of confuſion, wherefrom little was expected ; if therefore it has coſt an unuſual trouble to give it ſome form, it ought to be excuſed, ſince tranſactions of this nature agree with the old mode of reducing *Chaos*, wherein there was firſt *motion* and then *light*. The firſt is here, the latter may come in time ; hitherto oriental hiſtories have been confined to the learned languages, and, like books of alchimy, been deſpiſed as trifles by ſome, and eſteemed as treaſures by others. Of their value we pretend not to decide, it was our buſineſs to bring them here, to place them in the view of our *Engliſh* reader in the beſt method we could ; and having done this, we are to leave them to the judgment of the public.

C H A P.

A MAP of the *MIGRATIONS* and *SETTLEMENTS* of the CELTES, OR GOME
the Former in EUROPE, and the latter



SETTLEMENTS of the CELTES, OR GOMERIAN S, and SCYTHIAN S;
P E . and the latter in A S I A.



C H A P. XII.

The History of the Scythians and Gomerians, their Migrations into Europe, under the several names inserted in the margin.*

* viz. the former of Scythians, Celto-Scythes, Sarmatians, Massagetes, &c.

S E C T. I.

An Inquiry into the Origin, Antiquity, Migrations, and Settlements of the Scythians and Gomerians, considered as two distinct Nations, by way of Introduction to their History.

the latter of Gomerians,

THESE two nations are so blended in antient history, that it would be next to impossible to assign their different territories, or give their history with any tolerable clearness, without previously tracing them to their distinct originals, taking a cursory retrospect of their migrations and settlements, and considering each of them under those various names, by which they are mentioned by antient historians. We have already seen at the beginning of this history, that they were both descended from Gomer †, the eldest son of Japhet. This last we have also proved to have been the eldest son of Noah *, and to have received this peculiar blessing from his father, that God would enlarge his borders ‡, upon which account Moses observes immediately after, that the isles of the Gentiles, by which is understood Europe, was divided by, or among, his posterity †. This perhaps is what induced Berosus and those who have followed him, to make such desperate haste to settle Gomer's children

Cymmerians, Celtes, Galatians,

Gauls, Titans, Sacks, and Celtiberians.

Celtes and Scythians descended from Japhet.

† See before, Vol. I. p. 368, & seq. * Ibid, p. 258.
‡ Genes. ix. 27. † Ibid, x. 5. See before, Vol. I. p. 258.

in *Italy*, *Asturia*, *Biscay*, and other parts of *Europe*, even so early as 142 years after the flood. Hence others, no less sanguine, have ventured to bring *Gomer* into *Gaul*, *Tubal* into *Spain*, *Asbkenaz* into *Germany*, and *Magog* into *Sweden* or *Denmark* c. These precipitate migrations stand sufficiently confuted by their palpable impossibility d (A), were there nothing else to disprove them. But nothing appears more certain, than that those patriarchs never came out of *Asia*. On the contrary, we find their descendants making a considerable figure in that cradle of the world, and settling themselves as near as they conveniently could to one another, till scantiness of room, want of pasturage, accidental discords, or some other reasons, obliged them to branch out farther on all sides towards *Europe* and northern *Asia*, whilst the descendants of *Shem* and *Ham* enlarged their territories in their several allotments, in the southern parts of *Asia* and *Africa*, as we have already seen in their several histories.

To make the same appear the more clearly with respect to the sons of *Gomer*, let us now take a short retrospect of their first settlements in *Asia*, their migrations thence into *Europe*, their successive stations before they came into those parts in which they settled themselves into regular kingdoms and governments; and from which some of them returned again into *Asia* in process of time, where they gave names to countries, cities, mountains, and rivers, which have caused such a confusion in antient historians, for want of rightly distinguishing between those two distant migrations. This circumstance makes it very necessary to examine, in the first place, whether the *Scythians* and the *Gomerians*, properly so called, were originally the same, or two distinct nations. Without such

c PEZRON. *Antiq. Celt.* chap. 3. d Vid. int. al. RAWL. *hist.* p. i. c. 8. sect. 3. BOCHART *Phaleg.* lib. iii. c. 8. & seq. PEZRON. *ubi sup.*

(A) Nothing indeed were more absurd, than to suppose, that they separated themselves from the rest before the general dispersion at *Babel*; and if immediately after, how little time soever be allowed for the building of that stupendous fabric, the remainder will be vastly too short for a migration of near 3000 miles, through woods, forests, and deserts; and with all the incumbrance of their families, cattle, and other luggage; for so far Sir *Walter Raleigh* has proved it to be by land, in the place above quoted. It were still more monstrous to suppose, that they could come into *Europe* by sea, with such a numerous retinue, so long before any thing of navigation, even by coasting, was known.

a previous inquiry, we shall find their names, countries, and exploits so confused, that it would be next to impossible to settle their geography, or understand their history, with any satisfactory clearness.

WE have formerly hinted at the different opinions of the learned concerning this point *, which seems chiefly to be owing to these two causes. 1. That none of the sacred historians mention these two nations by any other name, than that of their progenitor †; and 2. That prophane authors have been so confounded by their variety of names, migrations, and exploits, in several parts of *Asia* as well as *Europe*, and particularly by the affinity of those names which they gave in both places, to towns, rivers, mountains, and the like, in their driving one another out of their territories, which they often did by turns; that it is not easy to know whether they spoke of the same nation under different names, or of two distinct ones. Sure it is, that if they meant the latter, they have most egregiously confounded them, by ascribing names, places, and exploits to the one, which belonged to the other, which makes it extremely difficult to discover when they speak of the *Scythians*, and when of the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*. At least it is evident, that *Herodotus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Justin* ‡, to name no more, have called the *Scythians*, who remigrated into *Asia* by some names, and attributed some actions and places to them, which, upon closer examination, are found to have belonged to the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, whom they had driven thither out of their *European* territories. An accurate antient geographer tells us §, that the old *Greek* historians gave the name of *Scythians* and *Celto-Scythians* to all the inhabitants of the northern regions, though it is plain, that a considerable part of them were properly *Celtes* or *Gomerians* ¶. And in the same book he adds, that those people who inhabited beyond the *Caspian* sea, which should be the *Scythians*, were by the same *Greek* historians called some *Sacks*, and others *Massagetes*, though the former of these names, at least, belonged only to the *Celtes*, as we shall shew in its proper place.

FOR these reasons, many learned men have chosen to reckon them as one people, branched out into that variety of

* Vol. I. p. 368, 370. † Vid. int. al. EZEK. xxxviii, 2, 3, 6. ‡ See PTOLEM. Geogr. lib vi. c. 11, & 13. HERODOT. lib. i & 4. JUSTIN. lib. i. c. 8. & seq. § STRAB. Geogr. lib. ii. ¶ Vid. GENEBR. 1949 LEWIS's Introd. in hist. Britan. cap. iii. PEZRON. ubi sup. JVN. in Genes. x. 2.

names and characters, under which they are distinguished in history. Notwithstanding which, and the silence of the sacred books, *Josephus's* authority has been more universally received both by ancient fathers and modern authors; who affirms, the *Celtes* and *Gauls* to be descended from *Gomer*, and the *Scythians* from *Magog* his next brother¹; and we think very justly too. As to the first, there is not the least reason to doubt of it; for, besides the testimony of the *Jewish* historian, we have this undoubted proof, that, notwithstanding all the various denominations which they have undergone, and which seem rather to have been given to them by other nations than assumed by themselves (B); they have still preserved their original name of *Gomro*, or *Cymro*, or descendants of *Gomer*, and retain it to this day in all those countries where the *Celtic* or *Gomerian* language is preserved; which is therefore called *Gomeraeg* or *Cymbraeg*, that is, *the language of Gomer*².

To

¹ Antiq. l. i. c. 7. Vid. HIERON. THEODORET. & al. in Genes. x. 2. BOCHART. Phaleg. l. iv. c. 38. RAWL. ubi sup. p. 1. c. 8. sect. iv. JUN. LE CLERC. PATRIC. in Genes. x. 2. PEZZON. ubi supra, c. iv. & al. mult. ² PEZZON. LEWIS. & al. ubi supra.

(B) By these names we mean, not only those which were a palpable corruption of their original one, such as *Cymbrians*, *Cymmerians*, *Cammerians*, and the like; but those of *Celtes*, *Gauls*, *Galatians*, *Titans*, *Sacks*, and perhaps also those of *Scythians*, *Celto-Scythians*, *Celtiberians*, and some others; all which, if we may guess at them by their etymons, seem to have been given to them, some out of compliment and on account of their valour, and others out of contempt and in revenge for their incursions, plunders and conquests. Thus the word *Celtes* in *Greek* κέλταις or κέλται, signifying horsemen in *Homer* and *Pindar*, might be given them on account of their great expertness in horsemanship (1).

Another author (2) derives that word, and that of *Gaul*, from the *Celtic*, in which both signify a warlike man. *Bochart* conjectures, that they were called *Gauls* and *Galatians* from the redness of their hair (3).

That of *Titans* may either allude to it, as it was a name of the sun, whose etymon can no where be so appositely found as in the *Celtic*, in which *Ti* or *Ty*, signifies a *House*, and *Tan*, or *Tæen*, *Fire*, and both together, *The House of fire*. Some, how-

(1) Vid. Goodwin. Not. in Comm. Cæsar. lib. i. c. 1. Not. 3.
(2) Pezzon. Antiq. Nat. Celt. chap. 3, (3) Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 6.

To all this we may add the concurrent testimony of *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Dionysius of Alexandria*, or rather *Charax*, *Mela*, and others, who mention them under the names of *Comarians*, *Camarians*, *Chomarians*, *Cymbrians*, *Cymmerians*, and such like; all which do plainly appear to be a corruption of their original name of *Gomerians*¹. We have likewise the authority of some antient fathers, who agree, that *Gomer* was the father and founder of the *Gomerians*, called afterwards *Celtes*, *Galatians*, and *Gauls*^m. And if all this be not enough to prove the *Celtes* to be derived from *Gomer* we shall add another pregnant argument out of *Cluverius*, who proves, that the antient *Celtic* nation, which, according to him, included the regions of *Illyria*, *Germany*, *Gallia*, *Spain*, the *Britannic* and other northern isles, did all speak the same languageⁿ, which could be no other than the *Gomeraeg*, or the language of *Gomer*, which had been universally preserved among all his descendants, as we shall shew more fully when we come to speak of their language and history. To all these we shall add at the bottom some au-

¹ PROLEM. lib. vi. c. 11—13. MEL. ubi supra. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 16. DION. Per. v. 700. ^m HIERON. tradit. hebr. in Genes. EUSTAT. Com. in Examer. ISIDOR. orig. lib. ix. c. 2. ZONAR. BED. & al. ⁿ Antiq. German. lib. i. c. 6. & seq. & Introd. ad Geogr. l. ii. c. 5. & seq.

ever, fetch it from the *Celtic Tit*, which in that as well as in the *Hebrew* signifies dust or dirt; so that *Titans* shall signify the same as *terrigenæ*, or children of the earth or dirt. This last etymon, if admitted, may be supposed to have been given them in scorn, and to imply the baseness of their origin, as that of *Sacks*, which signifies *thieves* and *plunderers*, was given them on account of their living chiefly by that trade.

That of *Celtiberians*, or inhabitants of *Celtiberia*, or *Spain*, might be designed to distinguish those *Celtes* on that, from those on this, side of the *Pyrenees*, as we shall have further occasion to shew in another note. For thus we find *Gallia* or *Gaul* divided into *Cis* and *Trans-alpina*, and the word *Iberia* seems derived from the old *Celtic* and *Teutonic Iber*, which signifies *over* (4); and thus *Spain*, which is sometimes found in the plural number, was divided into *Citerior* and *Ulterior*.

Other etymologies of their names we omit, because authors have been too apt to fetch them from other languages, in order to make them square with their own hypotheses, because they were ignorant of the *Celtic*, from which it is most natural to derive them, as shall be further proved in due time.

(4) *Vid. Cluver. lib. ii. c. 3.*

thentic monuments, which the warlike descendants of *Gomer* and his brethren have left in their various settlements, which still more corroborate what we have said concerning their origin, migrations, and settlements (C).

WERE we as well acquainted with the *Scythian* nation, with respect to these two particulars, it would not be difficult to trace it to its fountain head, and to dispel that obscurity which we find in antient authors concerning them, who, as we hinted before, have too much confounded them with the *Gomerians*. However, we are not without some additional proofs to the testimony of *Josephus*, who affirms them to be descended from *Magog* above mentioned, and for which he has been followed by many of the fathers and by a greater number of moderns^o. For first, we find some antient monuments of that patriarch, and of his two brothers *Meshech* and *Tubal*, in the neighbourhood of his brother *Gomer*, in the regions of lesser *Asia*, where they planted themselves after the dispersion (D). Secondly, As they spread themselves to-

^o HIERON. AUGUST. EUSTAT. THEODOR. BED. JOSEPH. BEN-GOR. Judæi fer. omn. JUN. BOCHART. RAWLEIGH. MUNST. HEYLIN. PATRIC. & al. innum.

(C) Thus the *Gomerians* left their name to the *Albanian* mountains, when they exchanged them for the more pleasant plains of *Phrygia*; and to a city of this province, which in *Pliny's* time was still called *Cymmeris*. *Askenaz* *Gomer's* son gave his to the *Sinus Ascanius*, to a lake and river of the same name, and in the lesser *Phrygia* to a city and province, and to the *Insulæ Ascaniæ*.

From *Riphat*, another of his sons, we have the *Riphean* nation and country, since called *Paphlagonia*, and from *Togarmah*, his youngest son, whom the *Greek* version calls *Θορυμα* and *Τορυμα*, the *Trogmans* or *Trocmans* of *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*; all these the reader may further see in the learned *Bochart* (5).

In like manner *Magog*, *Meshech*, and *Tubal*, whose bands are joined together by the prophet (6), have left their names to several countries bordering upon those of *Gomer*; as *Magog* to the *Gogarens*, *Meshech*, or, as he is called by the antients, *Mosoch*, to the mountains *Moschici* between *Colchis* and *Armenia*; and mentioned by *Ptolemy*, *Pliny*, and *Mela*; as the reader may see it further proved in *Bochart* above quoted.

(D) Of this kind are the provinces of *Mongog* or *Mongug*, *Con-gigo*, *Giguivi*, and some others; and the cities of *Gyngui*, *Angui*, *Gorgangoi* and *Goigui* in *Tartary* †.

(5) *Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 8 & seq. Rawleigh, Heylin, Pexron. & al. Vid. & sup. Vol. I. p. 368, 369.* (6) *Ezek. xxxviii. 2. xxxix. 1.* † *Vide Bochart. ubi supra & al. sup. citat.*

wards *Europe*, and *Gomer's* descendants turned towards the north-west, so those of *Magog* may be reasonably supposed to have spread themselves towards the north-east into both *Scythias*, where we find some plain footsteps of their progenitor, besides the name of *Mogli*, which was that of the antient *Moscovites* and *Tartarians* (E); and seems only a corruption or abbreviation of *Magogli*, the sons of *Magog*. To these we may add, Thirdly, that there is scarce a nation under heaven that so fully answers the warlike, bloody, and dreadful character, which the scriptures give us of *Gog* and *Magog*, as that of the barbarous *Scythian*; upon all these accounts therefore we hope, we may venture with *Josephus* to derive them from that patriarch.

(E) Accordingly, we do scarcely find any part of *Europe* in which some of these are not mentioned by antient geographers and historians (7), under the names of *Gomerians*, *Cymbrians*, *Celtes*, *Celtiberians*, *Celto-Scythians*, and such like, as we shall more fully see in the sequel.

As for *Iberia* or *Spain*, *Josephus* doth indeed affirm, that it was first peopled by the *Thobalines*, or sons of *Tubal* or *Thobal*, as he calls him (8), who was the fifth son of *Japhet* (9). On the other hand, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* thinks it more probable, that it was first inhabited by the *Africans*, who did from thence conceive such fondness for it, that they have been ever since striving from time to time to regain it (10). But we see no reason for preferring either of these opinions to the concurrent testimony of the authors above quoted; to which we may add, that the surname of *Celto*, given to that province, and that of *Celtiberians* or *Celto-iberians* to its inhabitants, doth make it much more probable, that the *Celtes* were the first peoplers of it, especially if we consider, that the name of *Iberia* signifies in the old *Celtic* and *Teutonic*, *over*, or *on the other side*, as we hinted in a former note. So that the *Celtiberians* might mean only the *Celtes* on the other side the *Pyreneans*, to distinguish them from those on this side (11).

It is likewise more natural to suppose, that the warm situation of *Spain* might invite the *Celtes* thither from the more northern climates of *Europe*, than that the *Africans* could come thither so early by sea; unless we can swallow that ridiculous *Spanish* tradition, which makes *Tubal* to have crossed over thither, and to have built the town of *St. Vaal*, which is still standing at this day (12).

(7) Vid *Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. Ptolem. Geogr. lib. vi. c. 11. & 13. & alib. Mela lib. i. c. 2. iii. c. 2. Casf. Comm. c. i. Plin. lib. vi. c. 16. Strab. D. Sicul. & al.* (8.) *Ant. lib. i. c. 7.* (9) *Genes. x. 2.* (10) *Hist. chap. viii. sect. 3. & seq.* (11) See before p. 230. note B. (12) *Hist. of the world, ubi sup. sect. 4.*

HAVING thus far cleared the way, and disentangled, as much as possible, the intricacy of antient authors concerning these two nations, we shall now proceed to add something of their different migrations from *Asia* into *Europe*, which will still give a further light to what has been said already. The reader may remember, that we formerly settled *Gomer*, their common progenitor, with his descendants about him, in the province of *Phrygia*^p: *Askenaz* his eldest son, or, according to the *Armenians*, *Togarmah* his youngest, or, it may be, both of them, in *Armenia*; and *Riphat* the second son in *Cappadocia*; or, in some province in the neighbourhood of *Phrygia*^q. For the condition the young world was then in would not permit them to go far from each other at first; and when their increase made it afterwards necessary to enlarge their territories, it is reasonable to suppose, that they kept a correspondence with each other, by means of those rivers, along whose banks both they and their descendants were forced to pitch their tents, for the convenience of pasture for their numerous herds^r; even when they began to spread themselves farther and wider into *Europe*, they seem to have moved regularly, and in columns, without interfering one with another, and as it were, by a settled contract. For in proportion to their advancing northward, we find the *Gomerians*, who had taken the left hand, insensibly spreading themselves westwards, towards *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Germany*, *France*, and so quite up to *Spain*, whilst the *Scythians*, or descendants of *Magog*, moved to the right eastward, towards *Moscovy* and *Tartary*, as far as the borders of *Cathai*, if not beyond.

THUS was all *Europe*, and the far greater part of *Asia*, their utmost extent northward, peopled by those two famous nations, the former almost wholly by the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, that is from the utmost parts of *Spain* to *Scythia Europæa* eastward, and the latter from thence almost to the territories of *China*, as we shall see in the sequel. So that the whole extent of these two nations reached from the 10th degree west to the 80th east longitude, and in latitude from the 40th degree quite up to the arctic circle.

UPON the whole then, it appears that the first rank belongs to the noble *Celtic* nation, as descended from the elder brother, though the preference has been given to the *Scythians* by the universal vote of prophane authors, who were unac-

^p See Vol. I. p. 368.
CHART. ubi supra l. iii. c. 8.
sect. vi.

^q Vid. EUSEB. loc. Hebr. & Bo-

^r See RAWL. hist. ubi sup,

quainted, that their progenitor was *Gomer's* younger brother. *Scytharum gens antiquissima* was even a proverb among them; upon which account we gave them the first rank in the plan of this history. But being now convinced of the contrary, and we hope that our readers are so by this time, we shall restore it to its right owners the *Celtes*, who claim it on account not only of their elderhip, but much more on that of their superior merit; as will appear more fully from the history of both.

S E C T. II.

The History of the CELTES, under the names of GOMERIANS, CYMMERIANS, CYMBRIANS, CELTES, GAULS, GALATIANS, TITANS, SACKS. &c.

WE have already spoken of the migrations of these sons of *Gomer*, from *Asia* into *Europe*, and endeavoured to account, as well as we could, for their variety of names in the last section; wherein we observed their regular progress from *Phrygia* their first settlement, through *Thrace*, *Hungary*, *Germany*, *Gallia*, *Italy*, till they had spread themselves to the utmost borders of *Spain*. In this large *European* tract it was, that, having fixed their boundaries between the *Scythians* and themselves, they began to appear a powerful nation under a regular monarchy, and gave their country, or others for them, the name of *Gallia* and *Galatia*, whilst themselves did retain their own antient name of *Gomero*, or *Gomerians*. As for those of *Cymmerians*, and *Cymbrians*, &c. which seems only a corruption of that, it is observable, that it was given to none of the *Celtes*, but those who inhabited the more northern regions of *Europe*, above the *Euxine* sea and the north of the *Danube*, where they were less known and intermixed. Thus that part of *Germany* now known by the name of *Holstein* was called *Cymbria Chersonesus*. The names of *Titans*, and *Sacks* were given only to those of lesser *Asia*, so that they seem to have been only known in this part of *Europe* by those of *Celtes* and *Gauls* (A).
The

The Various names of the Celtes.

(A) *Cæsar*, in his commentaries, doth indeed tell us, that they took the name of *Celtes* to themselves, whilst the *Romans* did give them that of *Galli* or *Gauls* (1), not knowing in all likelihood, that they both signified the same thing in the old *Celtic*, namely *warri-*

(1) *lib. 1.*

The name of *Galatians*, Γαλάται was given them also by the *Greeks*, but it is plain, it meant the same with the *Gauls*, and accordingly antient authors make them descended from the same father, namely *Gomer*. It was not, however, in this tract of ground that they began to be famous for their warlike exploits; they had already signalised their names in several parts of both the higher and lower *Asia*, where, it is likely, they began very early to be governed by several valiant princes of their own, and this is the reason that we find the name of *Gomerians* and *Gomerites*, as well as those of *Sacks* and *Titans*, in those parts, among antient geographers; which names were afterwards changed to that of *Celts*, after their spreading themselves into *Europe*, as will more fully appear by the sequel. But those early exploits are so intricate, and built so much upon conjecture, that it would be dangerous to rely too strenuously upon them. At the most, it is plain, that these *Asiatic* conquests did not remain long enough in their possession to deserve a place in this geography of their country. Those exploits will be best resumed in the history of those nations with whom they had to do. Whilst we confine their territories at present within those limits of *Europe*, in which we can speak of their actions with much greater certainty (B).

It

^a See PEZRON Ant. Celt. Nat. c. 2. ^b Comp. JOSEPH. Ant. Jud. l. i. c. 7. EUSTAT. Comm. in Examer HIERON. tradit. hæbr. in Geni. ix. ISIDOR Origin. l. ix. c. 2. & PEZRON. ub. sup. ^c Vid. PTOLOM. STRAB. MELA. & al.

ers (2). We would not depend too much upon uncertain etymologies, though we have ventured to give some other sense of these two names, as they are fetched from other languages; and indeed there is nothing more easy than to find in all languages such likeness of sounds as *Gauls* and *Galli*, *Celts* and κέλται though of such different meanings, as to make it very dubious, which is the right etymon. At least those are the most likely to be the truest, which are derived from the language itself unto whom the name belongs; excepting, however, such of them as, we observed there, were given in contempt and by way of reproach, as that of *Sacks* or *Robbers*. But here it is certain, that the *Celts* made too great a figure in the world, long before *Cæsar's* time, to have been called *Galli* in derision.

(B) We must not, however, omit taking notice, that when the prophet threatens the *Israel* with bringing *Gomer* and his armies against them from the north quarters (3), he seems to intimate, that

(2) Vid. Pezron, Cl. ii. (3) Ezek. xxxviii. 6.

there

IT is not easy to fix the exact boundaries, which divided the *Celtes* from the *European Scythians*, for the reasons given in the last section. We may perhaps be more particular, when we come to the geography of the latter. At present we shall only observe, that the former extended from the *Danube*, their supposed boundary, to the farthest part of *Spain* and *Portugal*, reaching at least twenty three degrees from east to west, that is from that famous river to cape *Fenestre*. It was bound-
ed on the south by the *Mediterranean* sea, and west and north-
west by the western and northern ocean. How far it extend-
ed full north, whether to the *Hyperborean* or frozen sea, or
only to the *Baltic*, we presume not to say. The last, how-
ever, seems most probable, for reasons we shall give in the
history of *Scythia*. For it is probable, they did not advance
towards *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and the other more northern re-
gions, till they found themselves too streightened in the more
pleasant climates of the south ; which did not happen in all
likelihood till many centuries after their migration into *Eu-
rope*. However, it is certain, that in the time of *Julius Cæ-
sar*, not only they but also the northern islands of *Britain*,
Ireland, and even *Iceland*, were inhabited, and made part of
the *Celtic Gallia*. As for the southern islands on the *Medi-
terranean*, such as *Sicily*, *Corfica*, *Majorca*, and others, we
need not doubt, but they were much sooner peopled than
those on the northern ocean.

Geogra-
phy.

So considerable was the *Celtic* nation, even in *Augustus Cæsar*'s time, though greatly abated of its former grandeur

there were still some of the descendants of that patriarch settled in some of the northern parts of higher *Asia* even in his time, and that they continued there till the fulfilling of the prophecy, that is, till some years after the *Babylonish* captivity, when they made that terrible irruption into *Palestine*, of which we shall speak in its proper place.

Accordingly we find *Ptolemy* placing the *Chamarians* and *Comarians* as two distinct nations, though originally the same ; the first with *Chamara*, their supposed metropolis, in *Bactria* along the south banks of the river *Oxus* ; and the latter a little farther north in the province of *Sogdiana* (4). *Mela*, though he differs somewhat from *Ptolemy* in their situation, doth agree in placing them in the northern provinces of *Asia* (5), where we may have occasion to visit them again in the sequel of this history, as well as the *Sacks* another branch of the *Celtes*, whom *Strabo*, (6) places a little farther westward in *Cappadocia* along the south coast of the *Euxine* sea.

(4.) *Ptol. lib vi. c. 11. & 13.*
Lib. xi.

(5.) *Lib. i. c. 2.*

(6)

and shrunk into much narrower limits, that it contained no less than sixty great people, distinguished by the names of cities or districts according to *Strabo*. *Tacitus* says 64^d, but this is nothing to *Josephus*, who reckoned the number of these nations about 315 ^c, or to *Appian*, who made them amount to 400, and their cities, if the greatest part of them were not really villages, to 1300. But how much greater a figure they must have made before that time, may be guessed by that notable expedition they made into *Italy*, in the time of *Tarquin* the elder, that is almost 600 years before Christ, when *Bellovesus*, having penetrated through the *Alps*, with a numerous army, did in a short time invade a great part of *Italy*, called from them *Gallia Cisalpina*^t. For this and their succeeding exploits against that province, and their conquest of its metropolis, we may justly look upon it as part of the *Celtic* or *Gallic* territories, tho' we should grant it to have been originally peopled by some other nation than the descendants of *Gomer*. But this doth not seem to us to be the real case, for though we have already sufficiently discountenanced the fable of *Berosus*, who brings *Gomer* into *Italy* so soon after the flood; yet it is much more likely, that his descendants were the first that peopled it with the rest of *Europe*, it being impossible so fine a country should escape them in their progressive migration, than to suppose, that either *Kittim* the son of *Javan* or his descendants were got thither before them. To make this still more probable, we must remind our readers of two things, namely, that the *Umbrians* were by many antient authors esteemed the most antient people in *Italy* *. And *Pliny* in the place last quoted tells us, that when the *Hebrurians* entered that country, and made war against the *Umbrians* they destroyed 300 of their cities; which proves, that they must have been there a considerable time. Our next observation is, that the *Umbrians* are affirmed by other antient historians to have been the descendants of the *Gauls* or *Celtes* †. And if it be so, it will be more reasonable to believe, that these *Gauls* or *Umbrians* had already passed the *Alps* and settled themselves in *Italy*, long before *Saturn's* time, since we find that he made no scruple to go and take refuge amongst them, and was courteously received by them, than to imagine, that the country was inhabited by the sons of *Javan*,

^d ANNAL. l. 3. ^c Bell. Jud. l. 2 c. 16. ^f Vid. REYNES. 2p. RAWLEY hist. lib. ii. c. 24. Sect. 1, 2. * FLORUS lib. i. c. 17. PLIN. l. iii. c. 14. DIONYS. HALIC. l. i. c. 8. com. SERV. in Virgil. † SOLIN. ex BOCH. ISIDOR. & al. ap. PEZRON. c. 15.

or, as others pretend, that the *Arcadians*, their supposed descendants, could come thither so early by sea; they who are only famous for their pastoral life, and consequently so unacquainted with navigation (C). If ever therefore either of these did possess themselves of *Italy*, as some have conjectured from uncertain etymologies and some intricate testimonies from antient authors, it is more reasonable to suppose it to have been of later date, and that they drove the greatest part of the *Celtes* out of it over the *Alps*; and this may be the reason of their making so many brave attempts to recover it out of their hands.

Plutarch, indeed speaking of the *Gallic* or *Celtic* nation, tells us, that some of them passing over the *Riphean* mountains, went and dwelt towards the northern sea, the extreme or the northern part of *Europe*, whilst others remained in the south parts, between the *Pyrenees* and the *Alps*^g. Where he adds, that having tasted of the wine that came out of *Italy*, they marched over the *Alps*, under the conduct of a malecontent, named *Arron*, and conquered those territories which had been till then held by the *Tuscan*s. But the name of *Celtiberia*, by which *Spain* was antiently known, and that of the *Celtic* promontory, now *Cape Fenestre* or *Finister*, the utmost verge of *Spain* westward on the one hand, and of *Gallia Togata* or *Cisalpine* on the other, including near one third part of *Italy*^h westward, shews nothing less than their having confined them-

^g In vit. Camill. ^h Vid. PROLEM. ubi. sup. MELA. lib. iii. 1, 2, CLUVER. & al.

(C) We need not observe further to our readers, how fond the *Arcadians* were of vaunting their antiquity above all other nations and how much they valued themselves for their assumed name of *Aborigines* every where. Whether the *Celtes* did take that of *Tytans* or *Tutaves*, one signification of which is almost of the same import with that of *Aborigines* or *Terrigenæ*, out of the same ostentation, we would not venture to affirm after *Pezron*, seeing it is capable of another signification, as we shewed in a former note. We may say in general, that the etymons of the various names of *Italy* are manifestly forced; as *Latium* from *lateo*, to be hid, because *Saturn* sheltered himself there, and *Italy* from the *Greek Æolia* or the *Arcadian Elatus* (7). Upon the whole then, those who will not allow it to have been peopled at first by the *Umbrians* above mentioned, and these to have been a colony of the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, must be contented to remain in the dark about it.

(7) *Reynecc. ubi. sup. Camden. Heylin. & al.*

selves within the limits of those two ridges of mountains (D). It is likely, that our author either knew nothing of these *Celtic* names, or if he did, that he thought the *Celtes* had been only the invaders of those two provinces, rather than the first inhabitants of them, the contrary of which, we hope, we have shewn by this time to be at least the more probable of the two.

UPON the whole then, the antient territories of the *Celtes* extended themselves east and west, from the head spring of *Ister* or *Danube*, which divided them from the *European Sarmatia* (E), quite cross *Europe* unto *Cape Finister* and the streights of *Hercules* now *Gibraltar*, and contained the following provinces, namely *Iberia*, now *Spain* and *Portugal*; *Gallia*¹ or *Celto-galatia*, now *France*, with the *Low-countries*; *Germany* as far as the *Danube* eastward, and *Denmark* northward; *Rhetia*, *Vindelicia*, and *Noricum*, since *Switzerland*, *Savoy*, and *Lombardy*, and the *Gallia Cisalpina* or *Togata*, containing that part of *Italy*, now *Piedmont*, the dutchies of *Milan*, *Parma*, *Mantua*, &c. and the republics of *Venice* and *Genoa*, besides the southern and northern islands of *Europe*, which we have lately had occasion to mention.

THESE extensive territories had, however, been very much curtailed long before *Julius Cæsar*'s time, having been reduced within the boundaries of the *Alps* and *Pyrenean* mountains from east to west; by the *Mediterranean* on the south; and by the *Rhine* and *British* ocean on the north and north-east. In *Cæsar*'s time we find it still lessened by all that tract which lies between *Geneva* and the *Alps*, which had been

¹ Vid. POLYB. lib. iii.

(D) We could further confirm this by multitudes of names of cities, towns, rivers, mountains, capes, promontories, &c. both in *Spain* and *Italy*, which are to be met with in all the antient geographers, and many of them even extant to this day, all which, being plainly of *Celtic* origin, do shew them to have been given to them by that nation; but we shall refer our readers for them to the authors quoted in the margin (8).

(E) *Herodotus* says much the same thing, though in other words, when he tells us (9), that the *Ister* hath its spring in the land of the *Celtes*, and traversing the *European* regions enters obliquely into the borders of *Scythia*.

(8) *De his vid. Wott. Archæol. Lluid. lexic. Cambrobr. Hick. lexic. Brechrav. de orig. ling. Hackew. orig. nat. septent. Lewis's hist. Mag. Brit. Person. ubi sup. & al. mult.* (9) *Comm. lib. ii. c. 4. & seq.*

sometime

sometime before added to the *Roman* empire, over and above the *Gallia Cisalpina* lately mentioned, which they had invaded in *Tarquinius Priscus's* time, and advanced almost as far as the middle of *Italy*. This *Gallia*, thus curtailed, was called *Comata*. *Cæsar* divided it into three nations, namely, *Belgæ*, *Aquitans*, and *Celtes* or *Gauls* ^k (F). But by this time a great part of the *Celtic* territories had been dismembered from it; as *Spain*, which had passed from the *Carthaginians* to the *Romans*; the *Gallia Narbonensis*, which was become a province of the *Roman* empire ^l, and included all the southern provinces of *Gallia* along the *Mediterranean* from the *Pyrenees* to the *Alps*: this last contained at least *Gascony*, *Languedoc*, *Provence*, and *Dauphine*. Nevertheless, these three divisions were far from being all that the *Celtes* had left in *Europe*, though *Cæsar* had made the most of them in his account of that war (G). Other

^k Bell. Gall. lib. i. c. 1.

^l Bell. Gall. lib. iii. c. 20.

(F) Probably from the inhabitants wearing their hair long, contrary to the custom of the *Romans*. Thus we find also the *Gallia Citerior* called *Togata* from the long robes, and the *Uterior* or *Transalpine Brachata* from the breeches which were worn by its inhabitants.

(G) By which distinction it is plain, that he speaks only of the *Gallia* which he conquered, and not of the whole territories of the *Celtic* or *Gallic* nation, which still spread themselves vastly farther, at least towards the north; and therefore, when he comes to explain himself, and to give the particular names of each people belonging to each of those three nations, it appears, that he goes no farther than his own conquests (10): so that it should seem as if he had affected to compliment himself with the subduing of a numerous and powerful nation, of which the *Celtes*, so famous both in *Europe* and in *Asia*, were but the third part.

It was probably out of the same ostentation, that he ranks, for instance, 15 people under the name of *Belgæ*; namely the *Bellovaci*, or those who belonged to the city or district of *Beauvais*; the *Suessones* those of *Soissons*; *Nervii* now *Cambraisians*; *Atrebates* or *Artois*; *Ambiani* or *Amiens*; *Morini* whose capital was *Terouana*; *Menapii*, or the *Gantines*, *Antverpians*, and *Brabantines*; *Caletes* or those of the district of *Caulx*; *Velocasses*, now *Vexinois*; *Vcromandui*, or *Veremandois*, now *St. Quintin*; *Aduatici*, now not known, and variously guessed at; the *Condrusi*, *Eburones*, *Cæresi*, and *Pæmani*, concerning which we are also much in the dark. Now it is

(10) Vid. Godwin. annot. in Cæf. Comm. ibid.

ther divisions of *Gallia*, which were made by *Augustus* and other *Roman* emperors (H), after the conquest of it, will be best seen in the *Roman* history.

SEAS

plain, that all this pompous list did take up little more than the north part of *France* and the *Netherlands*.

The same may be said of another third, *viz.* *Aquitain*, among which he reckons twelve distinct people, making up in all the *Gallia Armorica*, so named from the *Celtic* word *Aarmor*, which signifies those countries which are upon the sea coast; this province was afterwards called by the *Romans Aquitain* from its mineral waters (11). And this contained at most the western provinces of *France* from the river *Ligeris*, now *Loire*, to the *Pyrenees*, according to his own account of it in another place (12).

As to the *Celtes*, to whom *Cæsar* tells us the *Romans* gave the name of *Gauls*, their country extended only north and south from the *Ligeris* or *Loire* to the *Sequana* or *Seine* *, and east and west at most from *Burgundy* to *Low Britanny*, including the *Gallia Lugdunensis*, part of which last was already under the *Romans*. But how short did all these three come of the *Celtic* territories, when some authors tell us, that they extended from the *Pyrenees* and *Alps* quite to the *Scythians* (13)? When another tells us, that all the inhabitants on each side of the *Rhine* were still called *Celtes* (14)? so that all that were on the other side of that river were out of the boundaries of the *Gallia Belgica*, and much more so out of those of the other three. Whether or no this *Gallia Celtica* was so called, and its inhabitants *Celtes*, in *Cæsar*'s time, by way of excellence above the rest, as the province of *Holland* is commonly taken for all the seven, and whether or no the other *Celtes* were unknown to that conqueror, we will not pretend to determine. Only it is plain, that the three *Gallic* provinces which he subdued, one of which only he distinguishes by the *Celtic* name, were but about one half of the whole nation even in his time.

(H) This may perhaps be thought a proper place to have spoken of the isles of *Great Britain*, both as they were first inhabited, and are still in some parts, by the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*; which last name as well as the antient language of that nation, is still preserved amongst them, especially in the north part of *Wales*. But as they make so great a figure in antient history, from their being first planted by some colonies of that nation, their history will be better referred to another book, wherein we shall resume that of the western and northern empires according to our first plan of this work.

(11) *Vid. Plin. l. iv. c. 17.* (12) *Comment. lib. i. c. 1. & a- lib.* * See page 245 in the note. (13) *Diodor. l. v. c. 9. Plutarch in vit. Camil. vid & Mel. Cluver. & al.* (14) *Dio. Cass. l. xxxix.*

However,

SEAS of note were the *Mediterranean*, the western, *British*, and northern ocean, and the *Baltic*. Their principal lake in these territories is that of *Geneva*, which is upwards of twenty miles

However, it will not be amiss to hint something here concerning the name of *Britain*, which has been confounded by *Camden* and others with that of *Gomro*, as if they had both belonged to the same people; for it is certain, that the former is only to be found among the *Britains* in *France*, who call themselves *Brithained*, and are as great strangers to the name *Gomro*, as the *Gomros* or *Welsh* are to that of *Brithained* or *Briton*. It seems therefore, that those antiquaries have too lightly rejected the story of *Brutus* coming into *England* and conquering the gigantic inhabitants of it, from which conquest that part was afterwards called *Britannia* or *Britain*, which *Camden* and his followers will have to be derived from *Brith painted* and *Tain region*; because the *Britains* painted their bodies, and were upon that account called by the *Romans* *Picti* or *Painted*.

It does not appear at all probable, that if the *Britains*, who went out of *England* into *France*, had been the same with the *Gomros*, or antient inhabitants of *Britain*, they would have changed their original appellative, in which all the other descendants of *Gomer* did so pride themselves, for the nick-name of *Brithained* or *Painted*; much less that they should have quite obliterated the former, which was still so carefully preserved by their neighbours. But if the *Trojans* were themselves a colony of the *Gomerians* or *Welsh*, as a modern author seems to have nearly proved (15); and these after the destruction of their city, came under *Brutus*, or *Trotus*, as he is called by *Vitus*, and by others *Bruto*, and from him they were called *Britains*, and invaded a considerable part of this island; it will at once account for the name, and for the great affinity there is between the *Gomeraes* or *Welsh*, and the *Brithained* or *British*, which last is objected by the antiquaries against the probability of the first.

It is therefore not only more for the honour of this nation, but also more reasonable to suppose with *Sir John Price* (16), that these isles were at first peopled by the antient and warlike *Gomerians*, than by the conquered and fugitive *Trojans*; for who can think, that they should have been so long unknown to the former as 1000 years after the dispersion? for so long at least it was before the latter can be supposed to have come from *Troy* hither, by which time the others had spread themselves all over *Europe*. And is it not also more probable, that these gave it the antient name of *Albion*, which in their language signifies *white*, from the whiteness in which the *Cliffs* of *Dover* appeared clad from the other side of the water, than that it received it from *Albion*, the brother of *Borgion*, the son of *Neptune*?

(15) *Lewis Introd. in hist. Britan. c. iv. & lib. ii. c. 14.* (16) *Deffen's hist. Brit.*

miles in length and about eight in breadth, and by its navigableness enriches both the city of that name and all the countries about it. To this we may add that of *Serviere* in high *Dauphine*, very remarkable upon another account. It is a good day's journey up to the *Alps*, and yet has been found to have a communication with another much smaller at eight or nine miles distance, and is calculated to stand near half a mile perpendicular lower than the former without being overflowed, or sending out more water than a very inconsiderable stream, scarce sufficient to turn a mill. Chief mountains are the *Pyrenees* and *Alps*, otherwise called *Apennine*, which are of very great length, and of such prodigious height, that they are always covered with snow of incredible hardness. The latter were supposed by *Livy* and others to have been called *Apennine* from *Hannibal Pennius*, but much more probably from the old Celtic word *Penn*, a head, by reason of the exceeding height and whiteness of them. So that *Apennine* may be only a contraction of *A Pen Ghwin*, white heads, as the word *Alps* may be derived from the Celtic *Alp* or *Alb*, white.

THE chief rivers are the *Ister*, which runs into *Scythia*, and empties itself into the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*. The *Rhine*

We may add, that *Berosus* and those who have followed his steps (17) have given us a list of 20 kings of the *Celtes* who reigned in *Gaul*, and the greater part of them also over the *Gomeros* on this side of the water, before *Brutus*. The reader will see by the following list of their names how several cantons of *Gaul* might probably receive theirs from them, as *Longobards* from *Bardus* and *Longus*, their fifth and sixth monarchs. *Gallia Narbonensis* from *Narbo*; *Lugdunensis* from *Lugdus*; the *Belgic* from *Belgius*; the *Allobroges* from *Allobrox*, &c. they run as follows: 1. *Samotbes*, by others called *Dis* & *Discelta*, 2. *Magus* 3. *Sarron*. 4. *Druis*. 5. *Bardus*. 6. *Longus*. 7. *Lucus*. 8. *Celtes*. 9. *Galates*. 10. *Narbon*. 11. *Lugdus*. 12. *Belgius*. 13. *Jasius*. 14. *Allobrox*. 15. *OEgyptus*. 16. *Paris*. 17. *Olbius*. 18. *Galates II*. 19. *Namnes*. 20. *Franicus*.

It is true, this list seems rather to be that of the princes of several cantons of the *Celtes*, than a regular succession of the kings of the whole nation, which it is not likely was governed by one sole monarch. Nevertheless as they reigned either in *Gaul* or *Britain*, long before this *Brutus* (suppose him to have come from *Troy*, as will be further seen when we come to that part of our history) the most that can be said of him is, that he invaded and took a great part of the latter from the *Gomeros*, its original inhabitants, who were thereby forced to retire farther westward, where they have continued ever since.

(17) *Vid. Vitus Basingst. hist. Brit. lib. i. not. 25. & auct. ab eo citat.*

which

which springs from the mountains of *Switzerland*, and runs through *Germany* and *Holland* into the *British* sea. The *Seine*, *Loire*, and *Garonne*, of which we have lately had occasion to speak, as they divided the *Gallia Celtica*, *Belgica*, and *Aquitania* from each other *. The *Durius* now *Duero*, which descends from the mountains of *Sierra* in *Asturia* into the *Atlantic* ocean at *Oporto*. The *Tagus* or *Tajo*, which crosses great part of *Spain* and *Portugal* and falls into the same ocean below *Olyfipon* or *Lisbon*. The *Anas* now *Guadiana*; the *Bætis* or *Tartessus* now *Guadalquivir*; these two empty themselves in the gulph of *Cadis*. The *Iber* now *Ebro*, which descends from the same mountains of *Sierra* with the *Durius*, but taking a contrary course from it, runs eastward into the *Mediterranean* and empties itself into the gulph of *Valencia*. The *Rhodanus* or *Rhofne*, which hath its spring from the mountains of *Switzerland* but descends a contrary way, and crossing the lake of *Geneva*, runs through the south part of *France* and empties itself into the *Mediterranean* about *Marseilles*; the *Padus* or *Po*, and *Adesis* now *Adige*, which descend, the former from *Piedmont* and the latter from *Switzerland*, and fall at a small distance from each other into the gulph of *Venice*. Those of *Italy* and of the *European* Islands will be seen in another chapter.

WE shall only add, that the greatest part of the names of these and of other smaller rivers are certainly of *Celtic* extraction, and agreeable to their properties. Thus *Garumna* from *Garw*, *rough*, expresses its great rapidity. *Rhodanus*, from *Rhedog*, *to run swiftly*, implies its swift course. *Arar* now *Saon* is so called from its slowness, its descent into the *Rhofne* being scarce perceptible. *Durius* or *Duero* from *Dcur*, *water* or *river*, whence the names of a great many cities and towns situate near the water-side ended in *Duro* and *Durum*. Thus likewise the names of countries and districts which end

^m Vid. CAMDEN, Brit. LEWIS introduct. in hist. Britan. PEZRON. antiq. lib. iii. sub. voc. tan. & alib.

* The authors, p. 242 in the note, say that *Aquitain*, according to *Cæsar*, lay between the *Ligeris*, now *Loire*, and the *Pyrenees*; and that the *Celtæ* extended only from the *Ligeris* to the *Sequana* or *Seine*; whereas *Cæsar* tells us, in the place quoted, that *Aquitain* was bounded on the one side by the *Garumna* or *Garonne*, and on the other by the *Pyrenees*, and that the *Celtæ* were divided from *Aquitain* by the *Garumna*, and from the *Belgæ* by the *Sequana*: This it was thought proper to observe here, as it seems from what is above said, that the authors intended some other division than what they have given us, and which it is impossible to discover.

in *Tan*, or *Tain*, and in the *Latin Tania*, as *Aquitain*, *Britain*, *Lusitania*, &c. are formed from the *Celtic Tain* and *Stan*, a *region*^m, and imply *the country of waters, of the Britons*, and *Lusians*, which last were a *Celtic* people, from whom came the *Portuguese*. We omit a multitude of cities, towns, mountains, and other antient names which are palpably of the same extraction, concerning which the curious may consult the authors above named.

NATURAL and artificial rarities in so spacious a field would take up too much room in this history, and are so well known to the curious, that we think, they may be safely omitted, those only excepted which have some immediate relation with some remarkable facts as shall fall in the course of this history, when we come to resume it in another chapter. One thing only we beg leave to mention here, namely the *Littus Lapidum*, otherwise the *Campus Lapidus*, or *stony shore* or *field*, of above a mile in length upon the coasts of the *Gallia Narbonensis* or *Languedoc*, where *Hercules* is said to have fought the giant *Albion*, the son of *Neptune*; which place is still called by the inhabitants *Les Craux*ⁿ, from the multitude and largeness of stones with which it is covered; that word being derived from the *Celtic Craig* or *Craic*, which signifies *rocks* or *stones* &c.

ⁿ Hist. Delphinial. Lugdun. 1498. ° Vid. LEWIS introd. in hist. Brit. c. iv.

S E C T. III.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, learning, and trade of the antient CELTES.

THO' the *Celtes* exceed all other nations in antiquity, their descent being, as we have seen, from *Gomer* the eldest son of *Japhet*, the eldest son of *Noah*, in which respect they outgo the *Egyptians*, *Phrygians*, and even the *Scythians*; yet it must be owned, that our knowledge of their government comes vastly short of the two first, whether it be owing to the want of records, or rather to the slowness and length of their migrations into *Europe*, where we find them first settled into a spacious and regular polity. A late antiquary^a hath indeed attempted to prove, that upon the dispersion of *Babel*, *Gomer* or his immediate descendants did presently enter into *Armenia*, thence into *Phrygia* and *Capadocia*, till at length, under the conduct of *Acmon*, and af-

^a PEZRON. antiq. Na. Celt. pass. & ch. 15.

terwards of his son *Uranus*, two warlike princes, they spread themselves farther, and sent their colonies from lesser *Asia* even into *Spain*. *Chronus* or *Saturn*, *Jupiter* and *Mercury* or *Teutat*, were their three next successors; and it was this last, according to our author, who settled the *Gomerians* then called *Titans* in *Europe* into a regular government, and gave them laws; and there they changed their name into that of *Celtes* and *Gauls*. According to this system then this *Gomerian* polity must have begun about the time of *Terah*, *Abraham's* father, or even of *Nahor*, if *Maneus* be admitted to have been, as some historians think, the father of *Acmon*; tho' *Saturn* was the first who took the title of king.

ALL this our author brings proof for from antient authors, which would carry us too far to repeat; we shall find a proper place for the history of those princes, since deified by a great part of the world; for the present we shall only observe, that nothing is more likely, than that their government was *Their go-* originally monarchical as well as that of other nations, since *vernment.* we find it in the same form even in *Cæsar's* time, when they had spread themselves all over *Europe*. Only by that time they had so far altered the form of their government, if we may believe that historian, that instead of one monarch they were divided into several petty kingdoms, and did not yield the absolute command to any one, except when their territories were threatened with invasion from a common enemy ^b. This is further confirmed in part by another historian ^c; who tells us, that the *Cimmerians* or northern *Gomerians*, being invaded by the *Scythians* their neighbours, called a council of their kings and people, whose disagreement about defending or abandoning their country occasioned the loss of it, as well as the lives of those who resolved upon opposing the invaders. It is indeed hard to conceive, how so warlike a nation, extended over such large tracts of ground, and in such a difference of climates, should continue long under one head, without splitting itself into several kingdoms; so that it is rather a wonder to find, that they preserved so much of their antient affinity and government in *Cæsar's* time, as to unite themselves under one head in cases of common danger.

WHAT their laws were, whether reduced into a body, or depending upon the will of their sovereign, we cannot find. We are indeed told by the antiquary above-mentioned, that *Mercury* did polish and give them laws; and by others ^d, that *Samothæ*, otherwise called *Dis* and *Discolta*, a man of singu-

^b Comment. l. 6. & al. HERODOT. l. iv. ^c PRÆTOR. ubi supra. ^d Vid. LEWIS hist. Brit. cap. 2. & auct. ab eo citat.

lar learning and wisdom, and the first founder of the *Celtic* monarchy, gave them a body of laws and discipline, which he wrote in the *Hebrew* tongue, but in the *Phœnician* character ; and that the *Greeks* did borrow the latter from the *Celtes* when they re-entered *Asia*. The mistake of these authors in affirming, that he wrote in *Hebrew*, and retained that tongue above all other nations, the descendants of *Heber* excepted, may be easily accounted for from the great affinity there is between the *Celtic* and it, of which we shall have further occasion to speak ; and as to his using the *Phœnician* character, there is nothing extraordinary in it, since it was the most universal at that time, and is now allowed to have been the same with the *Samaritan* or antient *Hebrew*. The reader may see what has been heretofore said upon that subject †. It is added, that he was therefore called the *Saturn* of the *Celtes*, and that their learned men, such as their divines and philosophers, were called from him *Samothœi*. But if ever he wrote such a body of laws, it is certain we have nothing left of them, neither can we find any footsteps of either his or any other's in any author, but what are too recent to be mentioned here. However, as they very much deviated from the simplicity of their brethern the *Scythians* in their manner of life, they can no more be supposed to have been without some for the preservation of property, than their warlike genius could be without martial discipline.

THE *Curetes*, of whom we shall speak by and by, were the interpreters of their laws, judged all causes whether criminal or civil, and their sentence was reckoned so sacred, that whoever refused to abide by it was by them excluded from assisting at their sacred rites ; after which no man dared converse with him, so that this punishment was reckoned the most severe of all, even more than death itself.

Religion.

THEIR religion was very like that of the *Scythians*. They worshipped the same gods, as *Jupiter* under the name of *Taran*, which in the *Celtic* signifies *thunder*. *Mercury*, whom some authors call *Heus* or *Hesus*, probably from the *Celtic* *Huad* which signifies *a dog*, and might be the *Anubis latrans* of the *Egyptians*. But *Mars* was held in the greatest veneration by the warlike, and *Mercury* by the trading part, as we shall shew in its proper place. It will not, however, be easy to reconcile the greatest part of these *Celtic* deities with what *Pezron* says of them with great probability, that they were originally kings of that nation, as we shall shew in the sequel.

† See before, Vol. II. p. 320. & Vol. III. p. 405, & seq.

All that need be said at present on that head is, that the *Celtes* after having dwindled into idolatry, like other nations, did like them deify their kings and heroes after their deaths. Thus we find the *Cretans* at once worshipping of *Jupiter*, and shewing his sepulchre at the city of *Gnoſſus* ; for which reason, whilst *Callimachus* calls them lyars, for forging a tomb for that god, others, especially the christian fathers, justly blamed their folly for adoring him as a deity, whom they acknowledged to be interred among them. How these gods, or at least their names, came to be adopted by other nations, will be shewn, when we come to speak of the fabulous and heroic times ; and it would be labour lost to inquire what gods or religion the *Celtes* had before they deified their kings ; but since that time we find them very much addicted to all kinds of superstition, divination, astrology, magic, and other kinds of witcheries. The care of religion was immediately under their *Curetes*, since known by the name of *Druids* and *Bards* (A). These were,

(A) The *Curetes* were among the *Titanic Celtes* what the *Druids* were afterwards among the *Gauls*, and were had in the same reverence and esteem; insomuch, that the education of *Jupiter* was committed to them, and *Cres* one of his sons was of their society. It is not easy to trace their original ; and *Strabo*, exact and learned as he was, doth not seem to be satisfied with all he has said about them (1). Their name of *Curetes* seems derived from the Celtic word *Curo*, to strike or beat one thing against another, whence the Greek *κρητω* by the transposition of a letter, which signifies the same. And this seems to have been given them on account of their striking their shields with their javelins, which an antient author tells us they did (2), when they kept young *Jupiter* concealed in a cave, that his jealous father might not hear his cries. But whether they went heretofore to the wars, and encouraged the combatants with this their noise and dances, or were exempt from that duty like the *Druids*, as some pretend (3), we will not determine. If the *Druids* were exempt from that duty, they must have been different from the *Bards*, who, though in all other respects of the same order with them, yet were obliged to go and encourage the people to war with their poetic and musical compositions. Upon this account it is, that these *Bards* are affirmed by *Cæsar* (4) to have been the inventers of music and poetry, or rather to have received it from their king *Bardus*, whom *Berosus* affirms to have reigned over the *Gauls* and *Britains*, or *Cymbri* (5), from whom they were called *Bards*.

(1) *Geogr. lib. x.* (2) *Apollod. Bibl. lib. i. c. 1. ap. Pexron.*
 (3) *de Bell. Gall. vid. Lewis hist. Brit. c. v. Pexron c. xiii. Heylin & al.* (4) *Bell. Gall. l. vi.* (5) *Nat. hist. vid. Camden, Lewis, Pexron.*

were, as *Cæsar* tells us^e, the performers of sacrifices and all religious rites, and expounders of religion to the people.
Learning. They also instructed youth in all kinds of learning, such as philosophy, astronomy, astrology, the immortality and transmigration of the soul from one body into another, which was both an incitement to virtue and an antidote against the fear of death. These they taught their disciples by word of mouth, esteeming them too sacred to be committed to writing.

OTHER more common subjects, such as their hymns to their gods, the exploits of their princes and generals, and their exhortations to the people in time of war, and especially before a battle, all these were written in elegant verse, and recited, or rather sung, by them upon all proper occasions. *Diodorus*, speaking of the *Celtes*, tells us further, that these poets used to accompany their songs with instrumental music, such as that of organs, harps, and the like; and that they were had in such veneration, that if an army was engaged in battle, when one of these poets or *Bards* appeared, both sides immediately ceased fighting, so that their fury gave way to wisdom, and *Mars* to the muses. But the true reason was, that they were universally believed to be prophets as well as poets, so that it was thought dangerous, as well as injurious, to disobey what they supposed came from their gods.

THESE prophetic philosophers kept academies, which were resorted unto by a great number, not only of their own youth but even of other countries, insomuch, that *Aristotle* says, that their philosophy passed from thence into *Greece*, and not from *Greece* thither^f. Other authors add many things in praise of their virtue and morality^g. But a *Roman* historian^h

^e De Bello Gal. lib. vi. c. 12. ^f Ap. I. AERT. de vit. Philos. c. i. ^g See VITUS BASINSTOC, CAMDEN, LEWIS, & al. ^h SÆTON. in vit. Claudii.

The *Druids*, some think, were so called from *Berosus's* *Druys*, the 4th king of the *Celtes*, a man of uncommon learning for those days (6); but we think with *Camden*, that *Cliny's* is far more probable, who thinks, that they were so called from the *Celtic* and *Greek* word *Dros* or *Drofs*, an oak (7), which tree was held so sacred by the *Celtes* as well as *Scythians*, that they performed most of their religious rites near some large oaks, if not in oaky groves, and offered no sacrifice without some leaves of that tree. As we shall shew more fully in their history.

(6) Vid. Caius ant. Canab. Perion, Basinstok. (7) Vid. Cas. ubi sup. ex Beros. & Cæsar. Com.

makes no scruple to call their religion an impious one, and as such to have been forbidden by *Augustus* and abolished by *Claudius*. *Cruel Customs.* *Lucan* is no less severe against them; and this might indeed be partly attributed to the hatred which the *Romans* bore to them; yet it must be owned, that they had some barbarous customs, such as sacrificing human victims to their gods, as more acceptable to them than those of any other animals^l. And *Diodorus* tells us of another inhuman custom they used in their divinations, especially in great matters, which was done by killing a man with a scymitar, to draw their augury from the running of his blood from his mangled limbs.

BUT though they resembled the *Scythians* in some of their barbarous customs and warlike temper, yet they were far enough from imitating them in their pastoral life. They built large cities where-ever they came, they fortified and adorned them with spacious walls, towers, and sumptuous edifices. They were upbraided by the *Romans* with following the oldest law in the world, which ever leaves to the stronger what the weaker cannot defend^k. And indeed so greedy were they of conquest and plunder, as well as of keeping what they had gained, that they ever fought with such strength and fury, that nothing could withstand them. And so sudden and violent were their onsets, that, like fire and storm, they drove all before them. They seldom gave quarter to their enemies, which made them be looked upon as a cruel people^l. As for the prisoners they took in war, they sold them to their great men, who made slaves of them, and appointed the most fightly of them for their retinue. Instead of the skins of their enemies worn as ornaments by the more savage *Scythians*, these chose to adorn themselves with their spoil. They wore gold rings, and bracelets, and chains about their necks; and were very neat in their dress, as we have had occasion to hint a little higher.

WE have also observed, that they were expert horsemen, *Warlike* so that, considering their martial genius and discipline, their *discipline*. cavalry seldom failed of doing execution. They were no less famed for their armed chariots and their dexterity in managing them. In other respects we do not find, that they had any thing but what was common to almost all other nations, and so shall not dwell longer upon them. Their other arms were bows and arrows, darts, javelins, and scymitars, daggers, and bayonets; they had likewise shields and head-

^l MELA. lib. iii. c. 2. ^k Vid. PLUTARCH. in vit. Camil. ^l Id. in vit. Mar. Vid. & STRAB. TACIT. DIO. HERODIAN, MELA, & al.

pieces, and as they were divided into petty kingdoms or tribes, they divided their armies in the same manner in time of war, that the valour and merit of every tribe might be the better known, and that every man might be thereby spurred to advance the honour of that to which he belonged. As a further encouragement to their bravery, it was the business of their poets to record the actions of those that signalized themselves in songs and stories, which were afterwards sung at their games and other solemnities, as well as when they went to engage an enemy; and this had such an effect upon them, that they chose to die with their weapons in their hand, rather than to be made prisoners. It was also their custom before a battle to observe the moon, and, if possible, to avoid fighting till after the full of it. And this was not so much with a view of having a longer time for execution, as from a superstitious belief, that it would prove more fortunate; in this they were afterwards imitated by the *Lacedemonians*. They used also, like other nations, to consult their priests or augurs upon all emergencies, but especially before an engagement, and if the augury proved good, these priests used to march before them with songs, and dances, and musical instruments, till the onset was begun; but if their augury proved otherwise, they gave such heed to it, that nothing but absolute necessity could prevail on them to fight. Their martial laws used likewise to be written in verse, and set to some warlike tunes, which they were obliged to learn by heart, and to sing upon proper occasions, so that their very youth were versed in them, and knew the theory of military discipline, long before they were of age to bear arms. They seem, in a word, to have omitted nothing that could inspire them with a desire of conquest and glory, and cherish the warlike temper for which they have been so famed in history. How much their valour was dreaded, both by the *Romans* and other *European* nations, will be seen in another chapter, and we shall shew in the sequel of this, that they signalized themselves no less in *Asia*, both before and since their migration into *Europe*.

Language.

THEIR language, which we have already had occasion to speak of, was the old *Celtic* or *Gomerian*, preserved still by the *Welsh*. This has been so fully proved by numberless antiquarians, that we shall content ourselves with referring our readers to them, without entering into so spacious and intricate a field^m. Those who are acquainted with it must

^m De his vid. CAMD. Brit. JOACH. PERION. orig. ling. Celt. BRIERW. inquir in orig. ling. LLUYD. DAVIES & ROBERT Gram. WOOTON, HICK. lexic. LEWIS & PEZRON. ubi sup. & al. mult. readily

readily own, that no tongue, either ancient or modern, carries greater marks of antiquity than this *Gomroeg*; and that, though it must be supposed to have been very much blended with the *Greek*, *Latin*, and *German* in process of time, yet it retains still so much of the admirable simplicity of the *Hebrew* grammar and construction (B), that one would be apt to conclude them only dialects of the same tongue, from which the other languages above named, and even the *Arabic*, seem to have emanated (C). The only wonder in all this would

(B) With respect to the *Hebrew*, we refer our readers to what has been said of it in the history of the *Jews**, and it would be endless to enumerate in how many instances the *Gomroeg*, now the *Welsh*, doth imitate it. We shall, however, give our reader some few instances of it by way of specimen, and refer him for further particulars to the authors quoted above.

1. The *Gomroeg* is so near akin to the *Hebrew*, that an antiquary (8), who was master of both, has given the learned world a specimen of a considerable number of phrases out of the *Old Testament*, which are so alike in both, that they seem to have been originally the same, and their difference to be only owing to distance of time and place, and other such like causes, by which a language is naturally altered. 2. It distinguishes the cases like the *Hebrew*, not by different terminations as the *Greek* and *Latin*, but by preposite articles. 3. It often changes the radical or primitive letter of a word according to the preposition, adverb, pronoun, or article it is affixed to, giving it sometimes a harder, sometimes a softer sound, more for the sake of melody than grammar. 4. It hath its aspirations and gutturals, which are more or less dense like those of the *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, *Chaldaic*, &c. 5. In verbs it retains the root in the third person singular, as *Car*, he loves; *Cari*, thou lovest; *Cara*, I love; *Carwn*, we love; *Caruch*, ye love; *Carant*, they love.

With respect to its genius, it is strong, masculine, very poetical, and figurative, and though, perhaps more through corruption than primitive orthography, it seems harsh in the pronunciation by reason of its vast number of consonants, yet when put into verse, and spoken with its genuine pronunciation, it is, like the *Hebrew*, very soft, melodious, and musical.

(C) This is indeed, what a learned antiquary has endeavoured to prove from a great number of etymologies, and confirmed also by historical facts (9). But we dare not be so sanguine as he in so delicate a point, lest we should be thought to write rather the panegyric than the history of that antient nation and tongue.

* See before Vol. III. p. 401. & seq. (8) Ch. Edward's *Specimen* printed An. 1675. Vid. & Lloyd *Gram.* & al. (9) *Perron Ant. ling. Celt. pass.* & p. 3.

would be, that the *Gomerians* should be the only people that have preserved their own in such purity, whilst the *Jews*, and all other nations, have suffered theirs to be corrupted and blended with those of their neighbours, and especially of their conquerors. But may not this be owing to the former's having still preserved themselves from foreign conquests and bondage, choosing rather to leave their fertile abodes and retire into countries stronger by nature and less tempting to a conqueror, than to submit to their yoke? And as this at once inspired them with an over-weening value of themselves and natural hatred to other nations, might not this be an effectual means of preserving them from suffering their original tongue to be corrupted by those of their neighbours?

Poetry.

It were labour lost to endeavour to find out what their antient poetry was, in which their *Cirates* and *Druids* recorded all the exploits of their heroes; and our only reason for mentioning it here is to observe, that as these poets were their only historians, and their tongue abounded, like the *Hebrew* and other eastern ones, with bold allegories and figures, as we observed in the last note, this might probably enough administer matter sufficient for that variety of wonderful events, with which the fabulous and heroic times have been since stuffed, as we shall have further occasion to shew when we come to speak upon that head. As to their music, of which we have already hinted something under a former head, they are supposed to have brought it from *Crete*, where, having found an iron mine on mount *Ida*, they began to forge themselves tools, then arms, and shields, and armour; hence sprang not only the trades of smiths and armourers, but even the first notions of music are said to have been taken from the sound of their hammers, the clattering of their armour, and the beating of their shields, espe-

Here, however, the reader may find the most rational account for that surprising affinity which the learned have found between the *Celtic*, *Greek*, *Latin*, *Arabic*, *Persian*, *High-Dutch*, and some other *European* and *Asiatic* languages, which had never till then been tolerably accounted for by any other author, nor indeed could be, without having recourse to antient history; in which it seems at least highly probable, that all these were tribes or colonies of the *Gomerians*, and used the same language, till in process of time, being parted from their brethren and intermixed with *Scythians* and other nations, it split itself into that variety of dialects in which we find it, without losing the greatest part of their primitive words, which are still the same in them; as may be seen by the vocabulary at the end of our author's work, and by the history itself.

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cially when the *Curetes* were nursing up young *Jupiter*, of which we have spoken already^a. How far they improved these, and what other arts they cultivated, must be only guessed at from their manner of life; for since their warlike disposition did neither hinder them from building cities and magnificent edifices, nor from affecting some grandeur in their equipages, dress, and household furniture, we may reasonably suppose, all those arts and manufactures that tended to it to have been likewise encouraged amongst them. To these we may add agriculture and feeding of numerous herds, which they committed to the care of their slaves and inferior sort of people. Whatever luxury they might be guilty of with respect to dress and equipage, we do not find that they used any in their food. Pulse of all sorts was their common diet, especially that which the *Greeks* called *Elimos*, which we take to be the same with *Lim*, which in the *Celtic* signifies *millet*, and is a very nourishing grain. Milk was also a considerable part of their diet; and as to flesh, they eat very sparingly of it, if we except that of swine, called in the *Celtic* *Souckh*, whence perhaps the *Greek* *Συχα* or *Σιχα*, and the word *Sick*, used by the country people in several parts of *Europe* to call their hogs.

CONCERNING their antient traffick we have not much *Traffick.* to say; only when *Mercury* the son of *Jupiter* had obtained the empire of the west, that is of *Europe*, as we shall see in its proper place, he is said to have polished them very much, both by his laws and learning, and by the great improvements he made in trade and commerce (D), of which, after he was deified, he was worshipped as the patron and protector, and had every where statues reared to his honour, as *Cæsar* himself assures us†. Thus from a wandering, conquering, ravaging, and barbarous people, like the *Scythians* their younger brethren, he so polished them by degrees, as to vie in most respects with all other nations in learning and politeness, as will further appear by what we have to say of that deity under the next section.

^a See NEWTON'S Chronol. p. 14. † Comment. l. vi. ch. xvi.

(D) Hence the name of *Mercury* seems to have been given him from the *Celtic* *Merc*, *merchandise*, and *Ur*, *a man*; as if he had been called by way of excellence, *the man, master, or founder of merchandising*. That of *Teutat*, which he is supposed to have taken at his going or returning from *Egypt*, seems likewise to be of *Celtic* extraction, *Teut Tat*, signifying *the father of the people*, such as he was upon this and many other accounts.

S E C T. IV.

*The chronology and history of the GOMERIANS
or CELTES.*

IT must be owned, that all that has been said concerning the time of their migration from *Asia*, as well as of their most famous exploits in that part of the world, is built upon mere conjecture, not to say fancy; and that it would be a mad attempt to settle it upon a better foot. We are as much in the dark about these as we are about the *Scythians*, nothing being more confused than the history of those two nations. Sir *Isaac Newton* ^a thinks, that these two nations had already spread themselves over lesser *Asia* and *Europe*, long before the year of the flood 1220, that is, about the latter end of the *Israelitish* judges. But before that time they had signallized themselves in *Asia*, under the names of *Sacks* and *Titans*, and had a succession of kings. The first of which was, according to the author whom we choose to follow, contemporary with, if not before, *Terah*, the father of *Abraham*, that is about the year of the flood 1070, according to the chronology of this history. The person we mean is the learned *Pezron* ^b, who has taken greater pains, and made more considerable discoveries, concerning the *Celtic* nation, than any historian we know of. It were indeed to be wished, he had built less upon conjectures; and yet we hope our readers will find, that they are not without some solid testimonies from antiquity, and that his history of the *Celtes* carries a greater share of probability, than any that has been attempted concerning this antient and populous nation, under their various denominations, conquests, and settlements. We shall upon the close of this history make some kind of apology for preferring his notion, that *Uranus*, for instance, and *Saturn*, as well as their predecessors and successors, were *Celtic* princes reigning in *Asia*, about the times of *Terah* and *Abraham*, to that of bishop *Cumberland*, who supposes his *Sanchoniatha's Chronus*, or *Saturn*, to have been *Ham* the son of *Noah*, and so on; because it will we hope fully appear by that time, how much more evidence his system carries from antient writers, than that of our learned prelate. Here the reader will find a probable history at least of those heroes, and of the *Celtic* and

^a Chronol. p. 10.^b Ant. Nat. Celt. ch. viii. & seq.

Titanic nations, divested as much as possible from the fable, and that there is at least more reason to believe, that there really were such men and nations, than to reject them as altogether fabulous.

BUT in order to open a way to their history, it will be necessary to mention what is previous to it, with respect to the migrations and exploits of the *Gomerians* in the several parts of *Asia*, before their spreading into *Europe*. For though they are mentioned by antient geographers and historians under other names, such as *Titans*, *Sacks*, *Parthians*, *Celtes*, and the like, yet it is plain, they were really the same people and the descendants of *Gomer*, and that the names had been given them by other nations, as we have hinted heretofore, whilst they not only preserved still that of their progenitor, but were even known by it to those very authors, who mention them under their other names (A).

THUS

(A) This really holds true with respect to all except the name of *Titans*, with this difference, however, that they sometimes confounded them with the *Scythians*, as has been observed more than once ; which was doubtless owing to their affinity in blood, manners, language, and such like, as well as to their regular progress and spreading to the right and left of north *Asia* and *Europe* ; so that there is no other way to distinguish them but by those countries through which each of them took its way towards *Europe*. Accordingly we find *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and others speaking of them in those respective provinces of *Asia* under the name of *Sacks*, *Celtes*, *Celto-Scythians*, *Curetes*, *Comarians*, *Ghomarians*, and *Gymbrians*. Thus *Ptolemy* tells us, that the *Saccæ*, who lived near the river *Jaxartes*, were of the *Curetes* and *Comarians* (1). *Pliny* likewise seems to mean the same thing, when, speaking of them, he says (2), beyond are the *Scythians*, whom the *Persians* did in general call *Sacks*, from their next neighbouring nation, *a proxima gente*, &c. which nation could be no other than the *Celtic*, because as *Ptolemy* observes elsewhere, the *Ghomarians* in *Bactriana*, who were a more civilized sort than the *Scythians*, had a capital city called by their name *Ghomar* (3), whereas the *Scythians* were known to live in the open fields at large, as we shall shew in the sequel.

Thus then it is plain, that bating their confounding them with the *Scythians*, they were not ignorant of their primitive name of *Gomerians*, though they used in the main the other appellatives by which they were better known to the world, which is what we observed in the first section had been done by *Herodotus* in his account of the

(1) *Lib. vi. c. 13.* (2) *Nat. hist. l. vi. c. 17.* (3) *Ubi sup. l. xi.*

TITUS then from *Phrygia*, the place of their first settlement, we find them under the name of *Comarians*, fixed along the river *Faxartes*, beyond the *Caspian* sea, quite up to the province of *Bactria*^c; these *Ptolemy* expressly calls *Sacks*,

^c *MELA*. lib. 1. c. 2.

Scythians. But as to the name of *Titans*, as it was both less known to the antients, and consequently with less probability applicable to the *Celtic* nation, our author has taken a different way to prove it; but which we own is not altogether so clear as could be wished.

He first supposes, that the *Gomerians*, or, as they had been since opprobriously called, *Sacks* or *Robbers*, exchanged that odious name for the more pompous one of *Titans*, which, as we have shewn, is of *Celtic* extraction, upon their removing farther into upper *Phrygia*. Here it seems they built a city which they called *Acmona*, from *Acmon* the son of *Maneus* the founder of it (4). *Acmon* being by the *Greeks* reckoned the father of *Uranus*, who is therefore called *Acmonides*; our author supposes him to be the same with *Sancho-niath's Eliun*, or *most high*, because this first is there affirmed to be the father of *Uranus*; from whom he deduces his genealogy of the other *Celtic* princes.

These conjectures he endeavours to corroborate with that passage in *Judith*, where the *Titans* are mentioned as synonymous with the *Giants* (5); and from another in *Isaiab* (6), which the septuagint renders *Θυαυτες οι ἀφ' αὐτων τῆς γῆς* the *Giants who subdued the earth*, which he thinks can be applied to none so well as to the *Titans* or *Celts*; but the misfortune is, that the *Hebrew* doth by no means support that version, any more than that version doth the universal rule of the *Celtes* over all other nations; so that the most that can be inferred from all this is, that as the fable of the *Titans* seems to have been founded upon some antient facts, and that these since deified heroes being said to have signalized themselves for their wonderful exploits, in those very regions of which the *Gomerians* had made themselves masters under the name of *Sacks*, since absorbed into that of *Titans*, it is much more probable, that they were princes of that nation, than that they were altogether fabulous, or that they were of any other nation than the *Celtic*; especially considering, that the greatest part of their names and surnames, which were still retained by the *Greeks* and *Latins*, are plainly of *Celtic* extraction, as we shall see when we come to their history. To this may be added the tradition of the *Cretans* concerning the *Titans* and *Cioetes* being contemporary in that island, the sepulchre of *Rhea*, *Saturn's* sister and wife, being shewn there, and their boasting, that several of the gods were born there, all which have been preserved to us by *Diodorus Siculus* (7).

(4) *Fid. Steph. de urbib. sub. voc. Acmon.* *Ptolem. Geogr. lib. v. c. 2.* & *Numism. Paper ap. Pearson c. 8.* (5) *Ch. xvi. 7.*
(6) *Isai. xiv. 9.* (7) *Lib. v.*

Cemerians, and *Curetes* ^d; his words are, the *Sacca*, which inhabited along the *Jaxartes*, were the *Cemarians* and *Curetes*. And as we find the *Sacca* in the more fruitful plains of *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Gallœgræcia*, and all those provinces which lie along the *Euxine* sea, we may hence frame a kind of route how they spread themselves through all that part of *Asia*, till their course was stopt, (not by the *Bactrians*, who seem rather to have been of *Celtic* extraction, and are accordingly called *Chomarians* by *Ptolemy* [†], who makes *Chomar* to have been their metropolis) but, by the *Sogdians*, who being of *Scythian* race, had probably possessed themselves of that province long before the *Chomarians* reached that of *Bactria*, and had by that time spread themselves much farther northwards from *Armenia*, either for want of room or through discord. Some of them probably passed over the vast mountains which lie on the south of the *Margiana*, and entered into the country of the *Median Arii*, where having fixed themselves by main force, and being as it were divided from, or exiled by, the rest, they were called in scorn *Parthians*, which signifies in the *Celtic*, *parted*, or *divided from*. This is affirmed by *Justin* ^e, only with this difference, that he makes them of *Scythian* extraction, according to the vulgar error of the ancient *Greek* writers, who, as *Strabo* tells us ^f, called all the nations towards the north of *Asia*, *Scythians*, and *Celto-Scythians*. This origin of the *Parthians* is likewise confirmed by several other authors ^g, though it doth not appear to us, that the *Persians* were descended from them [†].

THAT the *Saccæ* possessed themselves of at least the best part of *Armenia*, is expressly affirmed by *Strabo* ^h, who adds, that they called that country by their name *Saccacœna* (B). It likewise appears from the same author, that they passed over

^d Geogr. lib. vi. c. 13. † Id. ibid lib. ii. ^e lib xli c. 1.
^f Geogr. l. xi. ^g Vid. ARRIAN. in Parthic. ap. Phoc. STEPH. BYZ. in voc. Parthy. JORNAND. de Reb. Getic. cap. 6. apud PEZRON. c. iv. † Vid. sup. Vol. IV. p. 407. & 471.
^h lib. xi.

(B) Or rather perhaps *Saccastœna*, as we find it more properly spelt by another author (8); from the *Celtic Stan*, which signifies *region*, and is still preserved by the *Persian*, as *Indostan*, *Chusistan*, &c. which perhaps the *Celts* softened afterwards into *Tan*, as in *Aquitani*, the country of water, *Britani*, the country of the *Brits* (9).

(8) *Isidor. seu Charax. Parthen. Stathm. ap. Pezron. c. 5.* (9) *Id. ibid.*

the mountains, bordering upon *Armenia*, and penetrated into *Cappadocia*, that part especially which is upon the coasts of the *Euxine* seaⁱ. This expedition seems to have been made under the conduct of *Acmon*^k, the father of *Uranus*, and of his brother *Doeas*, where they gave their name; the former to the capital city called *Acmonia*, in which we are also told was a grove dedicated to him after he was deified, and the latter to the spacious *Doean* plains near the city of *Themiscyra* along the river *Thermodon* (C). From the *Euxine* sea their progress towards the *Palus Mæotis* is very obvious; and here we find their name given to the *Cymbrian* and *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, from which they needed but to cross the *Tanais* to enter into their *European* territories.

WE must now leave those colonies extending themselves towards *Europe*, and return into *Phrygia*, whither *Acmon* is supposed either to have returned from *Cappadocia*^l, or, which is more likely, where he continued after his ancestors. For here we find the like monuments both of him and his brother, namely another city called *Acmona*, and said by the same authors to have been founded by him; likewise another grove dedicated to him, and some spacious plains called *Doeantes* from his brother *Doeas*^m (D). From which one may reasonably

ⁱ STRAB. ubi supra. ^k APOLLON. Argonaut. lib. ii. STEPH. BYZANT. sub voce Acmon. ^l PEZRON, ch. viii. ^m BYZANT. ubi supra.

(C) That these two were brothers, our author (10) not only proves from the testimony of the authors above quoted, but adds, that *Themiscyra* means no more than *the city of Themis*. *Kir* in the *Hebrew* and *Ker* in the *Celtic* signifying *a city*. As for *Themis*, whom the *Greeks* made goddess of justice, he supposes her to have been the grand-daughter of *Acmon*, and a famous magician or prophetess; and that *Doeas* *Acmon's* brother was of the same profession; his name in the *Celtic* signifying *a diviner*, from *Ddoe*, or *Duoë*, *God*.

(D) If any such monuments were really in two different provinces of *Asia*; the one in *Phrygia*, as the authors above quoted expressly affirm, and the others in some other parts, for they do not name *Cappadocia*, it will only follow, that both had been under *Acmon's* government, and there will be no necessity to send him into the one to bring him back into the other, since his colonies could easily achieve the conquest of the latter, and leave those monuments in honour of their prince.

(10) *Ibid.* † Vol. V. p. 243. Not. (B).

sonably infer, that he both reigned, and was afterwards worshipped here likewise ; and consequently, that it were absurd to suppose him a fabulous person, any more than his descendants *Uranus*, *Saturn*, and the rest of the *Titan* princes. And as for the *Celtes* being descended from them, we find it expressly affirmed by a very antient authorⁿ, who was no friend to the *Celtes* or *Gauls*, and yet says, that the κέλητοι were ὀψίγονοι Τυράνες, *the descendants or late posterity of the Titans*. If it be objected, that the *Druids* in *Cæsar's* time did boast themselves to be descended from *Dis* or *Pluto* °, it will appear, that he also was a *Titan* prince, who had the western part of the empire, that is *Europe*, to his share, whilst *Jupiter* kept the eastern part to himself ; so that both *Cæsar* and *Callimachus* agree in the main point, *Pluto* being the great grandson of *Acmon*, the first prince of note of the *Gomerian* or *Titanic* race.

THIS prince was the son of *Mon*, *Man*, or *Maneus*, his name *Acmon*, or perhaps rather *Ack-man*, seems to imply as much. He is supposed by our author to have lived in the days of *Terah* the father of *Abraham*. So that, including *Maneus* in the list, we have a succession of six *Titan* princes, whose government, according to him, lasted about three hundred years^p. And are as follows,

Man or *Maneus*
Acmon
Uranus

Saturn
Jupiter
Theutat

ⁿ CALLIMACH. hymn. in Delum. vers. 170. & seq. • Vid. Cæs. Comment. lib. vi. ^p PEZRON. c. 15.

But what induces our author to the contrary opinion is, that the name of *Sacks* is from that time wholly absorbed into that of *Titans* ; from which he concludes, that that warlike prince, at his return into *Phrygia*, exchanged that reproachful name into the more glorious one of *Titans*, which either signifies *sons of the sun*, or of *the earth*, as we shewed elsewhere † ; whilst that of *Sacks* stuck only to those who went and dwelt in the more northern provinces of *Asia*. It is not easy to say, when or why they assumed the name of *Titans* ; but if we suppose with our author that word to signify *sons of the earth*, which answers to that of *Aborigines*, it will be more reasonable to suppose, that they began to aim at it much earlier in *Phrygia*, because it was the original settlement of their progenitors *Gomer* and his descendants, whilst those colonies, who were forced to leave that province and to go and settle by main force in other provinces already inhabited, must be contented to quit it for that of *Sacks* or *Robbers*, which the losers gave to them.

† See before p. 230, in the note.

W E

WE have already mentioned how impossible it is to adjust the chronology of these princes, yet has our author, at the latter end of his 12th chapter, found means to give some light to it out of some antient writers; we shall give what he has there said in his own words.

I HAVE taken no small pains to find out what antient authors have said on this head. I find that *Jupiter* began to reign when *Isaac* had attained the one half of his age, or some years after *Abraham's* death, and this is what may be made out from antient historians, such as *Evemerus*, *Ennius*, *Thalylus*, and some others, who all agreed, that *Jupiter* reigned in the time of *Belus* the first king of *Assyria*; which agrees exactly with the opinion of those who made the verses of the *Sibyls*, which expressly say, that *Saturn* with his brother *Titan* and *Japhet* began to reign with the 10th generation after the deluge. They were those whom people called the children of heaven and earth, because they excelled all others in virtue and strength. Now the tenth generation from the deluge exactly answers to the time of *Abraham*. *Saturn* must therefore begin his reign many years before *Abraham* had been in the land of *Canaan*. Nay, his father *Uranus* must already have been very potent, both in *Asia* and also in *Europe*, in the time of *Terah Abraham's* father. All this seems plain to me upon examining those monuments of antiquity which are still extant. But the chronicle of *Eusebius*, which has been regulated from antient histories, and especially those which related to the island of *Crete*, leaves us no room to doubt of this matter. We are there informed, that about those times, *Cres*, one of the *Curtes* who took care of *Jupiter's* education, reigned in *Crete*, and that the island received its name from him. *Eusebius* by the words *Katà tēs xpōves*, about these times, points out the years between the 50th and 60th of *Abraham's* life. Now *Jupiter*, according to his calculation, must have begun his reign about the latter end of *Terah's* life. But I have many reasons to believe, that *Eusebius* was mistaken in making him of such old standing, and that this *Titan* prince ought not to be placed higher than the middle, that is the 98th year of *Isaac's* life, and that he could not precede *Moses* above 300 years.

THUS far *Pezron*; according to whose account it might be easy to conjecture the times when *Jupiter's* predecessors reigned, by tracing so many generations back; especially because we have the length of *Jupiter's* life recorded, as we shall see in its proper place, to have been 120 years, which
if

if it come short of the number of his contemporary *Isaac*, may be attributed to his living a quite different life from him.

WE have nothing recorded concerning *Maneus*, but that *Maneus*: he is reported to have been the father of *Acmon* ¹.

CONCERNING *Acmon*, if he be the same with the *Eliun* *Acmon*. of *Sanchoniatho*, as this author makes him the father of *Uranus*, who was therefore called *Acmonides*, or *the son of Acmon*, we have nothing particular; except that he had a son named *Epigeus Autochton*, called afterwards *Curanus*; and that being killed by a wild beast, whom he too eagerly encountered, he was afterwards deified and worshipped by his descendants ² (E).

Uranus, according to the same antient author, succeeded *Uranus*:'

¹ POLYHIST. ap BYZANT. sub voce *Acmon*. ² SANCHONI-
ATH. lib. iii.

(E) If his descendants paid him those divine honours presently after his death, we have here, as *Pezron* observes, one of the antientest heathen deities in all antiquity. But we see no reason for departing from our former opinion, that the deifying of princes is of much later date †; those groves which were consecrated to him in *Phrygia* might be no other than monuments to his memory, not unlike perhaps to those of the *Scythian* kings, of whom we shall speak by-and-by, whilst the idolatrous worship of them was not introduced till many ages after.

These *Titans* of *Sanchoniatho*, whom the *Greeks* called ἀλήται or *wanderers*, such as the *Gomerians* really were, are also supposed to have been of gigantic stature, like those we have mentioned in the history of *Canaan*; the fable indeed reckons them as such. The apocryphal book of *Judith* (11) mentions the *Titans* and giants as synonymous, as we hinted before; and the septuagint have translated the words *the valley of Rephaim*, or *giants*, *the valley of Titans* (12). The *Greeks*, which called them Τίτας and Τίταϊδες, seem to have borrowed that word from the *Celtic Gugg*, which signifies *proud, fierce, arrogant*, such as we may reasonably suppose their monstrous stature might incline them to be, and such as we find those to have been, of whom mention is made in holy writ. And as the *Titans*, kings and priests as well as people, were extremely given to superstition, divination, magic, and all such like vile practices, an antient father had reason to upbraid the heathen with placing giants, tyrants, and magicians in the number of their kings, and afterwards of their gods (13).

† See before, Vol. II. p. 257. N. (E) & Vol. iv. p. 187 N. (W)
& alib. (11) Chap. xvi. 7. (12) 2 Sam. v. 18. (13)
Euseb. pr. evang l. ii. c. 5.

his father, and married his own sister, *Γῆ Γε*, or *the earth* (F), by whom he had four sons, the eldest of whom, called *Itus* or *Chronus*, afterwards *Saturn*, also succeeded him. *Sancho-niatho* observes, that he had two other names, and that that of *Ouranus* was not given him till afterwards ; but tho' he knew not the reason of it, yet if we attend to the *Celtic* etymology, *Ur* or *Our*, a *Man*, and *en*, *heaven*, it will appear highly probable, that he was called *Our-en*, a *man of heaven*, from his being very much addicted to the study of astronomy and astrology. From this the *Greeks* might easily also call him *Uranus* or *Ouranus*, if not wholly derive that word from him. We pass by many fabulous things, which have been invented of him by the *Greeks* and other writers, and shall only add, that his new conquests in *Asia* and *Europe* seem rather to have been owing to his ambition than to his magic, to his policy than to his skill in astrological predictions. How long he reigned we are not told, but, after having enlarged his dominions, he had the misfortune to be bereaved of his kingdom and liberty, if not of his life, by his ambitious son and successor *Saturn*, who, having intercepted him, put him into close confinement, where he either died with grief, or was dispatched by the order of that unnatural son.

Saturn.

Saturn, surnamed afterwards *Chronus* or *Cronus*, is said by *Sancho-niatho* to have been the eldest son of *Uranus* ^c, whilst other authors affirm him to have been the youngest of all ^d; and that his eldest brother, who was called *Titan*, did for a long while contest the crown with him, till he was at length over-powered and forced to yield to him. *Saturn* is supposed to have been the first, who took upon him the regal dignity ; for we are told ^e, that all his predecessors, down to *Uranus*, had contented themselves with the title of princes ; and an antient father tells us ^w, upon the authority of *Pherecides*, that he was the first that wore the diadem, whence he is supposed to have been surnamed *Cronus*, which in the *Celtic* signifies *crowned* (G). He likewise tells us in another place, that he

^c Ubi supra ^d HESIOD. in Theog. APOLLON. lib. i. c. 1. & al. vid. PEZR. c. x. ^e Vid. ENN. ap. LACTANT. lib. i. c. 13.
^w TERTUL. de Coron. c. 17.

(F) It is observable, that the *Greeks* who have translated this name have also retained the antient one of *Titea*, which is derived from the *Celtic* *Tit*, which signifies the same thing. We shall find many more such *Greek* names in the sequel, which are palpably of *Celtic* extraction.

(G) That of *Saturn*, which some have absurdly derived from the
Hebrew

he much *delighted in wearing a red cloak, or a short coat ; of the Galatic dye, from which perhaps came also the royal purple, so much worn by kings and persons of the highest rank* (H).

Saturn, though he was no less politic and crafty than prone to ambition, could not so well conceal his treasonable designs, but that *Uranus* had some suspicion of them, and to be beforehand with him dispatched his daughter *Rhea* to make away with him by some private means *. But *Saturn*, who perhaps was apprised of it by his mother *Titea*, whose jealousy had so far transported her (I) as to encourage him, it not to inspire him with the first design of his unnatural rebellion, soon found a way not only to divert her from her enterprize, but to bring her over to his side. This caused an open rupture, in which *Saturn*, after a contest of several years proving the stronger of the two, imprisoned his father, as we have seen above, and made himself absolute ; after which it is supposed, that, not being contented with the title of prince, he assumed that of king. And indeed if it be true, that he had enlarged his dominions, not only in *Asia* but in *Europe* as far as *Spain*, and gained also some provinces in *Africa*, a less title than this could not well suit his ambitious mind.

* *HESIOD. ubi supra.*

Hebrew סתר *Satar*, to hide, because he went and concealed himself in *Italy* from his son *Jupiter*, is more naturally deduced from the *Phrygian* *Satorn*, or rather *Sadorn*, which signifies, *strong and potent* ; for so he really was, till weakened by his son's unnatural rebellion, as the history will shew immediately. *Sanchoniatho* gives him also the name of *Il* or *Ilos*, which may be properly enough derived from the *Hebrew* word אל *El*, which signifies *strong and mighty*, and is in that tongue one of the names of God.

(H) *Saturn* being supposed to have dwelt in *Phrygia*, part of which was afterwards called *Galatia* ; *Pezron* observes, that this country being very famous for dying that colour, the *Greek* κόκκος, and *Latin* *Coccus*, may naturally be derived from the *Celtic* *Coch*, which signifies *red* (14).

(I) This jealousy and resentment, *Sanchoniatho* tells us, was occasioned not only by the number of other wives which *Uranus* took, but because though she had left him upon that account, yet he would come and lie with her by force. But what most of all enraged her was, that he endeavoured to destroy all the children he had by her, which, if it be true, did not a little extenuate her and her son's rebellion (15).

(14) *Chap. 10. & Lexic. Cel. Latin sub voc. Coccus. (15) Id. ibid.*

HE had two notable counsellors besides his mother, the one from his youth, named *Hermes Trismegistus*, a great philosopher and consummate politician; some add that he was also a great conjurer^y; the other was his sister *Rhea*, whom he afterwards made his wife (K). These three did so far prevail upon the princes and grandees of the court, and especially with his other brothers, what with their address and munificence (L), that they all came into his party, so that it is no wonder, if his dominions and conquests did so vastly exceed those of his predecessors, and himself proved so successful both at home and abroad. But his happiness was soured many different ways: he was extremely mistrustful of his children; he had himself dethroned his own father, and could not be without fear, lest his crime should be punished in the same kind. This made him sacrifice them to his jealous guilt, as some think, or, as others believe, to the ghost of his father. He was extremely given to superstition and divinations; and it is not improbable, that his diviners might increase his suspicions, by foretelling, that he would be in danger of being dethroned by some of them, as he really was by *Jupiter*. He had still another private enemy to ward against, namely his brother *Titan*, who, though forced to yield to him, at least in appearance, might in time find means to try his fortune again. But perhaps his mind was so intent upon his children, that he wholly neglected him; and this gave him at length an opportunity of surprising him and his wife *Rhea*, whom he immediately conveyed into some province of *Asia*, and kept them in close confinement, till his son *Jupiter* came with a confide-

^y SANCHONIAT. ubi supra.

(K) This custom of marrying sisters had nothing extraordinary in those days; we have seen in a former volume, that it was common to the *Egyptians*, *Persians*, and many other great and polite nations. The name of *Rhea* is likewise of *Celtic* extraction, and signifies a lady as *Rhey* signifies a lord (16).

(L) Among others of his brethren we find one called *Japhet* or *Japet*, a name preserved only among the descendants of his son *Gomer*. *Sanchoniatho* likewise names *Atlas*, but he is more likely to have been his nephew and the son of *Japhet*. It is very probable, that *Saturn*, in recompence of their friendship to him, gave that part of his conquests in *Mauritania* to *Atlas*, and that the famous mountains of *Africa* received their name from him (17).

(16) *Pezron. ubi supra.* (17) *Id. ibid.*

nable

rable army of *Cretans*, and restored his captive parents to their liberty and kingdom (M).

WHAT we have observed concerning *Saturn's* jealous temper and cruelty to his children, must in all probability have been the cause, why his wife *Rhea* took such pains to preserve her youngest son *Jupiter*, by concealing her pregnancy from him, by being delivered of him in one place, and sending him to be privately educated in another (N).
This

(M) This remarkable transaction has been preserved to us by an ancient father (18) upon the authority of *Ennius*, or rather of *Evermerus*, whose translator he was; and as he produced it to prove against the heathen, that the gods they worshipped had been mere men, he introduces it with this singular preface: *Aperiamus ea quæ veris literis continentur, ne poetarum ineptias in accusandis religionibus sequi aut probare videamur.* It should seem by these words, that he had read the fables of the poets, as well as the more authentic testimonies of historians, and knew full well how to distinguish the one from the other, and to urge nothing but what was acknowledged for truth.

We may add, that many other fathers and apologists have appealed to the like historical facts concerning *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, &c. which they would hardly have ventured to do, if they had not been acknowledged as such by those against whom they wrote (19).

(N) Authors are not agreed about the place of *Jupiter's* birth. The *Cretans* did pretend, that he was born in that island on mount *Ida*, and *Callimachus* (20), who gives them the title of liars for having forged his tomb there also, because such a god as he could not die, yet, absurdly enough, owns him to have been born, and affirms the place to have been mount *Lycæus* in *Arcadia*. The latter may be the more probable of the two. The hymnist adds, that the place was since held so sacred that no woman dared to approach it. It was also called by way of excellence *the sacred top*, and the *Puerperium*, or *place of Rhea's lying-in*. As for the *Cretans*, they might be easily led into the belief of his being born among them, because he had been conveyed and brought up there with the utmost privacy from his very infancy. However that be, it is agreed, that his education was committed to the care of the *Curetes*, and these being men of great power and credit among the people, it is no wonder, that they procured him so powerful an army to go to his father's rescue. And it is not improbable, that they were the persons that inspired him with that pious design, which might probably cure the father of his unjust suspicion, and entitle the son to the succession of his kingdom.

(18) *Lactant. Instit. lib. i. c. 14.* (19) *Vid. inter al. Tertul. Apol. cap. x. & alib. pass. Athenag. Theophil. Antioch. Min. Felix, Arnob. August. Jul. Firmic. & al.* (20) *Hymn. in Jov. ab initio.*
L 1 2 The

This action therefore of *Jupiter*, pious and generous as it was, did rather increase than dispel his jealousy. His surprize to find himself over-reached by his wife, and to see this son, whom he did not dream of, not only grown into years, but of courage and strength sufficient to overcome his enemies, made him fear, lest he should in time deprive him with the same facility of his kingdom and life. *Lactantius* adds, upon the authority of *Evemerus*, that he went to consult the oracle and his diviners, who bade him beware of his son *Jupiter*, who would be likely in time to dethrone him. Upon this warning he lost no time to try to put it out of his power. He entered into *Crete* with an army, for his son was again retired thither after he had achieved his deliverance; but he soon found, that the *Cretans* were all in his son's interest, and that he was more likely to be intrapped than obeyed by them. This obliged him to return into that part of *Greece* since called *Peloponnesus*, whither *Jupiter*, enraged at his cruel design against him, followed him with an army, and forced him to retire into *Italy*. *Janus* was then king of the *Aborigines*, who, we observed before, may either have been of *Celtic* extraction, or upon some other account friends to the *Titans* (O). However, that good old king gave him a kind reception,

The story of *Saturn's* cruelty, in sacrificing so many of his children to his jealousy, may also have given birth to what the poets have related of his devouring them, as *Jupiter's* depriving him at length of his kingdom, may have given occasion to their accusing him of castrating him.

(O) We have already taken notice, that the *Umbrians* are affirmed by ancient historians both to have been the oldest people in *Italy*, and to have been the descendants of the *Celtes* †; and it is hardly to be supposed, that *Saturn* would have trusted himself, in his desperate circumstances, to any but a friendly nation; but whether these were the same with the *Aborigines*, or another colony incorporated with them in process of time, we will not decide. The reception, which he met with from *Janus*, scarce leaves room to doubt of their being allied, either by blood or by some other tie.

Some critics have found fault with *Julius Firmicus* for having affirmed (21), that this fugitive prince was concealed by the *Spartans* in *Italy*. *Pezron* has taken some pains to prove that they were really in *Italy* before that time and incorporated with other nations of that province; and that the *Sabines* were descended from them, and they from the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*. But if this should not seem altogether so plain, as it is impossible to grope

See before p. 229, note (C)

(21) *Lib. de Error. profan. relig.*
into

on, and, as some affirmed, admitted him into a kind of partnership with him in his kingdom ²; so that the region where *Saturn* reigned, and which is adjoining to the *Tyber*, was since called *Saturnia* from him. How long he lived there, and what became of him, is impossible to guess, except that his tomb being shewed in *Sicily* ³ may induce one to suppose, that he went and ended his days there.

Jupiter, or, as he was rightly called, *Jou* (P), because *Jupiter*: he was the youngest of *Saturn*'s children, did not, however, enjoy his kingdom peaceably. His uncle *Titan*, or perhaps one of his sons, having probably found means to strengthen his party whilst he was taken up against his father, raised a war against him, which continued full ten years, and was carried on with the utmost fury on both sides, both by sea and land, and did not end but with the total overthrow of *Titan* and his army.

THIS war seems to be the truest original of the fabulous war of the *Giants* or *Titans* against the gods, which the poets have so interlarded with their inventions, that it is scarcely

² TERTUL. Apolog. ubi sup.
ALEXAND. admonit. ad Gent.

³ PHILOCOR. ap. CLEM.

into those dark and remote ages with any tolerable satisfaction, the words of *Firmicus*, in *Italia a Sparti absconditu*, if there has no error crept into them, may be understood proleptically. The nation that received *Saturn*, whatever they were, might in time, if not by *Jupiter* himself, be drove out of *Italy*, and go and settle in *Sparta*, or upon some other account be thenceforth called *Spartans*. At least the author above named has made it very probable, that they originally came from *Italy*; though it doth not appear, that they were ever known by that name there.

(P) The irregular inflexion of his name into *Jovis*, &c. shews it plainly. It is therefore absurd to derive it, as *Cicero* doth upon the authority of *Verro*, from *Juvans Pater*, which the inflexion will not admit of; when the Celtic *Jou*, or, as we pronounce it, *Joo*, which signifies *young*, is in all respects so much nearer to it; and *Jupiter* seems plainly to be the same with *Jou pater*, which last was added to his former name of *Jou*, when he came to be worshiped as the greatest of the gods.

Accordingly we find, that the antient *Latins* did not write his name *Jupiter*, but *Jaopiter*, *Joupiter*, and *Japiter*. But the Celtic has still preserved his antient name of *Jou*, and call *Thursday*, or the *Dies Jovis* of the *Romans*, *Diz jou*, and *Di jou*, the day of *Jove* (22). We shall have occasion by-and-by to speak of some of his other names.

(22) Vid *Petrone. ch. xii.*

possible to discover it through them (Q). This final overthrow was given them near the antient city of *Tartesa* in *Spain*, a sea-port town a little to the north of *Cadis*^b (R), whither it seems he went in person with a great fleet and a puissant army, and having brought over some of their confederates to his side, and gained this signal victory, he reigned very peaceably to the end of his life.

^b TERTUL. Apolog, SCHOLIAST. in *Iliad*. viii. ad vers. 479. ap. Pezron. c. 11.

(Q) We have deferred till now to observe how much this system of history, for we dare not venture to give it a stronger name, doth clash with that of our learned *Cumberland*, who, as we have fully shewn in the beginning of this history*, makes his *Sanchoniatho's* *Uranus* to have been *Noah*, *Cronus* *Ham*, *Mizor*, *Mizraim*, *Zadic* *Melchizedek*, and so on; that our readers might see which of the two carries the greatest probability. They are both built upon conjectures, and both supported by some collateral kind of proofs, and upon a supposition, that this fragment we have left is the relick of a fuller history, and that its author is not a fictitious, but a real, antient, and credible one. We shall not repeat what we have said elsewhere on this last head †, much less do we design to draw a parallel between these two systems and their learned authors. Thus much, however, we hope we may say without partiality concerning that of our *Celtic* antiquary, that it not only gives a great light to the dark and fabulous times, but that it is corroborated by a much greater number of antient authors, heathens as well as christians. But the latter, especially the apologists, seem plainly enough to have been generally of the same mind with him, and have made no difficulty to urge this genealogy of heathen deities abovementioned against their stupid worshippers.

How far all this is further corroborated by numberless *Celtic* etymons, the greatest part of which are both easy and natural and confirmed by historical facts, must be submitted to the reader's judgment. Of this number we beg leave to remind him of what has been said concerning the names of *Uranus* and *Titea*, *Cronus* or *Saturn*, and *Rhea*. *Jou* or *Jupiter*, *Theutat*, and others, besides a greater number which we have omitted, but which may be seen in our author, and some few which we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel; all which put together will, if not convince him, yet, at least, justify our giving it a place in this history, as we have that of our learned bishop in the first volume.

(R) This seems also confirmed by what *Justin* (23) adds, that the *Curetes* lived formerly in the forests about that city. Some of his commentators indeed have affirmed after *Vossius*, that it ought

* *Ibid* *sup* Vol. I. p. 295. N (C)
 & *alib.* (23) *lib.* xliv. c. 4.

† *Ibid.* p. 309. *not.* B.

Jupiter, after the example of his predecessors, married his own sister *Juno* (S). But as he was seldom without some amorous intrigues with other women, by whom he had a numerous issue, he was forced to bear with many rubs and mortifications from his jealous and revengeful queen. On the other hand, he did not follow his pleasures so close, but he allowed himself proper seasons for the administration of justice throughout the many provinces of his kingdom, in rooting out robbers and *Banditti* who sheltered themselves in the forests of *Thessaly*, *Macedonia*, and *Illyria*, where they committed the vilest outrages. But as he had made *Mount Olympus*, * (T) one of the most delightful parts of *Thessaly*, his chief residence, he was under a kind of necessity to rid those

* EVEMER. ap. LACTANT. institut. lib. i. c. 10.

to be read *Cinetes*, because the *Curetes* were a people of *Crete*. We have already shewn, that the latter were the priests or soothsayers of the *Titans* and *Celtes*, and accompanied them in their wars. What wonder then, that some of them who had followed *Jupiter* in this expedition, and delighted otherwise in a kind of ascetic life, should be induced to make those forests their abode? But we shall have occasion by-and-by to say something further concerning them, which may convince one of the probability of there being men of that name and profession in those parts of *Spain*.

(S) This name is not unlikely to be of *Celtic* extraction, and to be derived from *Ghuin*, which signifies *fair*, *white*, and by way of excellence, *beautiful*; such as *Juno* is said to have been to a great degree. Hence perhaps it is, that the antient *Glossaries* call her also *Jolinta*, a *jolly* or *fine woman*.

Thus *Jupiter* had some other names among the *Greeks* which seem to flow from the same fountain, as *Zeus*, from which they irregularly made their *Δις*, *Διός*, *Διὰ*, &c. in the oblique cases. Now the *Zeus*, from which the *Latins* made *Deus*, seems more plainly derived from the *Celtic* *Dhew*, *God*, and the *Dis* and *Dia* from *Di*, *bright*. He was likewise surnamed *Πικρος* and *Picrus*, from the bird of that name, which *Pliny* tells us was then much used in auguries (24), which bird seems to be so called from his being continually pecking of walls and trees, and is known among us by the name of *Woodpecker*. *Pliny* indeed pretends, that he was called *Picus* from a king of *Latium* of that name; but it seems more probable, that both he and many other princes were, like *Jupiter*, so surnamed from the bird, from which they received their auguries; for the *Celtic* word *peck* or *beak*, signifies a *bird's bill*; and hence it is likely our verb to *peck* is derived.

(T) Hence the last quoted father observes, that after his apotheosis the place of his residence came to be called by his superstitious worshippers *heaven*, or to be synonymous to it (25).

(24) *Plin. Hist. Nat. l. x. c. 18.*

(25) *Pexron. c. xii.*
countries

countries of such vermin, that his subjects might have the freer access to his court.

BEFORE his death he is affirmed by the last quoted father, as a known truth, to have divided his kingdom, and to have given the western, or *European*, part of it to his uncle *Dis* or *Pluto*, surnamed also *Agésilas* (U), whilst himself kept the *Asiatic*, or eastern, part of it^d. We observed also before, that he gave some part of *Africa* to his nephew *Atlas*, but having afterwards either conceived jealousy of him, or detected him in some criminal design against him, he is reported to have caused him to be put to death.

THIS *Atlas* (W) had a daughter named *Maia*, or *Flowry*, whose beauty *Jupiter* was not proof against, but he could not obtain her upon any other condition than that of marriage. From her he had a son named *Theutat*, since *Mercury*, of whom we shall speak hereafter. This marriage failed not to enrage *Juno*, who was ever plotting something against him. We cannot guess whether *Atlas* had been unfortunately

^d Id. Ibid.

(U) This last name which signifies *a leader of the people*, or *Agēsander*, as it is found in other writers (26), and signifies *a leader of men*, might be given him on account of his leading his nephew's colonies into *Europe*, and perhaps as far as *Spain*, where we observed a little above, there had been both *Titans* and *Curetes* in the neighbourhood of the antient city of *Tartesa*. Here likewise he is supposed to have found out some rich mines of gold and silver (27), by which he grew so rich, that he got the name of *Pluto*, in *Greek* Πλούτος, which signifies *rich*, and was afterwards made the god of riches upon his being deified; and this probably induced *Strabo* to believe, that the *Tartara* of the *Greeks* and *Latins* came from the above-named *Tartesa*, a country situate in the utmost parts of *Spain* westward (28).

Hence likewise, *Jupiter* having the dominion of the east or sun-rising, and *Pluto* of the west or sun-setting, came also probably the fable of the former being the lord of heaven, and the latter of the infernal regions. Perhaps, likewise, might the mythologists of those fables think it very reasonable to assign the government of riches, and of the infernal regions to the same deity, to put men in mind that the former were the ready road to the latter.

(W) He was also called by the *Greeks* *Talamon*, from the *Celtic* *Tell-mon* or *man*, on account of his high stature, and as he was also a great astronomer, thence came all the fables which the poets have since made of him.

(26) *Æschyl. Callimach. Athen. Hæsch. ap. Pexron. ibid.* (27)
Vid. Strab. Geograph. l. v. (28) *Ibid.*

drawn into some rebellion by the jealous queen, but *Jupiter* is by some accused to have degenerated into a kind of tyrant through the continual seditions which she raised against him, which yet he did find means to discover in good time^c.

On the other hand, the *Cretan* historians extolled his virtues up to the skies. *Diodorus Siculus* and *Ennius*, upon their authority, bestow the greatest encomiums on him for his strength, valour, prudence, justice, for his encouraging learning and virtue, and punishing injuries, violence, and robberies, and for his many wholesome laws and regulations for the public good^f. He lived 120 years, of which having reigned 62^g, this great, and since deified, hero, resigned his breath like other men, and was buried by the *Curetes* in the isle of *Crete*, and in the city of *Gnoſſus*, where his sons erected a stately monument, which was shewed many ages after by the inhabitants^h. The same authors add, that he divided his kingdom among his relations and friends. His son *Cres* or *Cret* (from whom that island of *Crete* is supposed to have had its name, *Cret* in *Celtic* signifying *bold* and *daring*), was then at the head of the *Curetes*, and performed the last devoirs to his father, after which he took the government of that islandⁱ (X). How the rest of his kingdom was divided among the rest of his successors is not to be guessed at, only we find, that his son *Theutat* or *Mercury*, of whom we are going to speak, had the western part assigned to him, probably after the death of his uncle *Dis* or *Pluto*^k.

Mercury is allowed by all antiquity to have been the son *Mercury*, of *Jupiter* by *Maia*, as we have seen above. We have given

^c PEZRON. & auct. ab eo citat. ^f DIOD. SICUL. lib. v. ENN. ubi supra. CALLIM. Hymn. in Jov. ^g SUID. sub voce Πικρος. vid. & Chron. Alexand. ap. Pezron. cap. xii. ^h CICERO. EUSEBIUS. ap. LACTANTIUS. lib. i. c. 11. ⁱ Vid. PEZRON. ibid. ^k SUID. sub voce Πλάτος. Chronic. Alexand. ubi sup.

(X) This is at least intimated by *Lactantius*'s words out of *Ennius*, *Curetes filii sui (Jovis) eum curaverunt*, for *Cres* was then a *Curete*, and probably the head or principal of that society. *Eusebius* seems also to confirm his having succeeded his father in the government of that isle, when he makes him the first king of *Crete* (29); that is, as we understand him after *Pezron*, he was the first who reigned in that only island, whereas his father's kingdom is said to have reached from *Euphrates* to *pain*, besides some parts of *Afric*, which he had given to *Atlas*, as we have seen elsewhere.

(29) *Euseb. ap. Pezron. cap. xii.*

already in a former note the etymon of those two names †. The *Greeks* did likewise call him Ἑρμῆς, *Hermes*, (Y), and the *Latins* *Faunus* (Z). He was famed for his learning and wisdom, and especially for his skill in auguries, magic, and philosophy. He was active, courageous, and eloquent; and so prudent, that he always kept close to his father's interest. For all these good qualities he became his chief favourite and counsellor, and was also by the fabulous writers affirmed to be the interpreter of the gods. An antient father tells us, that he went down into *Egypt* to penetrate farther into their mysterious arts and sciences, and that at his return he assumed the name of *Theutat*¹ (A). It was probably from the *Egyptians* that he learned the art of melting, refining, casting, and working of metals, which art he

† See before p. 255, in the note. ¹ CYRIL. ALEXAND. lib. cont. Julian.

(Y) Which name comes probably from the *Celtic Armes*, which signifies *divination*. For *Mercury* seems to have out done all his ancestors in the knowledge and constant practice of that art, as we shall see by-and-by.

(Z) This is the only name for which no proper etymon can be found in the *Celtic*; nor can we guess upon what account it was given. But the chronicle above quoted calls him by both names of *Faunus* and *Mercury*; so that this *Faunus* must not be confounded with another of the name, who reigned many ages afterwards in *Italy*, especially with *Faunus* the father of *Latinus*, in whose time *Æneas* came into that kingdom. Whereas our *Mercury*, according to this chronology of *Titanic* princes, must have lived at farthest about the time of *Joseph's* being in *Egypt* (30).

(A) That father adds, that he took up that name in imitation of the antient *Egyptian Mercury* or *Thoyth*, who, as we have seen in the first volume*, was worshipped by the *Egyptians* for his great learning, wisdom, and eloquence. So that by only altering the name by a letter or two, he made himself a more honourable one in the *Celtic Theu-tat*, as we observed before, signifying *the father of his people*, such as he really was, if what we read of him be true.

This is not a proper place to enquire how these Gods, or at least their names, came to be adopted by other nations. Such a curious subject doth well deserve to be treated of in a treatise by itself, and we hope, if we have not quite cleared that point thro' the former parts of this history, we have at least furnished the world with some considerable materials towards such an enquiry, which is all that could be expected from such a design as this.

(30) *Idem*, cap. xiv.

* Vol. I. p. 516.

is said to have first brought into *Europe*, whence it again emanated itself into *Asia*, as was shewn under another head.

HE not only taught them the metallic trades, but how to make an advantageous traffic of them into other countries, for which he had the surname of *Merk-ur* or *Mercury*. This great improvement, which could not but endear him to his subjects, gave him an opportunity of polishing that rude and cruel nation, which till then seems to have made the trade of war and plunder their chief study and delight. He gave them a body of laws, encouraged the liberal arts and sciences, and caressed the foreigners who flocked into his dominions, especially those who brought any curious arts with them. Thus by his address and powerful eloquence he did so civilize and improve his subjects, that his merit was still dear to them in *Cæsar's* time, who tells us, that he was held in veneration above all other gods, and had statues and altars reared to his honour in every town and village *.

SOME attribute the invention of the olympic games to him, others to *Hercules*, but, if *Pausanias* be right, they must have been much older, since he tells us, that *Saturn* and *Jupiter* had wrestled together at them^m. They may, however, be supposed to have made some considerable improvement to them, each according to his particular talent, and thereby eclipsed the memory of their first inventor. He reigned, according to the *Alexandrian* chronicle, 34 years; but whether or not his life ended with his reign, is not easy to say. *Suidas* ⁿ and the above-mentioned chronicle say, that his brothers, being grown jealous of his superior power and merit, formed such a conspiracy against his life, that he found himself under a necessity of packing up all his treasure and retiring into *Egypt*, where he spent the remainder of his days in peace. On the other hand, *Livy* acquaints us^o, that there was a large tomb near *New Carthage*, in the time of *Scipio* and *Hannibal*, which was called the tomb of *Mercury Theutat*; and this would incline one to believe, that he died in his own dominions. We are no less in the dark about the condition of his kingdom from his death to its conquest by the *Romans*, except that the unweildiness of so vast an empire did probably cause it to split itself into many petty kingdoms under some of his successors. This was at least the case in which the *Roman* conqueror found them, when he invaded the *Celtic* territories, as we have hinted before. As for the changes which it received after it became a part of

* De Bell. Gal. lib. vi. c. 16.

^m Lib. viii. qui est Arcad.

ⁿ Sub voce 'Εγμῆς.

^o Hist. lib. xxii. c. 44.

the *Roman* empire, this is not a proper place to speak of them; they will be the subject of other volumes, in which the history of the *European* kingdoms will be resumed.

THESE intestine divisions having once weakened the strength of this large empire, not only the maritime parts did easily become a prey to their warlike neighbours, but their frontier provinces likewise. Among the first *Iberia* or *Spain* was dismembered from it by the *Carthaginians*, from whom it passed to the *Romans* together with the southern provinces, since called *Gallia Narbonensis*, and the provinces on the other side of the *Alps*. The *Scythians*, it is likely, did also incroach upon them on the north side, and very probably seized upon that part of their territories, which was afterwards called *Scythia* in *Europe*, and drove them quite to the hither side of the *Danube*. For it seems most natural, that in their first migrations the same boundaries, which parted *Europe* from *Asia*, did also part the *Celtic* and *Scythian* dominions. However that be, and whether through the conquering sword of their neighbours *, or through their intestine wars, or want of elbow-room, or whatever other motive might occasion it, sure it is, that several powerful colonies of these *Celtes* or *Gauls* returned into lesser *Asia*, where, finding almost every where some antient monuments of their progenitors, they settled themselves in several parts of it by main force, and gave some of their new-gotten names to them; such as that of *Galatia*, *Parthia*, and some others, without which it would be impossible to distinguish these latter excursions and exploits from those by which they had signalized themselves before their migrations into *Europe*. The first of those, as far as it can be disentangled from the latter, will be best seen in some of the following histories, either of those nations whom they there conquered, or of those by whom they were driven out of their conquests.

As for those whom we have seen in *Europe*, we hope our readers are satisfied by this time, that if we have chose to follow a new guide through those dark and remote ages, he has at least conducted us not only more agreeably, but with greater appearance of truth than any other we could have followed; and that the proofs he has taken the pains to extract out of all that we have left of antient records concerning that populous and warlike nation, joined to such a vast number of *Celtic* etymologies, do at least carry a much greater degree of probability than we could meet with any where else; and we may add, than we ourselves could ever have at-

* See before, Vol. IV. p. 385.

tained, by all the antient monuments extant of that nation, without the help of the *Celtic* language. These etymologies, which seem to strike a light to every passage quoted from antient authors, and which we can assure our readers we did not take upon trust, will, we hope, sufficiently justify likewise our preferring our learned author's genealogy of the heathen gods to that of *Sanchoniatho*, which is at best but a confused medley of some dark and imperfect hints stolen out of the writings of *Moses*, and jumbled with the history and fables of other nations in honour of his own (B).

WE submit, however, to our reader's judgment, whether this genealogy of the heathen deities be not more probable, and more agreeable to the testimony of antient authors, than that which our learned bishop *Cumberland* has endeavoured to give us out of his *Phœnician* historian. As for ourselves,

(B) Though we cannot by any means give into the notion of many learned men, who have supposed his history to have been a forgery writ on purpose to invalidate the authority of *Moses*, as if he had stolen his account of the creation out of the *Phœnician* records *; yet we cannot but think it manifest, that he had copied that sacred historian, and that very bunglingly too, besides blending and adjusting his cosmogony and theology with the history and fables of his time.

What else can we think of his dark and universal *Chaos*? His vehement wind engendering *Môt* or *motion*, (for that is the *Hebrew* meaning of the word), which produced the seeds of all things animate and inanimate? The sun, moon, stars, and *Zophasemin* or *speculators of the heavens*? What means his *Colpias*, but the Almighty Word, which spoke all things into being; his *Bau* or *Baut*, but the *Tobu* and *Bohu* of *Moses*?

Whoever compares also the history he gives us of the second and third line with what we read in *Genesis*, and with what has been quoted in the last section out of antient authors, concerning *Eliun*, *Chronus*, &c. will easily see, that it is a mere confused mixture of sacred and prophane history, interlarded with fable, and that if *Jerombaâl*, priest of *Jabvoh*, from whom *Porphyry* pretends he received his information, be the *Gideon* of the *Jews*, who was surnamed *Jerubbaal* (31), and might have been mistaken for a priest of *Jabvoh*, because he is recorded to have set up an altar and an ephod to him (32); it is plain, that he made no other use of those *Jewish* memoirs than to put them in a phantastical *Phœnician* dress, such as best suited the theology of the heathen world, and was most likely to challenge an antiquity and authority to the *Phœnician* records beyond all others, even beyond those of the sacred penmen, from whom he had his materials.

* *Vid. int. al. Dodwell's dissertat. de Sanchoniath.* (31) *Judg.* vi. 32. (32) *Ibid.* vi. 24. & viii. 27.

we wish we could meet with such another guide to conduct us through the next, but more dark and intricate, history, that of the *Scythians*. But hence we must be contented to grope in the dark, as all have done before us who have written of that antient and remote nation, and to make the best of those few fragments which antiquity has left us concerning them.

S E C T. V.

The Geography of Scythia.

HOW this prodigious tract of land came at first by the name of *Scythia*, is not easy to determine. We have but two tolerable conjectures to offer concerning it, besides that monstrous one which *Herodotus* gives us from the fabulous *Greeks*, and which we shall for that reason throw into the margin (A). The first is that which derives that name from the Greek *σχυρῆται*, which expresses the fierceness of their countenance and natural temper; and the other, which derives it from the *Teutonic Scheten* or *Schuten*, to shoot, at which art this nation is affirmed by *Herodotus*, *Lucian*, and others^a, to have been so singularly expert, that this name is supposed to have been emphatically given them on that account; so that, according to this supposition the word *Scy-*

^a Vid. GOROP. BECAN. HEYLIN. PEZRON.

(A) That author tells, upon the credit of the *pontic Greeks*, that *Hercules* being got into *Scythia* then uninhabited, and the mares which drew his chariot having straggled out of the way whilst he refreshed himself with sleep, as he was in search of them he met with a monster, half woman and half serpent, who promised to help him to them upon condition he would lie with her. The hero having performed the bargain, and staid with her till she was tired, she asked him at parting how he would have her dispose of the three sons she had now got by him; whereupon he left her one of his bows and his belt, which had a golden cup hanging at the lowest seam, and bid her, when the boys were come to age, to retain him with her that could draw his bow, and send the other two away. She followed his orders, and *Scythia*, who was the youngest and proved the strongest of the three, became the first monarch of that country. And from him all the kings of *Scythia* bore that name, and wore a cup hanging at their belt (1).

(1) *Herodot. lib. iii.*

thian did properly signify a great *Shooter* or *Archer*. We have, however, observed heretofore, that the *Tartars* and *Muscovites* called themselves *Mogli*, which we suppose only an abbreviation of *Magogly*, the sons of *Magog*. That of *Scythian* might be either given to them by other nations, or perhaps by the *Celtes*, whose language, as was before observed, did not originally differ much either from the *Scythian* or *Teutonic*.

THIS vast territory, which extended itself from the *Ister* or *Danube* the boundary of the *Celtes*, that is from about the 25th to almost the 110th degree of east longitude, was therefore divided into *Scythia* in *Europe*, and *Scythia* in *Asia*, including, however, the two *Sarmatias*, or, as they are called by the *Greeks*, *Sauromatias*, now the *Circassian Tartary*, which did lie between and sever the two *Scythias* from each other. *Sauromatia* was also distinguished into *European* and *Asiatic*, and was divided from the *European Scythia* by the river *Don* or *Tanais*, which falls into the *Palus Mæotis*, and from the *Asiatic* by the *Rha*, now *Volga*, which empties itself into the *Caspian* sea ^b. But the *Sarmatians* differed so little from the *Scythians* in their language, religion, and customs, if we may believe *Herodotus* ^c, that we may reasonably suppose them to have been originally a branch of them, if not their very descendants by the *Amazons*, with whom that author tells us they having intermarried, begot this *Sarmatian* offspring. But the former seems to us the most probable, when we consider how easy, short, and regular their migration into that country was from the place of their first setting out, and that we find in the very centre between *Armenia* and *Sarmatia* a large province called *Iberia*, which is much more likely to be that which *Josephus* tells us was peopled by *Tubal*, the brother of *Gomer* and *Magog*, than the *Celtiberia* of *Spain*. We shall not repeat here what we have so lately urged against this last opinion [†].

Upon the whole then, we may safely venture to say, that the two *Scythias* were only parted by the boundaries of *Europe* and *Asia*, that is by the river *Tanais*, descending, as is supposed, from the *Riphean* mountains (B) into the *Palus Mæotis*.

^b PTOLEM. MEL. STRAB. CLUVER. & al. ^c HERODOT.
l. iv. † See before, p. 233, in the note.

(B) Some modern geographers (2), who prove plainly enough that these could not be those of *Siberia*, which are at the distance

(2) *Well's Geogr. c. ii. note (R), & Bochart. ubi sup. lib. iii. c. 10.*
of

Mæotis. For beyond these mountains northward we find not that the *Scythians* advanced into any of those remote regions, so that these were the proper confines of the *Asiatic Scythia* on the west. The northern ones reached to the *Hyperborean* or *Frozen Sea*, called also by the antients, the *Scythian Sea*, the *Cronian*, *Amalchian*, or *Almachian*, the *Dead Sea*, and by some other names which expressed its extreme coldness and frozenness. On the east they are supposed to have extended to the promontory of *Tabis*, and to have been bounded by the *Cassian* mountains, which parted *Scythia* from the kingdom of *Seres*, now *Cattai* or northern *China*; and on the south by the *Eoum* or *Indian Sea*, and by mount *Caucasus*, and the *Caspian Sea* ^d.

As to the northern parts of *Scythia*, their extreme coldness made them uninhabitable by any but wolves, bears, and other such-like northern wild beasts; and this is probably the reason why they seem to have been unknown to the antients beyond the 50th degree north. All that reached farther than these was called *terra incognita*, and their notion of its being surrounded by the *Hyperborean* or *Northern Ocean*, they seem rather to have had from conjecture than from experience. But the southern regions, with which they were better acquainted, they divided into three parts; namely *Scythia*, within, and *Scythia* without, or beyond, *Imaus* and *Sarmatia*, which lay between the former and the *European Scythia*, which as we observed before, was either a branch of the *Scythian* nation, or had been by some means so blended with it, that it differed in little or nothing from it except the name.

^d PTOLEM. ubi supr. MELA, lib. i. c. 2, 3, 4. CELLAR. CLUVER. WELLS, & al.

of near ten degrees from the *Tanais*, are therefore of opinion, that they were imaginary, and supplied by the fertile fancy of the antients to furnish a head to that river. The case is hardly worth disputing; and yet since we find that *Riphat* was *Gomer's* second son (3), whose migration may have been probably through this region and along this river; it seems more reasonable to think, he might leave his name to those mountains S. E. of *Moscow*, from which the *Don* takes its source, as most other geographers have supposed he did, than to believe that those antients, who could know nothing either of *Riphat* or his migrations, should yet so luckily hit upon this fictitious name.

(3) *Gen. x. 3.*

THE

THE *Asiatic Scythia* did therefore comprehend in general great *Tartary* and *Russia* in *Asia*, and in particular the *Scythia* beyond, or without, *Imaus*, contained the regions of *Bogdoi*, or *Ostiacoi*, and *Tauguti*. That within, or on this side *Imaus* had *Turkestan* and *Mongal*, the *Usbek*, or *Zagatai*, *Kalmuc* and *Nogaian Tartars*, besides *Siberia*, the land of the *Samoiedes*, and the *Nova Zembla*. These three last being then uninhabited, as we suppose, were wholly unknown to the antients, and the former were peopled by the *Bactrians*, *Sogdians*, *Gandari*, *Sacks*, and *Massagetes*. As for *Sarmatia*, it contained *Albania*, *Iberia*, and *Colchis*, which make now the *Circassian Tartary*, and the province of *Georgia*.

OTHER seas, besides the *Frozen* and *Indian Ocean*, were the *Caspian* (C), and the *Euxine*, or *Black Sea*, and the *Palus Mæotis*. Mountains of note were *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucasus*; the first beginning in the province of *Asia Minor* called *Pamphylia*, runs eastward through *Asia*, and divides it into two parts, the northern and southern. The second lies in *Scythia* or the greater *Tartary*: and the third is between the *Caspian* and the *Euxine Sea* *. Its rivers, besides those we have occasionally mentioned, namely the *Rha* or *Volga*, and *Tanais* or *Don*, are the *Oby*, *Lena*, *Amur*, and *Helum*; the latter of which is supposed to be the *Quentung* or *Shengal*; all these are in *Great Tartary*. To these we may add the *Jaxartes*, now *Jacick*, and the *Oxus*; these empty themselves into the *Caspian Sea*: in this sea there were likewise some islands not distinguished by any particular names, but commonly called by that of the *Scythian Islands*.

NATURAL rarities we cannot expect in this country, if we except what *Herodotus* tells us, that those northern regions are altogether invisible and impassable by reason of the vast quantity of feathers which fill the air and cover the ground, as he was informed by those who inhabited the more southern parts of it †, who, as he tells us in another place, did doubtless mistake the large flakes of snow, which fall in abundance in those cold and mountainous climates, for feathers. It were still more absurd to seek for artificial rarities here, among a

* Vid. *ibid.* vid. & WELLS, *ubi supra*, c. xii. † lib. iv.

(C) Mistaken by some antients for a gulph; but, as it has no visible communication with the ocean, it may be rather called a great lake, if sea be thought too big a name for it *.

* See *Vol. IV.* p. 361, & *seq.*

people who were strangers to every thing but the art of war and of feeding their cattle, as we shall shew in its proper place.

2. *Scythia* in *Europe*, whose confines we have already fixed eastward from the *Tanais*, reached towards the south-west to the *Po* and the *Alps*, by which it was divided from the *Celtes*, or *Celto-Gallia*, and by the *Rhine* northward. It was bounded on the south by the *Ister*, or *Danube*, and the *Euxine* sea. As to its northern limits, though it is not easy to guess at them, they have been supposed to stretch to the spring heads of the *Borysthenes* or *Nieper*, and the *Rha* or *Volga*, and so to that of the *Tanais* (D) [§].

THE antients divided this country into *Scythia Arimaspaëa*, which lay eastward, joining to *Scythia* in *Asia*, and *Sarmatia Europeana* on the west; these two were contiguous to each other, and stretched some length from north to south, but what divided them asunder is not easy to find out. In *Scythia*, properly so called, were the *Arimaspæi* on the north, the *Getæ* or *Dacians* along the *Danube* on the south, and the *Neuri* between those two. So that it contained the *European Russia* or *Muscovy*, and the lesser *Crim Tartary* eastward, and on the west *Lithuania*, *Poland*, part of *Hungary*, *Transylvania*, *Valachia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Moldavia*. *Sarmatia* is supposed to have reached northward to that part of *Swedland* called *Feningia*, now *Finland*, in which they placed the *Oænes*, *Panoti*, and *Hippopodes* (E), this part they divided from northern

[§] Vid. MEL. lib. ii. c. i. CLUVER. CELLAR. & al.

(D) This is upon the supposition, hinted before, that the first planters of the world did spread themselves along the rivers for the sake of pasturage and correspondence; but it is plain, all these northern parts were so unknown to the antients, that all we can say concerning these boundaries is merely conjecture. It even appears by what we quoted a little above out of *Herodotus*, that they could not be inhabited very far north, since they were so afraid of, and so little acquainted with, snow.

Mela adds, that about the *Riphean* mountains, which are placed but between 52 and 55 degrees of north latitude, the snows fell in such abundance, that those parts were uninhabited and unpassable by any but wild beasts (4).

(E) These *Oænians*, were so called for living mostly upon the eggs of their sea fowl, which they eat with oaten cakes. The *Hippopodes* were supposed to be so called from their having feet like

(4) *Lib.* ii. c. i.

horses.

thern *Germany*, now the west part of *Sweden* and *Norway*, by the *Mare Sarmaticum* or *Scythicum*, which they supposed ran up into the northern ocean, and dividing *Lapland* into two parts, made the western part of *Sweden* with *Norway* into an island, and *Finland* into another; supposing this also to be cut off from the continent by the gulph of that name.

THIS *Scythia* had no other sea than the *Sarmatian* mentioned before, now called the *Baltic*, with the gulphs of *Bothnia* and *Finland*, and the *White* sea joining to the northern ocean, all unknown to the antients, if we except the *Euxine* and *Palus Mæotis*, which bounded it on the south. Lakes of any consideration we find not, except those of *Ladoga* and *Onega* in *Finland*, which were therefore unknown to the antient *Sarmatians*. Their chief rivers were on the south, the *Donetz* or little *Tanais*, *Borysthenes* or *Nieper*, *Bog*, *Tyras* or *Niefter*, and the *Ister* or *Danube*, all which emptied themselves into the *Euxine*, and on the north-east the great and little *Dwina* which empty themselves, the first into the *White* sea, and the other into the gulph of *Finland*, and therefore not known to the antients; and the *Vistula* on the west, which runs into the *Scythian* sea, and divided *Sarmatia* from *Germany* (F).

THE

horses, or from their going barefoot and hardening their feet like horses hoofs. The *Panoti* were so called from the largeness of their ears, which was such that they could cover their whole body with them instead of other raiment (5). Some other monstrous people and creatures are also mentioned by *Herodotus*: Of the first sort are the *Arimaspæans*, so called from the *Scythian* *Arima*, *one*, and *Spon*, *eye*; not because they had but one eye, as was absurdly believed by some of the antients, but rather, as *Bochart* justly conjectures, because they were such excellent archers, at which exercise it is necessary to shut one eye, that the nick-name of *one-eyed* was given them upon that account. To these we may add the mountaineers, who are affirmed to have been bald from their infancy; and another sort who had goats-feet, not unlike the fabulous satyrs, besides some monstrous animals, among which were reckoned the griffins, who digged up and guarded the golden oar or dust (6), all which shews how little was known of these regions at that time.

(F) The same author (7) mentions several other rivers of which he gives a curious description, as well as of those southern ones which we have mentioned above; but we shall refer the reader to our author for those particulars, as well as for the rivers we have omitted, because they are either not taken notice of by our modern

(5) *Vid. Mel. lib. iii. c. 8.* (6) *Herodot. lib. iv.* (7) *Idem, ibid.*

THE whole extent therefore of both *Scythias*, including the two *Sarmatias*, reached in longitude from the 20th to the 85th degree or even beyond, and from the *Alps* to the promontory of *Tabis* and straits of *Anian*, and in latitude from *Caucasus* to the arctic circle above 28 degrees. *Herodotus* indeed tells us, that the *Hyperboreans* were not of *Scythian* race, but another kind of people, one sort of which were *Androphagi*, or *Men-eaters*, fierce and cruel, and another, namely the *Argippeans* or *Baldheads*, a wise and peaceable people, esteemed sacred by all their neighbours^h; but he speaks of all those remote nations only by report, and with such diffidence, that he rather confirms what we said before, that those regions were most likely unknown, if not uninhabited.

CITIES we find none in either *Scythia*, no not even a metropolis, though *Herodotus* mentions a branch of *Scythians*, called royal *Scythians*, whom he places along the banks of *Tanais*, which river divides them, he says, from the *Asiatic Sarmatians*ⁱ. These, as should seem from the sequel of that author, were the only ones who had real kings among them, as we shall see in the next section, but such was their way of living, that they never chose to dwell in cities or fortified places, but to range about as their convenience or safety required. So that we have not much further to add concerning their natural or artificial curiosities. Two things, however, are worth taking notice of under this head, the one was a large stone lying by the river *Tyres*, in which was to be seen the print of *Hercules's* foot, said to have been two cubits long. The other was a brazen bowl of an extraordinary capacity, being six inches thick, and containing full six hundred am-

^h Lib. iv. p. 356. & seq. LITTLEBUR. Edit. 2. vid. & MEL. lib. iii. c. 9. ⁱ HEROD. ubi supra, p. 372. ^k Id. ibid. p. 384.

geographers, or at least are not reckoned of such great note and usefulness.

We shall, however, take notice of what he says of the *Borysthenes*, which he compares to the *Nile* in *Egypt*, and the next in greatness to the *Danube*. This noble river, says he, besides the beauty and fertility which it gives to the adjoining lands, abounds with variety of excellent fish and pleasant water, and doth breed a sort of whale without spinous bones, which the *Scythians* used to salt for food. They called it *Antachæus*; he adds, that towards the mouth of it that river yields abundance of salt, which is incessantly made by the hand of nature.

phoraa

phoras or fifty hogheads. The occasion of casting this monstrous vessel, we shall have occasion to mention in its proper place.

S E C T. VI.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, learning, arts, and trade of the antient Scythians.

ALL that can be met with concerning the antiquity Govern-
ment. and origin of this nation, hath been already mentioned in the first section of this chapter. How soon they began to settle themselves into a regular government, is as impossible to guess as of what kind it was. It appears, however, from what we have already hinted out of *Herodotus*, that one or two tribes at least, that is *the royal and free Scythians*, were under a monarchical one, and that these two made a much greater figure than all the rest. But whether the former was the eldest branch, whether it governed immediately over all the rest, whether it appointed viceroys over the other provinces of that vast country, or whether every tribe had their own princes, as the *Philistines*, whether their succession was hereditary or elective, whether despotic or subject to the laws, we are wholly in the dark. What seems most probable to us from the little remains we have left of their history is, that the royal dignity, which was confined to one tribe, might still have a kind of authority over some of the rest, whilst those who were more remote from the centre had lords, laws, and customs of their own, especially those who inhabited the farther parts of it eastward and northward; and this may be the reason of that variety of names and characters, which we find in those few antient writings we have left concerning them. Thus *Herodotus* tells us, that in process of time, when the *Scythians* were like to be invaded by *Darius*, the king, finding himself unable to make head against the invader, invited all the *Scythian* princes, namely those of the *Taurians*, *Agathyrsians*, *Neurians*, *Androphages*, *Melanchlæni-ans*, *Budians*, and *Sarmatians*, to come to his assistance; all these seem to have been different branches of the same stock, and only degenerated from the royal one by distance of time and place. So that by this time they differed much in their manners and customs, as the same author there tells us†. The result of this summons was, that the three last named nations

† Lib. iv.

joined

joined with the king of *Scythia*, but the others refused to assist him; under pretence that he was the first aggressor. Hence we conclude, that they had shaken off the yoke of the *royal Scythians* some considerable time before, though they might all have been originally under it. We shall speak more particularly of these eight tribes or nations in another place; at present we confine ourselves to the two most considerable, *the royal and free Scythians*, as being the most considerable and the best known of all the rest.

Laws.

WHAT their laws were, we can only guess from the excellent character that is given to that nation by antient historians. Such indeed seems to have been their justice, temperance, contempt of riches and luxury, and so simple and primitive their way of living, that they could not stand in need of a great number of them. *Justin*^a sums up their character in words to this effect: The *Scythians* were a nation, which, though inured to labours, fierce in war, and of prodigious strength, yet could so well master their affections, that they made no other use of their victories than to increase their fame. Theft among them was reckoned so great a crime and was so severely punished, that they could let their numerous flocks wander from place to place without danger of losing them. These they esteemed their greatest wealth, living upon their milk and cloathing themselves with their skins. Instead of houses, they used to convey their wives and children about in covered waggons, drawn either by horses or oxen, and made capacious enough to carry all their other furniture for bedding and for the kitchen. Gold and silver were as much despised by them as they were esteemed by other nations, so that they could not covet that which was of no use to them. Did the same moderation and disinterestedness reign among other nations, it would soon put an end to our destructive wars. What is still more wonderful, these virtues, which the *Greeks* did in vain endeavour to attain by learning and philosophy, were natural to them, and they reaped those advantages from their ignorance of vice, which the others could not from their knowledge of virtue (A).
A nation

^a Lib. ii. c. 2.

(A) This excellent character of the *Scythians*, how exaggerated soever it may seem in their praise, is nevertheless confirmed by several antient historians and poets; and if a late author (1) had but read the testimonies which the learned *Bochart* has brought to con-

(1) *Annotat. in Justin. Delphin. l. ii. c. 2. Note 8.*

A nation of this character and way of life could therefore want but few laws to secure their property, some others they had with relation to religion, customs, and polity, which forbad, under pain of death, any alteration being made in either, which excluded their women the benefit of marriage, and the men that of assisting at their royal feast, till they had killed an enemy (B). Some other of their laws we omit here, because we shall have occasion to mention them in the course of this history ; upon the whole, what appears of them seems wholly calculated to prevent luxury, fraud, and covetousness, and to cherish that martial spirit, for which they are so justly famed in history.

It ought not to be objected here, that some of the *Scythian* tribes bear a quite different character, some of them being of such a fierce and cruel disposition, as even to eat the flesh of their enemies. Those, as was hinted before, were, if under the same government, at such great distance from the centre of it, as to be out of the reach of its laws. Add to it, that as the inclemency of the air in those remote regions might probably incline them to cruelty ; so the distance and barren-

firm it (2), he would not have so lightly accused *Justin* of flattering that noble nation at the expence of truth.

(B) With respect to the former, *Herodotus* tells us (3), that *Anacharsis*, a *Scythian* of no small consideration, having in his travels assisted at a festival, which the *Cizicians* celebrated to the mother of the gods, made a vow that if he got safe back to *Scythia* he would introduce the same worship there. Accordingly after his return he retired privately into some woody part of that country, where he performed his vow ; but he could not do it so secretly, but a *Scythian*, who saw him at it, acquainted the king with it, who came immediately and shot him with an arrow upon the spot. And even one of their kings lost his crown and life for barely attempting to introduce some of the *Grecian* rites and dress, as we shall see in its proper place.

With respect to the second particular, the same author tells us, that it often happened, that some women, not having the good fortune to kill an enemy, were forced to pine away in a shameful celibacy (4). As to the men, he tells us, that every governor of a province, was obliged to make a yearly wine-feast to all those who had killed one or more of their enemies, in which they were allowed to carouse in cups made of the skulls of the slain, and in proportion to the number of them ; whilst those, who had not as yet signalized themselves like them, were forced to stand at a distance, beholding the feast and excluded from tasting of it.

(2) *Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 9.* (3) *Lib. iv.* (4) *Id. ibid. vid. & Mela lib. iii. c. 9. D. Sicul. Strab. & al.*

ness of their country might make them less heeded, and probably more incapable of being restrained by the common laws. However, it must be owned, with respect to the warlike temper even of the true *Scythians*, that it was not without a great mixture of cruelty, if the *Greek* historians have not wilfully misrepresented them, as we shall see by-and-by.

If we may guess by some few successions we find mentioned in history, it seems, their crown was hereditary, and yet their kings not so despotic as not to be deposed, or even put to death, for the violation of their laws. This is plain from the instance we hinted at in the last note, where *Scyles* having been found celebrating the *Bacchanalia* of the *Greeks*, his subjects revolted from him, and elected his brother *Oetomafades*, who soon after took off his head. In all other cases their kings seem to have been in high esteem with the people, as we may guess from the following circumstance out of *Herodotus*.

WHEN any of their monarchs fell sick, they sent immediately for three of their most famous prophets (C), who commonly told him, that some *Scythian* whom they named had perjured himself by swearing by the royal throne, which it seems was their most solemn oath. The accused person was thereupon seized, and accused before the king of having brought this distemper upon him by his perjury. If he denied the fact, more prophets were sent for; if they confirmed the evidence, the man was immediately beheaded, and his goods were divided among the three first accusers. But if they acquitted him, a new supply of them was to be sent for; and

(C) These were only a kind of pretended conjurers, who consulted certain omens, and divined, or made a shew of divining, by willow sticks gathered up into bundles, which they loosened and spread upon the ground, and then taking and bundling them up again, uttering all the while some conjuring words. It was by this art that they pretended to dive into hidden causes and to pry into futurity. The *Scythians* seem to have been very much addicted to this kind of superstition, by the great number of these sham diviners which they had amongst them. Nor was this trade confined to the men: the women had much the larger share of it; and as they did not pretend to prognosticate by means of those wands, or any other conjuring tricks, but rather by an immediate inspiration from some of their deities, they were held in the greatest veneration; and their oracles which were consulted upon all emergencies, were received as the infallible answers or commands of the gods, and obeyed with the same readiness †.

† *Vid. Keysser. antiq. Septentr. Dissert. V.*

if the majority of them did absolve him, then the first accusers were tied hands and feet, and set in a cart loaded with faggots and drawn by oxen. And after they had stopt the false prophets mouths, as they then called them, they set fire to the wood, which consumed the cart and men, and seldom failed burning the oxen to death. Our author adds, that the male children of those whom the king condemned to death seldom escaped the same fate.

ANOTHER instance of their great respect for their monarchs is the pompous solemnity of their funerals, which was performed as follows : the embalmers received the body covered with wax, they opened and cleansed the belly, and having filled it with bruised cypress, incense, parsley and anise-seeds, they sewed it up again, and placed the corpse on a chariot, and conveyed it from one tribe to another through all the provinces of his kingdom. Every province, where they received the funeral procession, was obliged to imitate *the royal Scythians* in their mournful ceremonies, which consisted in cutting off one part of their ear, shaving their heads, wounding themselves in their forehead, nose, and arm, and piercing their left hand with an arrow ; and in this guise they accompanied the hearse to the next province, till it came at length to that of the *Gerrians*, which was the remotest in the kingdom, and was situate along that part of the *Borysthenes* where it begins to be navigable. Here the corpse was deposited into a large square hole made in the earth, upon a bed encompassed round with spears, which they covered with timber ; and spread a canopy over the whole monument. In the vacant places of it they placed one of his concubines, a cook, a groom, a waiter, a messenger, some horses, all strangled, and a number of necessary utensils, and among others some golden cups. This being done they threw the earth upon it, endeavouring to raise the mound as high as they could. As soon as the year was expired, they chose fifty young men of the king's officers, who were always to be *Scythians*, those monarchs having the power of choosing whom they pleased to their service, and never being attended by slaves. These young men, with an equal number of horses, were strangled, their bowels were taken out, and their bellies stuffed with straw. The bodies of the young men were set astride upon the horses, and fastened to them by an iron stake. The horses thus mounted were set upon semicircular boards supported by four pieces of timber, and placed at a convenient distance from each other round the monument, the horses

having a loose rein fastened to another post set up for that purpose ^b.

Religion.

THE *Scythians* worshipped a plurality of gods and goddesses, but that which they reckoned their principal deity was *Vesta*, whom they called *Tabiti*. The two next were *Jupiter*, whom they called *Papeus*, and *Apia*, or *the earth*, which they esteemed his wife. *Jupiter*, it seems, they challenged as their progenitor, and *Vesta* for their queen, as appears by the answer which one of their kings sent to *Darius*, when he

Deities.

Mars.

came to subdue them to his empire * ; besides these they worshipped *Apollo*, the celestial *Venus*, and *Neptune*, under the names *U'etosyrus*, *Artimpasa*, and *Thamimasades*. But their favourite god seems to have been that of war, to whom alone they dedicated temples, altars, and images. How his temples were built, which *Herodotus* speaks of, he doth not tell us : neither is it easy for us to guess. It doth not even appear from any other antient authors, or from any other monuments, that ever they built any properly so called. Groves indeed, and very sumptuous ones too, they were famous for erecting to this deity. In these they affected to have one or more oaks of a monstrous size, which were accounted so sacred, that it was sacrilege, and was punished with the severest death, to lop so much as a branch or sprig, or even to wound the bark. These they never failed to sprinkle plentifully with the blood of their victims, insomuch, that the rind of some of the oldest of them was covered, or even incrustate, with it †. We are therefore inclined to believe, that *Herodotus*, who learned these things by word of mouth, and had never seen them himself, might, for want of a good interpreter, mistake them for temples, and suppose them to be built like those of other nations.

Altars.

How spacious these groves must have been, may be seen in the last quoted antiquarian, or be guessed at by the vast extent of the altars, which, *Herodotus* tells us, they erected in them to that favourite deity, one of which at least they were obliged to have in every precinct. It was to be made of small wood tied up into bundles, and to cover three stades of land in length and breadth, though it was not proportionable in its height. The top of it, which was quadrangular, had three sides perpendicular, and the fourth had a gradual declivity to

^b HERODOT. l. iv.

* Idem ibid. See Vol. IV. p. 486.

note (L).

† Vid. KEYSER. antiq. Septentr. Dissert. 3. & alib. pass.

render the top of it easy of access. One hundred and fifty loads of faggots were to be brought yearly to each altar, to supply those which had been putrified by the inclemency of the winter. On the top of each of these heaps was erected an old iron scymitar, which stood there as the image, or rather emblem, of the deity. To him, besides all other cattle, in common with their other gods, and in much greater number, they sacrificed horses, which were a martial creature; and, what was still more shocking, every hundredth man they took prisoner from their enemies. This last bloody of-*Human*fering was made by pouring a libation of wine upon the cap-*sacrifices.*tive's head, after which they cut his throat, and received his blood into a bowl, with which, ascending to the top of the altar, they went and washed the deity's sword. As to the victim, they only cut off his right arm close to the shoulder, and throwing it up into the air they left it exposed in the place where it fell, and the rest of the body in that where it was killed.

As to their other victims, which they sacrificed either to *Mars* or to any other deity, they observed the same rites every where without variation; they brought the beast and tied its four feet together with a slip-knot, and he who officiated as priest came behind, and at once loosed the cord and knocked the victim down. Whilst it was falling, he called upon the deity to whom it was offered, and then strangled it with a cord which he twisted with a stick; and as soon as it was dead he set about flaying and dressing it, without any previous libation or ceremony. The flesh was put into pots, and whenever these were not ready at hand, into the paunch of the creature, mixing with it a proportionable quantity of water; and if wood could not be had, they burnt the bones instead of it. When the flesh was sufficiently boiled, the priest made an offering of part of the meat and intestines to the deity by throwing it before its altar, and the rest was, we may suppose, bestowed to feast the priest and votaries. Thus in cases of necessity, as when they went out to war and the like, they made the victim furnish them with all things necessary for the sacrifice. Of all beasts the horse was esteemed the noblest, and consequently the most acceptable victim. As for swine, they detested it, not only as unfit to eat, but even to be suffered to live among them. They took care also to offer to their gods the first fruits of their cattle, ground, and of the spoil they took in war. Some considerable part of the latter they were wont to send to the *Delphic Apollo*: it was usually conveyed thither by a number of their most honourable vir-

O o 2

gins,

gins, and under a sufficient escort. But the length and difficulty of the way, and the dangers, and other obstacles of the journey, our author tells us †, obliged them to discontinue it. This is all that we can find remarkable concerning their religion.

BUT before we come to speak of their manners, customs, and such other particulars, it will be necessary to caution our readers once for all, that as we receive a great part of our intelligence from *Herodotus*, *Homer*, and other *Greek* authors, who cannot be supposed to have been well affected to the *Scythians*, by whom their country had been so often invaded, plundered, ravaged, and sometimes almost destroyed; we must not give too implicit a credit to many things which they relate, very much to the dishonour of that antient and warlike nation. Some of them we shall have occasion to confute in the sequel of this history, and others are of so horrid a nature as to exceed our belief, especially when we compare them with the character which *Justin* gives of them, and as it has been learnedly vindicated by *Bochart*, as we have lately shewn; this caution once premised, we hope our readers will the better judge of what we are now going to give out of those authors concerning the customs of this nation, which are not to be found in any of them, without some mixture of barbarity.

Contracts. THUS we are told, that their alliances and contracts were ratified with the following ceremonies: they poured some wine into an earthen vessel, into which the contracting parties were to mingle some of their own blood, which they drew by a slight incision made in some part of their body. They then dipped into the mixture the points of some warlike weapons, such as a scymitar, arrow, dart, javelin, or battle-ax. The parties then uttered some dire imprecations on the first breaker of the covenant, and having took each of them a draught of the liquor, they desired some of the most considerable among the by-standers to pledge them, and to be witnesses of the contract, which being usually complied with by them, the bargain was reckoned so sacred, that they thought no punishment severe enough either in this life or in the next for the breaker of it.

Valour. THEIR warlike temper and exploits were sufficiently known to the antients; scarce is there any nation to be met with in history so famous for conquering wherever they carried their arms, even as auxiliaries, and themselves remain-

† HERODOT. lib. iv.

ing still unconquered. Their frugal and simple manner of life may indeed be supposed to have been a great preservative against such invasions, as other more opulent and luxurious nations were exposed to. But 'tis plain, this was not always the case, since we find they were once invaded by the king of *Persia*, at the head of a most puissant army, from the power of which nothing but their valour and policy could have delivered them : but of this in its proper place, as well as of their conquest of greater *Asia*, which could not be wrested out of their hands, but by the blackest treachery. But upon the whole, such was their strength and courage whenever they entered into an offensive or defensive war, that, as *Thucydides* himself tells us, no nation, either in *Europe* or *Asia*, could equal them either for strength, valour, or conduct ; nor indeed any thing resist their power, provided they were but unanimous among themselves †.

SUCH care they took to cultivate this martial genius among them, that even their women were inured to it betimes, inso-much, that they could not be admitted into matrimony till they had killed at least one enemy with their own hands †, as we have hinted already. As for their youth, they were not without some considerable encouragements to inspire them with martial valour, or indeed rather ferocity, if *Herodotus* doth not bely them : for he tells us, that they were wont to drink the blood of the first prisoner they took, and to present the heads of all the men they killed in fight to their monarch ; these were either returned or registered, and intitled the person to several privileges, such as being present at some public feasts, sharing the spoil of their enemies, and such like ; to which no man was to pretend till he had killed at least one enemy. As therefore the worth and merit of a man did rise in proportion to the number of heads he had knocked off, they used to take the skins of the slain, to stretch, dry, and tan them, and then hang them at their horses bridles, where they served both for trophies and napkins to the owner ; he being always most esteemed who wore the greatest number of them. Their pride, or rather barbarity, if we may believe our author, went so far with some of them, that they took off and dressed the whole skins of the slain, and covered both their quivers and horses, and sometimes decked their own bodies with them *.

† Lib. ii. sect. 97. † Vid. *HERODOT.* ubi supra. *PLAT.* de leg. lib. vii. *Hypocrat.* N. *Damascen.* *Justin.* & al. * *HERODOT.* ubi supra.

HAD they only exercised this kind of savage pride against those who came to invade them, it might indeed admit of some mitigation, as it would have been done not only in defence of their country, and in determent to all invaders of it, but as they might naturally enough think such men deserved no better fate, who attempted the conquest of a country, which had nothing to tempt or satisfy the avarice or ambition of the conqueror (D). But it doth not appear from our author, that they gave much better quarters to those whose territories they did invade. And it would have been cruel and impolitic in them to have condemned their young women to celibacy, till they were able to produce some such trophies of their martial prowess, if they were not to be gained in any but a defensive war, which their poverty joined to their known valour will not permit us to suppose to have been frequent enough for that end. It is then more likely from what we quoted above out of *Thucydides*, that, as they are affirmed to have lived mostly upon plunder, instead of going out of their vast territories, they made mutual incursions one tribe against another, which they again retaliated upon the first opportunity, without forgetting, however, their affinity so far, as not to join their forces against a common enemy or invader, whenever necessity required it.

How populous the *Scythians* were is not agreed. If it be allowed, that they made such frequent and bloody inroads one upon another, we cannot but suppose, that it must have thinned them exceedingly. On the other hand, if we consider their plain and laborious way of living, their climate, constant exercise, hardiness, and other such like advantageous circumstances, which rendered them lusty and strong, prolific, and long-lived, one can hardly conceive, they could be

(D) This was the argument which, *Justin* tells us (5), they made use of to dissuade the king of *Egypt* from attempting a war against them ; for, said they to his heralds, it were madness for the opulent *Egyptians* to invade so poor a nation as ours, where they could get nothing but death and wounds : whereas the *Scythians* would fall upon them with the utmost fierceness at the sight of so rich plunder as victory would intitle them to. Such a message they sent afterwards to *Darius* when he had entered *Scythia* ; that as they had neither cities, houses, fields, vineyards, nor indeed any other valuable treasures in their country, except their families, and the sepulchres of their ancestors, for which, however, they were always known to fight with uncommon bravery, the invader ran a much greater risk than they (6).

(5) *lib. ii. c. 2.*(6) *Vid. & Herodot. l. iv.*

other than a populous nation : for we are told, that very few died of sickness, but all in general lived to a good old age ; infomuch, that, many of them being weary of the world before death took them out of it, it was usual with such to hasten their exit by throwing themselves from some eminence into the sea, or into some river^d. *Herodotus*, however, who seems in doubt whether they were indeed so populous as some, or so thin as others represent them, gives us an authentic instance and monument in favour of the former, which is as follows : they had it seems a custom, not uncommon to other nations *, at their first taking the field to muster their fighting men, and to make every man cast an arrow, or, according to our author, the head or point of one, into a proper receptacle, which at their return from the expedition was again taken up. By this they could easily compute not only the number of their men, but also that of their slain, or of those who either ran away, or absented themselves from the war. It was at some such muster as this that one of their kings, whom *Herodotus* names *Ariantes*^e, being present, and observing these heads of arrows to amount to an immense bulk and weight, as he had indeed a prodigious army under him, ordered them to be melted and cast, or made into that large capacious vessel we have lately spoken of, and which our author tells us, was still extant in his time, and though full six inches thick, yet was large enough to hold 600 amphoras, that is, about fifty hogsheds, and remained still a monument of this prodigious army. There is indeed no making an exact estimate from this story, supposing it literally true : but might not this unwieldy vessel have been at first designed only to keep the arrows which every soldier threw in, and the other part of the story have been foisted in, in process of time ? However, supposing the fact as related, and that it must have been a prodigious army that could furnish metal enough for such a monstrous vessel, yet might it not therefore necessarily follow that the *Scythian* nation was more populous than its neighbours, considering the vast extent of it. But what seems to be a stronger argument for it is, the colonies which they were continually sending out, chiefly towards the southern parts of the world, of which we shall have further occasion to speak in the sequel.

As they cultivated no art or science except that of war, *Arts and* nor scarcely any trade or commerce except pasturage, the *Sciences*.

^d *MELA*, lib. iii. c. 5. *Herodot.* & al.
p. 484.

^e lib. 4.

* See Vol. IV.

reader must expect us to be very barren on these two heads. *Thucydides*, in the place above quoted, seems indeed to commend their industry and sagacity in procuring all things necessary for life, in such a manner, as would incline one to believe them to have been great encouragers of industry and manufacture : and another *Greek* author speaks much of the trade and commerce which they carried on with all the sea-coasts of the *Hellæspont* *. But as to the latter, we are much inclined to believe, that like some of his predecessors, he has mistook them for the *Celtes*, who, as we have observed in a former section, were become great merchants both by sea and land under their king *Mercury*. For, as for the *Scythians*, their way of living was altogether incompatible with it, as will appear by-and-by. They do not so much as seem to have known any thing of writing, till they brought it with them from *Asia*, after their twenty eight years invasion of it : neither do we find any footsteps of their having had such poetic historians as were the *Curetes* among the *Celtes*, or the *Bards* and *Druids* among the *Gauls*. *Herodotus*, who has wrote so much concerning them, doth not so much as hint his having received his intelligence from any of their records, but barely from tradition ; and that is one reason why we omit many fabulous things he has said of them from the common report of their neighbours ; since it is hardly to be expected, they either could, or would, give a true character of a nation, with whom they had no commerce except in a hostile way.

Language

THEIR language is still more unknown to us, whatever discoveries some modern antiquarians may fancy to have made about it. The vast extent of their territories, together with their intermingling with other nations, could not but cause it to split itself into a vast number of dialects, from which most probably have sprung the *Muscovitish*, *Slavonic*, *Polish*, *Danish*, *Swedish*, *Saxon*, and many others ; between which, one can but barely discover affinity enough to make us believe them sprung from the same mother. This we may, however, venture to affirm, as more than a probable conjecture from a visible vein of the *Celtic* still preserved, as we have seen to this day among us, and which runs through all those various languages ; that they did not antiently differ much more from it, than the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, and *Syriac*. Neither is it so much to be wondered at, that they should have branched out into such a vast variety, as that they should still preserve so much of their pristine affinity as we find they do. We have

* *DICTYS CRET. de bell. Troj. l. ii. c. 8.*

in a former section endeavoured to account for the great number of words and phrases that are found not only in those northern languages, but also in the *Latin, Greek, Arabic, and Persic* which shew them to have been so many dialects of the old *Celtic*; if those few relicks of the *Scythian*, which we have left in the names of their kings, tribes, and districts, do not so plainly appear to be of *Celtic* extraction, we must remember, they have past through so many different hands, and have so often changed their dress, especially among the *Greeks*, that they may be easily supposed to have quite lost their antient form. We may add, that some of them are perfectly *Greek* or translated from the *Scythian* into that language (E).

THEIR chief manufactures seem to have consisted mostly *Manufactures.* in building their waggons for their families and baggage, which being covered with the skins of beasts, they must have had some notion of tanning them, as well as those with which they covered their own bodies. We may likewise reasonably suppose, that they fabricated their own weapons, which were scymitars, javelins, axes, but especially bows and arrows, at which they are said to have been so expert, that their very children were trained to shoot at a mark even as they rode on horseback; insomuch, that it became a common proverb, *That the Scythians were as dexterous at their bow, as the Greeks were at their lyre.* Hence *Cyaxares*, king of *Media*, is reported to have sent his son to be brought up under them to learn the use of the bow. They were no less expert horsemen † (F), insomuch, that we find them called *ἵπποτοξόται* by *Herodotus*

† HERODOT. lib. i.

(E) Of this kind is the name of the *Oænes*, a *Scythian* tribe, so called in *Herodotus* from their living upon the eggs of wild fowl, and comes from the *Greek* ὄν. The *Nomades* were so called from *νομή pasture*. Of the same extraction, were the *Hyppopodes*, *Androphagi*, and several others, which we need not point out to the reader

(F) This the learned *Bochart* observes the words of the prophet (7) to allude to, where speaking of the army of *Magog* or *Scythia*, he calls their horse סוסים ופרשים לבושי מכלול. *Sussim uparashim lehuſhi Miklal*, horses and horsemen, cloathed with perfection, or compleatly disciplined and armed, or, as *Kimchi* renders it, expert in all kind of weapons, and our *English* version cloathed with all kind of Armour; for such it appears the *Scythian* horse were.

(7) *Ezek.* xxxviii. 3.

and *Lucian*. And their very women are affirmed to have been so well inured to riding and shooting, that they did not come one jot behind the men ^g. The antients observe, that they had neither mules nor asses; and the reason they give is, that the country was too cold for those creatures. Experience has since shewn the contrary, at least with respect to the latter; but the true reason seems to be, that their horses, which they bred in great quantities, could answer all the purposes of the other two, and at the same time be more swift and expeditious than they whenever occasion required it.

As for agriculture, it doth not appear that they had any. *Herodotus* indeed tells us of one province of them, whose inhabitants called themselves *Olbispolitans*, and the *Greeks* *Borysthenians*, as they lived on the north side of that river; and these he likewise called husbandmen, because they sowed grain, not for food, but for sale ^h. But the rest of the *Scythians* wholly neglected it, choosing rather to roam where they found the best pasture for their cattle, and contenting themselves with the spontaneous product of the earth without being at the trouble of manuring it. And this is in all likelihood the cause why we read of so many deserts, vast forests, and large uninhabited tracts of land between tribe and tribe, in the writings of antient historians and geographers. What they did with the wool of their flocks we read not, but by their cloathing themselves with the skins of wild or tame beasts ⁱ, as we are told they did, one may conclude, they did not manufacture it. And as those skins were of their own dressing, they wanted still less the help of foreign manufactures. Smiths they must have had, both for their various arms, making their waggons, and other necessary tools; and as to their arrows, darts, javelins, and such like weapons, if their heads were made of copper, as it is probable they were, if the story we have related above of the large copper vessel that was made of them be literally true, there was still less art required in making them, since they might easily cast them in a mould. Their bows might also be made of the same metal like those of other antient nations, though it is not improbable, they might also have some smiths to forge iron and steel weapons, besides those they might take from their enemies. It is indeed hardly to be supposed, they could make their waggons without the help of such artists, though upon the whole it doth

^g Id. lib. iv. LUCIAN. in *Toxar.* & *Hermot.* MELA, lib. i. c. 21. iii. iv. BOCHART. ubi supra, & al. ^h HERODOT. ubi supra. JUSTIN. lib. ii. c. 2. MELA, & al. ⁱ Id. ibid.

appear, that they wanted as few trades as any nation, and used none they could possibly do without.

THEIR chief riches and food consisting in their numerous herds, they entrusted the care of them to *Shepherds*, who *Shepherds* were a lower rank of *Scythians* below the martial men, and *and martial men.* had slaves and captives under them. They used to move from pasture to pasture, with the persons and families which were unfit to go to the wars. These did chiefly live upon honey and milk, especially that of their mares, from which creature, if *Herodotus* was rightly informed, they had a strange way of forcing plenty of it by blowing wind into their privities. What provisions the warlike sort made, when they were absent from their flocks, we cannot guess, and it is likely when they came into an enemies country, they took care to seize upon all the cattle they could meet with.

FROM an instance or two we read of their kings, it seems *Polygamy.* as if they allowed of polygamy, and were not over strict in their marriages. Some we find took wives from other nations, and one of them we read of, who married his own father's widow, but whether the same liberty was allowed to private men we cannot affirm. The reason the *Scythians* gave for abhorring the bacchanalian feasts of the *Greeks*, namely, that it was unreasonable to suppose that a god should drive men into all the violent transports of madness, seems to shew that drunkenness was not common among them. And indeed we do not find, that they were much given to feasting. *Feasting.* One wine feast they had, however, once a year in every district, for those who, as we hinted before, had signalized themselves by killing one or more of their enemies. Another we read of, which was used at funerals, and with which we shall close this article, since we have no more to say concerning their other customs.

WE have already spoken of the funeral obsequies which *Funeral obsequies.* they paid to their monarchs. When any other person died, his nearest relations caused his embalmed body to be carried in a chariot from house to house among his friends and acquaintance, who received and feasted them in their turn, setting part of the same things before the deceased, which they did to their guests. This was continued forty days, after which the person was buried, and his attendants went and purified themselves, not by any ablution, but by the smoke of some hemp seed peculiar to the country, which, being thrown upon some burning stones, emitted a much more agreeable perfume than the frankincense used in *Greece*, and so transported the company as to set them a howling aloud. This served instead of washing, which the *Scythians*, our author tells us, never practised. Not

How their
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preserved
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ty.

even the women, who used, instead of it, to anoint their bodies and face with a paste, which they made with cypress, cedar and frankincense, ground upon a rough stone, and soaked in water; which paste, being taken off the next day, rendered their skins clean, shining, and sweetⁱ.

THERE remains, that we should say a word or two of those other petty kingdoms of *Scythia*, and of some particularities, wherein they differed from the royal *Scythians*. For whether they were all really descended from the same stock, as we supposed it in the beginning, or whether they did spring from some other of *Magog's* brethren, yet since they inhabited so considerable a part of *Scythia*, and made such figure in the history of their wars in conjunction with the royal tribes, we cannot well omit at least those of the greatest note.

Sarmati-
ans.

THE *Sarmatians*, we have already hinted, are affirmed by *Herodotus* to have been the offspring of the *Scythians* (G) and *Amazons*. These warlike women, or, as their *Scythian* name *Aior Patta* imports, *Man-slayers*, in their flight from the *Grecians* having landed near the precipices of the *Palus Mæotis* belonging to the free *Scythians*, and having been persuaded to be married to them, did in their turn prevail upon them to leave that part of *Scythia*, where they pretended they could

ⁱ HERODOT. ubi supra.

(G) Some authors, however, from a passage in *Pliny* (8), where he tells us, that *they were reported to be descended from the Medes*, and another out of *Justin*, who tells us, that the language of the *Parthians* was a mixture of *Scythic* and *Medish* (9), have supposed, that the *Sarmatians*, who most resemble the *Parthians*, were the offspring of the *Medes*; and that the name of *Sarmatian* was only a corruption of the *Chaldee* שׂוּאֵר מַדַּי *Sheer Madai* (10), a residue or sprout of the *Medes*. We can affirm nothing certain about it, but yet we think *Herodotus* may be more relied upon than the other two, who spoke at a much greater distance of time and place than he. However, if what they say be true, it proves what we observed before, that the descendants of *Gomer* and his brothers did make their migrations as it were in columns, and only separated by degrees from each other.

As to the *Parthians*, though their name in the *Scythic* and *Celtic* signifies *separated*, it seems probable, that they were rather *Gomerians* or *Celtes* driven out by their own countrymen, who having forced themselves into a country of the *Medes* were by them called *Parthians*, or *banished* (11).

(8) lib. vi. c. 7. (9) lib. xli. (10) Vid *Mela*, lib. iii. c. 4
& alib. *Bockart*. lib. iii. c. 14. (11) Vid. *Pezron*. *Ant. Nat.* cb. iv.



not conveniently live with them, and to pass into the province of *Sarmatia* on the other side of the *Tanais*. Hence our author says, the *Sarmatian* women retained still the *Amazonian* temper and way of life, being more warlike than the rest of the *Scythian* females; and the language of the country became a corrupt *Scythian*, because the *Amazons* never could perfectly learn that language, but taught it their offspring, corrupt as themselves spake it. Here it chiefly was, that virgins were unqualified for matrimony till they had dispatched an enemy in the field ^k.

THE *Taurians* had this inhuman custom, that they sacrificed *Taurians*. to a virgin all that were shipwrecked, and all the *Grecians* which they caught upon their coasts. This bloody offering was performed by knocking the person on the head with a club, after many dire imprecations, and flinging his carcase down the hill on which their temple was built, or, as others told our author, by burying the body, and reserving only the head to be stuck on a pole. These *Taurians* pretended, that the virgin *Dæmon* whom they thus worshipped was *Iphigenia Agamemnon's* daughter. They lived chiefly by war and rapine, and were very cruel to those that fell into their hands. The *Agathyrsi- Agathyrsians* are said to have had their women in common in order to link the men more strictly together, and to prevent jealousies and other ill effects of matrimony. The *Neurian* province *Neurians*. being infested with dangerous serpents, they were at length forced to leave it for that of the *Budians*. They observed the customs of *Scythia* in most particulars, only pretended to greater skill in magic than they, and were reported to be transformed into wolves for a few days, after which they resumed their own shape ^l.

THE worst of all were the *Androphagi* or *men-eaters*, who *Budians* or observed neither law nor justice, and had nothing in common *Andro-* with the rest, but their dress and breeding of cattle. The *phagi*. *Melanchæni*ans were so called for affecting to go always in black: they followed the *Scythian* customs, except that they fed upon human flesh, which the *free Scythians* did not, nor indeed any other tribes, at least as common food, but only on some particular occasions, such as we shall have occasion to mention by-and-by. The *Budians* were a populous nation famed for blue eyes and red hair: in this province above all the rest did they build them a city, and called it *Gelonus*, whose houses and high walls were of timber, and each side of the walls was three hundred stades in length: it had temples and chapels dedicated to the *Grecian* gods; and here they celebra-

^k Id. *ibid.* MELA, ubi *supra*.^l Id. *ibid.*^m Id. *ibid.*

Geloni-
ani.

ted the *Bacchanalia* triennially. The people of the province differed from that of the city, in that the former applied themselves to the keeping of cattle, and these to till their land, plant gardens, and live upon the product of them and of their corn-fields; in a word, these *Gelonians* had so much better minds than the *Budians*, that they seemed, and in our author's opinion really were, another people. This province yielded otters, beavers, and other such animals: their skins sewed together were used for garments, and the testicles against hysteric diseases. The *Oænes*, *Panoti*, *Arimaspæi* in *Scythia Europæa* we have spoken of in a former note, and have nothing more to add to it here, except that they did more resemble the *royal Scythians* than any others, in most particulars, especially in their warlike genius, and simplicity of living.

Scythian
Nomades. THE last two nations or tribes of *Scythians* worth our notice were the *Scythian Nomades*, inhabiting, as we have seen, upon the north-west of the *Caspian* sea, and the *Massagetes* on the east. As for the *Amazons*, as they are accounted somewhat fabulous, we shall speak of them in a separate note (H).
The

(H) Concerning these so famed and so much questioned female warriors, it were endless to trouble ourselves with all that has been written on either side; those seem to come nearest the truth, who neither altogether reject what has been said of them by the antients, nor altogether credit all the wonders that are recorded of them. If we compare the warlike genius of the *Scythian* women in general, and more particularly that of the *Sarmatians*, in whose neighbourhood lived these *Amazons* if they were not originally of the same blood, with the occasion which gave birth to this strange kind of government, namely, the treacherous murder of their husbands, and their being in danger of becoming a prey to their murderers and in a strange country; if, I say, we consider all these circumstances, there will be nothing so improbable in the brave and masculine method they took to save themselves from slavery and to revenge the slaughter of their husbands. We may add, that the *Scythian* as well as *Celtic* women were antiently held in great authority and veneration, for their skill in divination above the men, insomuch, that the latter are even upbraided by antient authors (12) for suffering them to assist at and steer their councils as they pleased, and to have even presided in all courts of judicature and other assemblies; in which their judgment was generally reckoned decisive, because they were supposed to be divinely inspired (13). Being therefore

(12) *Vid. Tacit. de Mor. German. cap. viii & alib Polyæn. in Strategem. l. vii. Plutarch. lib. de virt. Mulier. Cæsar. Comment. l. i. c. 50. Strab. Geograph. lib. vii.* (13) *Vid Keysser. antiq. Septentr. dissert 5.*

The *Nomades* differed so little from the *royal Scythians*, except in this appellative, that we shall need say no more about them, than that they did, like them, follow a wandering life, living no longer in one place than they found plenty of pasture for their cattle; after which they removed to fresh grounds, and when called to the wars, left their families and flocks with their shepherds till their return ^P. THE

^P MELA, lib. iii. c. 6.

thus inured to council, execution, and warlike exploits, exasperated by the treacherous butchery of their husbands, and become, as it were, desperate at the prospect of their impending slavery, we need not wonder, that they so soon fell upon the most effectual means of making a noble defence; and, like so many heroines, having chosen one or two of the wisest and stoutest among them to lead them to an offensive war against their enemies, they carried it on with such courage and constancy, and with such surprising success. And if their warlike temper, their government, customs, valour, conduct, and achievements, have been exaggerated beyond credibility, it is no more than hath been done with respect to other nations, governments, kingdoms, and conquerors, whom it were nevertheless absurd to treat as fabulous upon that account. It is certainly more equitable to make the same allowance in both cases, than to suppose, that so many historians, who have written of either of them, were guilty of wilful forgery, or too great credulity (14).

The occasion of this new female government was as follows: Two noble *Scythian* youths, whom our author calls *Hylinos* and *Scolopitus* (15), having been forced to yield to a contrary faction, about the time of the first irruptions of the *Scythians* into *Asia*, and in the reign of *Sesostris* king of *Egypt*, retired into part of *Cappadocia* with their wives and families. They brought with them also a very considerable number of warlike youths, by whose assistance they got possession of the region of *Thermosciria*, on the river *Thermodon*, from which they used to make frequent incursions into the neighbouring countries for several years, till they were at length all treacherously, murdered by those nations. Their wives were no sooner apprised of it, than, partly through fear of slavery and partly through desire of revenge, they put themselves under the conduct of some of their greatest heroines, and prepared for a bloody war against the murderers. That nothing might obstruct their fury, they renounced all future marriages with mankind, calling it an unworthy kind of slavery, and destroyed the residue of their husbands who had escaped the slaughter, that so, being all upon the same foot, they might pursue their designs with equal ardour and courage. The consequence was, that they fell

(14) *Vid. S. W. Rawl. hist. lib. iv. c. 2. sect. xv.* (15) *Justin. ex Trog. l. ii. c. 4.*

Massa-
getes.

THE *Massagetes* did likewise imitate the *free Scythians* in their habit, manner of living, arms, and warlike genius ; but they

upon the conquerors with such bravery and success, that they totally overthrew them, greatly enlarged their own dominions, and made their neighbours sue to them for peace. One of their conditions was, that they should yearly have a month's intercourse with each other, in order to keep up the breed, after which they brought up all their girls in their own way, cutting off their right breasts, that they might be no obstruction to their shooting, whence they came to be called *Amazons* ; and as for the boys that were born to them, they either killed them, according to our author *, or sent them back to their fathers, according to *Herodotus*.

These surprising exploits were achieved under the government and conduct of two famous queens, *Lampeto* or *Lampeto*, and *Marthesia* or *Marpesia*, who boasted themselves to be the daughters of *Mars* ; and having carried their conquests into *Asia* and built some cities there, this last, who had been left there with an army to secure their conquest, whilst the former returned home loaden with spoils, was afterwards surprised, and cut off with the rest of her female warriors by some bands of barbarians.

She was succeeded by her daughter *Ortara* or *Orthya*, whose valour, added to her living in perpetual virginity, did not a little raise the glory of the *Amazonian* name. To this succeeded *Antiope*, whose sisters, *Hypolite* and *Menalippe*, are reported to have challenged *Hercules* and *Theseus*, and to have been with great difficulty overcome by those two heroes. 4. *Penthesilea* was another famous *Amazonian* queen, who is said to have come at the head of an army of her viragoes to the assistance of *Priamus* king of *Troy*. 'Tis added, that she was the inventress of the battle-ax, and was at length killed by *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles*. Some other particulars related of these heroines smell so much of the fable, that we shall dwell no longer upon them (16).

The bloody rencounter between *Thomyris*, another of their warlike queens, and *Cyrus* king of *Persia* has been taken notice of in another chapter † ; and the amorous one between *Alexander the Great*, and the famous queen *Thalestris* shall be spoken of in its proper place. It is under this last that the *Amazonian* race and kingdom is said to have received its final period.

We must not omit some other memorable occurrences concerning a colony of these female worthies, which happened in the reign of some of the foregoing queens ; it is not easy to guess which ; and which are mentioned by another author (17) in his history of the *Scythians*.

* *Justin ex Trog. l. ii. c. 4.*
 ‡ *Pausan. in Attic. c. ii.*
Herodot. l. iv.

(16) *Vid. Just. ubi supra*
 † *Vid. Vol. IV. p. 530.* (17)

they used, besides bows and arrows, for which those were so famed, javelins and scymitars. Brass served them instead of steel

The *Grecians*, who had obtained a signal victory over the *Amazons*, near the river *Thermodon*, were carrying off the residue that had escaped the slaughter, in three ships, into their own country. While they were at sea, the *Amazons* conspired against them, and killed all the men they had on board with them; but, being altogether unacquainted with navigation, even with the use of the rudder, sails, and oars, they were driven by the wind and tide, to the precipices of the *Palus Mæotis*, in the territories of the *free Scythians*. Here they got ashore, and marching up into the country, they seized upon the first set of horses they could come at, and began to plunder the inhabitants. The *Scythians*, unacquainted with their language, sex, and dress, could not tell what to make of these invaders, they took them at first to be youths, but after a skirmish or two, in which some of them were taken prisoners, had convinced them of the contrary, they resolved not to kill them, but to send a party of youths to watch their motions; with orders, that if they were attacked by them, they should flee from them, and as soon as they ceased their pursuit, encamp at the nearest distance they could, resolved if possible to have some children by these brave women. These observing, that the *Scythian* youths did not come with any hostile design, suffered them to continue in their neighbouring station, whilst they, having nothing but their horses and arms, lived in their old manner by hunting and plunder. It was their custom to withdraw themselves from the rest about noon, either single or by couples, to comply with the necessities of nature, which when the *Scythian* youths observed, they did so likewise; by this means one of these walking alone met with a single *Amazon*, and though they could not speak to each other, yet she found a way to let him understand, that if he would meet her there on the next day, accompanied with another *Scythian*, she would likewise bring a companion with her. The upshot was, that both the camps were presently joined into one, and every *Scythian* took to wife the *Amazon*, whom chance threw in his way. The women had no sooner got a smattering of the *Scythian* language, than they were given to understand by their new husbands, that they had their parents and possessions in that neighbourhood, to whom they had a desire to return, inviting the women to follow them thither. But these replied, that as they had ever been used to draw the bow, dart a javelin, mount a horse, and all such warlike exercises, to which they supposed the *Scythian* women altogether unaccustomed, they could not bear the thoughts of going to live among them, and exchange their warlike way of living for their indolent one. They therefore exhorted them, if they retained still the same conjugal affection for them, to go and receive their several portions of wealth from their parents, and to return to them, which they readily complied with. At their re-

Some barbarous customs.

steel for making their offensive weapons, and as to their defensive ones, they added some ornaments made of gold, especially in their helmets, belts, and armour. Their horses were likewise fenced with a breast-plate of brass, whilst their bridles, and other furniture, were adorned with gold; for silver and iron were not used by them, because their country did not produce them. Though every man was obliged to marry a wife, yet they held them all in common: so that when a man met with a woman to his liking, he took her into his chariot or waggon, and lay with her without any further ceremony, than the hanging up his quiver at the head of it. This custom, *Herodotus* tells us, was unjustly attributed to all the *Scythians* by the *Greeks*, whereas it was peculiar to the *Massagetes* only⁹. A more inhuman custom than this the same author tells us they had; that when a man had once attained to old age, which was not so much limited by law as inferred from concurring symptoms, all his relations met and sacrificed him, together with a number of cattle of several kinds, and having boiled the flesh all together, they sat down to it as to a feast. This kind of death was accounted by them the most happy, as that of dying by sickness was reckoned unfortunate; because these last were to be buried, instead of coming to the honour of being sacrificed to their gods, and feasted upon by their nearest relations and intimate friends. The sun was the only deity they worshipped, and to him they sacrificed horses, which being reckoned the noblest and swiftest of all creatures, they thought most proper to be offered to the noblest and swiftest of all the gods. They neither sowed nor planted, but contented themselves

⁹ HERODOT. lib. i. ad finem.

turn, their wives acquainted them farther, that since they had deprived them of their parents, and committed several depredations in that country, they thought it much safer to go and fix their habitation on the other side of the *Tanais*. This was likewise agreed to, and having crossed that river, after three days march eastward of that river, and three more northward from the lake *Meotis*, they arrived and settled in the country of *Sarmatia*, where they continued still in our author's time. Hence it is, that the *Sarmatian* women are by far the greatest warriors of all the *Scythians*; and hence proceeds the corruption of their language; for the *Amazons* not having been able to learn, and consequently to teach, their children the true *Scythic*, the *Sarmatian* became a mixture of that and of the *Amazonic*. Thus came the fame of those female warriors to spread itself into *Europe* and *Asia*; as for those of *America*, they shall be spoken of in their proper place.

with

with the milk and flesh of their cattle, and with fish, of which the *Iaxartes* did yield them a very great plenty^r. In a word, the two forementioned customs excepted, they were esteemed the noblest of all the *Scythians*^f, being equal to the royal tribe in valour and prowess, and exceeding them in opulence. Their worth.

S E C T. VII.

The history of the SCYTHIAN kings.

WHAT has been observed in some of the foregoing sections, concerning the barrenness of *Scythian* records, and of other historians concerning that nation, will easily convince our readers, that it would be a vain attempt to give any light to the chronology of it, or even to a regular history of their kings, whose names and exploits lie occasionally scattered in *Herodotus*, and other more recent historians, without any order of time, or any index, whereby one may give the least guess into it, at least till their invasion of *Asia*, and engaging into wars with some of the *Asiatic* monarchs. Till then, it is probable, they confined their conquests to *Europe*, and made their incursions only against their neighbours, which though perhaps originally descended from the same stock, yet, like a great many other nations, such as the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, *Edomites* and *Israelites*, and many more, had either quite obliterated, or were become regardless of, their former affinity. And this seems to have been most probably their case, because they cultivated no art, but that of war and plunder, without troubling themselves about recording their acts and genealogies. The *Celtes* indeed had their *Curetes*, and other *European* nations their *Bards* and *Druids*, who celebrated their exploits in verse, as we have shewn in a former section; but we do not find any footsteps of the *Scythians* having had any such persons among them; so that tradition, such as it could be got, seems to have been the only fountain from which our antient historians have drawn all their intelligence concerning that nation, and which they have been forced to convey to us in as confused and irregular a manner as they had received it.

THE following is a list of *Scythian* kings, as we find them mentioned by *Herodotus*, *Justin*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and

^r MELA, CLUVER. & al. ^f Vid. STRAB. l. xi. pass. DIOM. SICUL. MELA, CLUVER. & al.

Mela; but without any note of time, either about the beginning, length, or end of their reigns. Neither can we affirm, that they succeeded one another in the order we have set them down, or even whether they all reigned over the same nations, or some of them over one or more tribes, and others over other tribes. However, we shall to the list of their names subjoin such particular facts as we have recorded of any of them, and with which we shall be forced to close this history.

Kings of *Scythia*.

1 <i>Scythes</i> .	9 <i>Targitaus</i>	14 <i>Saulius</i> .
2 <i>Napis</i> .	10 <i>Calaxais</i> .	15 <i>Spargapises</i> .
3 <i>Phithra</i> .	11 <i>Scholypethes</i>	16 <i>Aripethes</i> .
4 <i>Sagillus</i> or <i>Protothyas</i> .	or perhaps	17 <i>Scyles</i> .
5 <i>Madyes</i> .	rather	18 <i>Oetamasades</i> .
6 <i>Thomyris</i> .	<i>Scythopetes</i> .	19 <i>Ariantes</i> .
7 <i>Jancyrus</i> .	12 <i>Panaxagoras</i>	20 <i>Atheas</i> .
8 <i>Indathyrfus</i> .	13 <i>Tanais</i> .	21 <i>Lambinus</i> .

Scythes. *Scythes* is that fabulous son of *Hercules*, begotten on a monster of whom we have spoken in a former note, and from whom the *Scythian* nation was affirmed by the fabulous *Greeks* to have taken their name, if not to be descended ^a. This history seems to have been invented by the *Greeks*, for no other end than to fully the origin of the noble and war-like *Scythians*, to whom they were no doubt vastly inferior in power, courage, virtue, and other accomplishments, as the reader will easily see by comparing the history of these, with what we shall relate, in a subsequent chapter, of the more obscure and barbarous beginnings of the *Grecian* nation.

Sagillus. *Sagillus* is said to have sent his son *Panasagoras*, who is perhaps the same with *Protothyas*, the father of *Madyes*, with an army of horse, to the assistance of *Orithya*, queen of the *Amazons*, against *Theseus* king of *Athens*. To persuade him to it, she let him know, that the *Amazons* were of *Scythian* race, that it was mere necessity that had obliged them to dispatch their surviving husbands, and to erect themselves into a female monarchy, and to engage in this war. In a word, she used all the arguments that could induce the *Scythian* king to her assistance; his son came accordingly with a large army of horse, but presently after his arrival, upon some disgust which that prince took at those brave heroines, he left

^a HERODOT. l. iv.

them to the mercy of their enemies, who soon after gained the victory over them ^b.

Madyes, of whom we have spoken in a former chapter *, *Madyes*. and supposed to be the same with the *Indathyrfus* of *Strabo*, though different from that of *Herodotus*, was the son of *Protothyas*, and a warlike prince. Under his conduct it was, that the *Scythians*, having drove the *Cymmerians* or northern *Celtes* out of *Europe*, and pursued them into *Asia*, invaded the country of the *Medes*, and held the greater part of upper *Asia* in subjection twenty eight years. The occasion of their quarrel with the *Cymmerians*, and of this *Asiatic* irruption, is indeed no where to be found; but may, however, be easily guessed at. *Scythia*, we observed, was more fruitful of men than of food and sustenance; it was hemmed on the north by intolerable frosts and snows: where should they then discharge their over-swelling multitudes, but towards the more inviting regions of the south, where the inhabitants, being probably as much accustomed to an easy and delicate life, as those were to a hardy and warlike one, were most likely to yield them if not their country, yet at least a free passage through it, and assist them with all necessaries of life, that they might be the sooner rid of them? Hence it is, that they so swiftly passed into *Asia*, and led their victorious army even into *Egypt*. But here we are told, they were prevailed upon by king *Psammitichus*, either by presents or entreaties, to proceed no farther. They made likewise some incursions into the land of the *Philistines*; and it was in this expedition that they took the city of *Bethsheam* from the half tribe of *Manasseh* on this side *Jordan*, and called it by their name the city of the *Scythians*, or *Scythopolis*, as we have hinted in the history of the *Medes* †. In their return through *Syria* some of their stragglers plundered the temple of *Venus* at *Ascalon*, and for their sacrilege were punished with hemorrhoides, or, as others say, with that kind of it, which is only common to the other sex; which did also cleave to their posterity as a brand of infamy.

THEY might probably have held their dominion in *Asia* much longer than they did, had not their indolence and exactions on the one hand, and the treachery of *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes* on the other, put an end to it, in the manner we have related in that history. What became of the rest that survived the slaughter we can only guess at: Many of them might submit themselves to the *Medes*, and continue there; but a much greater number went, as is supposed, and

^b JUSTIN. ex Trog. l. ii. c. 4. * See Vol. IV. p. 385. † Ib. p. 387.
served

served *Nebuchadnezzar*, part of whose army is said to have consisted of all the families of the north; but the greatest part, according to *Herodotus*, marched towards *Scythia*^c, where they met with an unexpected reception from their servants and slaves. This story is somewhat differently reported, as well as that of their *Asiatic* expedition, and the time they spent in it: *Justin*, who calls this their third expedition, says, it lasted but eight years^d, during which their wives, having given them over for lost, on account of the great distance between them, had married their servants and slaves; to whom, as we have observed, their masters used upon all such excursions to commit the care of their families and cattle. As soon therefore as the *Scythians* were entered into the confines of their own territories, this upstart race of slaves sent to forbid their masters to approach nearer at their peril.

BUT *Herodotus*, who speaks of this expedition as their first into *Asia*, and affirms it to have lasted twenty eight years, adds^e, that their wives, unused to be so long idle, had taken their servants and slaves to their beds, from whom this new generation was sprung, which obstructed their masters return into *Scythia*, after they had suffered themselves to be driven out of their *Asiatic* conquests by the *Medes*. This last is the more probable of the two in many respects, and agrees better with those other authors, who affirm, as was observed before, that the *Scythians* held the dominion of *Asia* twenty eight years. However that be, this slavish offspring, having timely notice of their masters returning home, had so well fortified and intrenched themselves against them, that they would in all probability have kept them out, had not some of the wiser *Scythians* bethought themselves of a stratagem, which quite discomfited that rebellious rout.

THEY had already had several skirmishes with equal success on both sides, when one of the *Scythian* lords told the rest, that it was a shameful thing for them to fight with their slaves as with their equals, and that if they designed to force them into submission, they must fall upon them, not with warlike weapons, but with whips and scourges, such as they were formerly wont to chastise them with. This advice was followed with surprising success, and the slavish rebels were taken with such a panic at this new and unexpected kind of war, that they laid down their arms and fled with the utmost precipitation. As many of them as could be caught were put to the most cruel deaths, whilst their mistresses,

^c HERODOT. lib. i.^d lib. ii. c. 5.^e lib. iv.

conscious

conscious of their guilt, sought to avoid their husbands resentment, by hanging, or some other speedy death (I). After this signal victory over their rebellious slaves, the *Scythians*, according to *Justin*, enjoyed a long and unmolested peace till the days of *Jancyrus*, of whom we shall speak by-and-by. We must, however, except the invasion which happened under the next reign we are going to mention.

Thomyris, *Tomyris*, or *Tamyris*, was that heroine whom, Tomyris. we are told, * *Cyrus* the great did, or at least pretended to, court in marriage, and was sending an embassy to treat about it. But she supposing that her kingdom, rather than her

* HERODOT. lib. i. ad fin.

(I) It is plain by these *Scythians* leaving their wives, servants, and baggage behind, that they designed to return again from *Asia*; for it is scarce probable, that their design was to conquer some spacious country there, and then to come back to fetch them thither. And therefore we conclude, as we observed above, that they only went to assist those new colonies, which they were obliged to discharge from time to time for want of room, to make a good settlement there, after which they designed to return to their own homes, as usual.

However that be, this adventure seems plainly to contradict a story which *Herodotus* tells of the *Scythians*, that they used to put out the eyes of their slaves: for it can hardly be supposed, that this slavish army that opposed their return, was wholly a new offspring, unless we can believe that their wives took their blind slaves into their beds almost as soon as their husbands backs were turned from them.

As for the war itself between the masters and slaves, it is so far from being a fiction, or so much as doubted of in those parts, even at this day, that we are told, that the *Novogradians*, whose city stands in the *Sarmatian Scythia*, did cause a coin, which they call a *Dingee Novogradskoi*, to be stamp'd in memory of it, which had a man on horseback, shaking a whip aloft in his hand, and which has been current ever since throughout all *Russia* †.

It is probable likewise, that it was from this breach of conjugal faith in the *Scythian* wives, that the custom has been since established among the *Muscovite* women of presenting their future spouse, even in the time of their courtship, with a *Pudkey*, or *whip*, wrought with their own hand, in token both of a greater subjection and fidelity than their *Scythian* ancestries, or most probably to put them in mind of their fault, and of their own duty, whenever they chance to forget it.

† *Vid. Fletch. Russ. Commonwealth, c. iv. ap. Rawl. l. ii. c. 28. sect. iv.*

person, was the object of his wishes, sent express orders to the ambassadors not to proceed farther. *Cyrus*, provoked either at her refusal, or at her suspecting his artifice, advanced with his army against the *Massagetes*, who were then under her dominion. What the issue of this expedition was, and what credit may be given to the story of his tragical end, and the revenge which that exasperated princess took of him, we have already seen in another chapter †, and shall not repeat it.

Jancyrus. *Jancyrus*, a magnanimous and haughty prince, is famed for the noble answer which he sent to *Darius* king of *Persia*, when he sent to demand of him the usual presents of earth and water in token of subjection, and for the total defeat which he gave to that assuming monarch's army; and as such seems to be the same with *Herodotus's Indathyrsus* ‡, or to have been his immediate successor. The occasion of this war with the *Persians* is variously related by *Justin* §, and the last quoted author: the former tells us, that the *Scythian* monarch had exasperated *Darius* by refusing to give him his daughter in marriage; and the latter introduces some *Scythian* princes, accusing him with being the first aggressor, and having invaded the *Persian* territories, whilst *Darius* himself pretended only to revenge the ravages which the *Scythians* had committed in *Asia* 120 years before, when they held it in subjection 28 years. There is therefore no other way of reconciling these accounts and the two different names of the *Scythian* monarch, but by supposing the *Jancyrus* of *Justin* to have been the father of *Indathyrsus*, and that, finding that the refusal of his daughter had provoked the *Persian* king to a war, he resolved to be before-hand with him, and to send his son *Indathyrsus* to invade his territories; and that dying soon after he intailed that war upon his son, from which he afterwards reaped so much glory. *Herodotus* might not think fit to transmit a circumstance so much to the honour of the barbarous *Scythians*, as that of the great *Darius's* seeking to contract an affinity with one of their monarchs. And it is perhaps for the same reason, that he makes the *Persian* army to have been rather harrassed and starved out of *Scythia*, than repulsed by the known bravery of that prince and nation. As for *Darius*, if he really received such an affront from the king of *Scythia* as the refusal of his daughter, it was too dishonourable a pretence to ground his invasion upon; and a more glorious motive must be sought out, though at so great a distance of time, to cover the true and real one.

† Vol. IV. p. 530.

‡ l. iv.

§ l. ii. c. 5.

HOWEVER

HOWEVER that be, *Indathyrfus*, having received the proud challenge from the *Persian* king implied in the demand of earth and water, which we have elsewhere shewn to signify not a supply of provisions for his army, but an acknowledgment of subjection †, sent him this haughty reply ; that as he acknowledged no lord but his progenitor *Jupiter* and *Vesta* queen of the *Scythians*, he would shortly send him a more suitable present, and such a one as might perhaps make him repent him of his arrogance. This present accordingly was dispatched to him soon after : it was a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows, without any farther explication ; these arrows might perhaps allude to the number of *Scythian* tribes, which were joined with his own, of which we shall speak by-and-by. These and the living creatures *Darius* immediately interpreted in his own favour, and to have been sent in token of submission. But *Gobryas*, who knew the *Scythians* perhaps better than his master, and compared the message and the present together, gave quite another sense to the latter ; namely, that the *Persians* must not hope to avoid the effects of the *Scythian* valour, unless they could either fly like birds, plunge like frogs, or bury themselves in the earth like mice. Whether or no this was the real meaning of the present, the preparations which he made against him sufficiently shew, that it was designed to signify an open defiance to the *Persian* army (K).

ACCORDINGLY, the king of *Scythia* summoned all the princes of the other tribes to come to his assistance, against the common enemy and invader of their country. These were the kings of the *Gelonians*, *Budians*, and *Sarmatians* ; the *Agathyrsians*, *Neurians*, *Androphages*, *Melanchlæni-ans*,

† See before, Vol. IV. p. 568. 5. F.

(K) We have given this story somewhat in a different order than we find it in *Herodotus*, who tells us, that these reciprocal messages were not sent till the *Scythians* had drawn the *Persian* army into the farthest parts of their country, and, as it were, intrapped them in the wild countries of the *Melanchlæni-ans*, *Androphages*, and *Neurians*. Had this been the case, there had been no great bravery in their sending such a haughty answer to an enemy so harrassed and entangled as *Darius* then was ; neither will those circumstances he then found himself in permit us to suppose that a proper time for his arrogant challenge to the *Scythians*. We think it therefore more probable, as it is indeed more consonant to the known customs of other kingdoms, that these messages were interchanged at the beginning of the war, or before he invaded the *Scythian* territories.

and *Taurians*. These, being assembled in council and having debated the occasion of the war, were divided in their opinions ; and the three first were the only ones who esteemed it a common cause, and resolved to join *Indathyrfus* in the defence of it. As for the other five, they sent him word, that as he had been the first and only aggressor, by invading the *Persian* territories without their participation, so they did not think themselves at all concerned in the retaliation which *Darius* was preparing against him. That they would therefore sit quiet at home, till some hostilities had convinced them, that the *Persians* designs were equally levelled at them, in which case they would soon convince them, that it was not their design to sit idle and suffer their own territories to be invaded.

Indathyrfus was so exasperated at this unexpected message, that he resolved, at the same time that he made the best defence he could with his *royal* and *free Scythians*, and his three allied princes, to be revenged on the other five treacherous nations, by drawing, if possible, the enemy into their country. To this end he resolved to fight no battle in the open field, but gradually to withdraw his army from the frontiers, and to fill up all the wells and springs, and to destroy all the grass and provision as they went. He divided his army into two columns; the one, under the command of *Taxacis*, was to act in conjunction with the *Gelonians* and *Budians*; the other, which was by far the greater, was commanded by the king himself; whilst the *Sarmatians* were ordered to advance to the territories of king *Scopasis*, that, in case the *Persians* should come by that way, they might retire by the lake *Mæotis* to the river *Tarais*; and upon their retiring harraß them as much as they could. *Taxacis* was ordered to keep still a day's march before the *Persians*, and to tire them with frequent skirmishes, in order to draw them into the territories of some of these five nations that had refused to join with them: and if that did not succeed, they were left at liberty either to return into their own country, or to attempt any other means their discretion should suggest to them.

THESE orders being thus fixed, they sent away their wives and children towards the northern parts, together with all the baggage and cattle they could spare; after which *Indathyrfus* commanded the best of his horse to march towards the enemy, whilst the rest followed them by private ways. This detachment, finding the *Persian* army advanced about three days march from the *Ister*, destroyed all the product of the ground and fled away. This caused the *Persians* to pursue after them, as fast as the others retired still farther back, till they had
drawn

drawn them through *Sarmatia* into the territories of the *Budians*, where they burnt and laid waste all that came in their way. They continued their pursuit till they came to a great desert of about seven days march; and here *Darius* not thinking it proper to proceed farther, set himself about building some spacious cities at equal distances from each other. These, however, he left unfinished to go in pursuit of the flying *Scythians*, who by degrees drew him through the territories of the *Melanchlæniæns*, *Androphages*, and *Neurians*, who had cowardly left them to the mercy of the *Scythians*, who failed not to lay all waste as they went through, that the *Persian* army might find nothing there to subsist on. The remainder of this expedition we have already given in a former section*: the result of which was, that the *Persian* monarch was forced to retire with the loss of the greatest part of his numerous army (L), glad to escape with his own life, and at the expence of his glory. How much dearer still this invasion would have cost the *Persians*, had the *Ionians*, whom *Darius* had left to guard the bridge which he had laid over the *Ister*, kept their promise to the *Scythians*, and left them to destroy it, may be easily guessed; but they only deceived them with a promise that they would demolish it, and made a shew as if they were going about it in good earnest, by taking off so much of it on the *Scythian* side as an arrow might reach, to prevent the *Scythians* passing and demolishing it, which, however, they soon rejoined again, when the flying *Persians* appeared; by which means *Darius* once more escaped the fury of the pursuing *Scythians*, who failed not ever after to load the *Ionians* with the worst of epithets for their treachery and co-

* Vol. IV p. 567. & seq.

(L) If *Herodotus's* account of this transaction may be credited, *Darius* was not so much repulsed by the arms of the *Scythians*, as affronted at an unaccountable instance of contempt which they occasionally shewed to him, just as the two armies were going to engage: He tells us, they were both drawn up in order of battle, when a hare accidentally starting in the interval between them, the *Scythians* immediately quitted their ranks with loud outcries, and in the utmost confusion pursued after it. One would expect that the *Persians* would have taken the opportunity of falling upon them whilst they were in this hurly-burly; but, it seems, *Darius* judged quite otherwise of an enemy that shewed so little regard for his gallant army, as to turn their backs to it to run after a hare; so that he thought it high time to take *Gobryas's* advice and to secure his retreat as soon as he could, which he accordingly did that very night.

wardice. As soon as they found, that *Darius* was gone beyond their reach, they resolved to be revenged of him some other way, and to make themselves amends for the ravage they had been forced to make in their own country. *Thrace*, so lately conquered by the *Persian* king, became the unhappy victim of their fury : they laid it all waste as far as the *Hellepont*, and repassing the *Ister* returned into *Scythia*, loaden with the immense spoils of that province.

Saulius.

Saulius, this was he of whom we took notice before, for killing *Anacharsis*, a prince of the blood, for having ventured to introduce the nocturnal rites of the mother of the gods into *Scythia*, which he had seen used among the *Grecians*. For though *Anacharsis* had chosen a private place, covered with a great wood, to perform this new worship in, yet he was discovered in the midst of it by a *Scythian*, who went immediately to acquaint the king with it. *Saulius* hastened to the place, and found him playing on a cymbal before the images he had hung upon the trees, and shot him dead upon the spot. Our author gives us here the names of three of *Saulius*'s predecessors, in a lineal descent, viz. *Spargapythes*, *Cyrus*, and *Gnarus*, and of one of his successors, viz. *Indathyrfus* ¹.

Aripithes.

Aripithes had a numerous issue, but particularly one son named *Scythes*, not by a *Scythian*, but by an *Istrian* woman, who therefore brought him up in all the *Grecian* customs and learning. *Aripithes* being afterwards killed by the treachery of the king of the *Agathyrsians*, this son found means to possess himself of his father's kingdom ².

Scythes.

Scythes, though now king of *Scythia*, and married to one of his father's wives, who was also a *Scythian*, yet preferred the *Grecian* customs, in which he had been brought up by his mother, to those of his own country. To indulge himself in them, and avoid giving offence to his subjects, he bethought himself of the following stratagem ; he led his *Scythians* to the metropolis of the *Borysthenians*, which is reported to be a colony of the *Milesians*, and leaving his army before the place, he entered alone into it, and, causing the gates to be shut, and centinels to be placed at each of them, put off his *Scythian* dress, cloathed himself after the *Grecian* manner, and walked about the city without guards or attendants. Thus he continued a whole month, conforming to the *Grecian* worship, customs, and dress ; after which he resumed his *Scythian* habit, and departed. Not content with often repeating the same practice, he built a palace in that

¹ HEBRODOR. *ibid.* ² Id. *ibid.*

city, and married a native of it. He was going to be initiated in the rites of *Bacchus*, and had prepared all things for the ceremony, when the outward court of his sumptuous palace, which he had adorned with marble statues representing *Sphynxes* and griffins, was demolished by thunder. This did not, however, deter him from accomplishing his initiation; but whilst he was in the midst of it, a *Borysthenian* went and acquainted the *Scythians* with it in words to this effect: you upbraid us with celebrating our *Bacchanals*, because when possessed with the god we lose, you say, the use of our reason; come now and behold your king celebrating those rites with a divine fury, and be yourselves eye-witnesses how that god has taken possession of him. Some of the principal *Scythians* were immediately introduced into the city, and with grief and indignation beheld their prince from one of the towers performing the *Bacchanalian* rites with a numerous choir.

AT their return they acquainted the army with what they had seen, which did so enrage the *Scythians*, that as soon as he was got home they revolted from him, and chose his brother *Oc- Oetama-*
tamasades in his room. *Scythes* being informed of the occa- fades.
sion of this revolt fled into *Thrace*, and as soon as his brother had notice of it, he pursued him with a numerous army as far as the banks of the *Ister*, where he found *Sitalces*, king of *Thrace* advancing to meet him. But as both armies were preparing to fight, *Oetamasades* received a message from the *Thracian* king to this effect; why should we try the fortune of war, thou art my sister's son and hast my brother with thee, deliver him up to me and I will send *Scythes* to thee, so shall we avoid the hazard of a defeat. *Oetamasades* agreed to the proposal, and surrendered his uncle to *Sitalces*, who immediately decamped with his army, and the new king of *Scythia* having received his brother from him, caused his head to be immediately taken off¹.

Ariantes was that prince of whom we have lately spoken *Ariantes.*
upon another occasion; and who being desirous to know the number of his fighting men, ordered them all to appear at a set time, and to throw every one the tip of an arrow into a common heap, which amounted to such a bulk, that he caused it to be cast into a large capacious bowl, as a monument of the thing, and dedicated it to *Exampæus*^m.

THE last king we shall mention in this history (M), and
under

¹ Id. *ibid.* ^m Id. *ibid.*

(M) We have omitted several of their kings, concerning whom we either meet with nothing except their names, or something too
fabulous

under whom the *Scythians* are said to have received a considerable overthrow", was *Atneas*, or, as he is called by others,

▪ JUSTIN. l. ix. c. 2.

fabulous and ridiculous to deserve a place in this work, or at best so vague and uncertain, especially in point of time, that it is impossible to fix it to any epocha.

Of this nature is that story we are going to give out of *Herodotus*, not so much for its incredible singularity, as because, fabulous as it is, it must have been founded upon some facts, which give no small countenance to some conjectures we have ventured to advance in this history, it being not of *Greek*, but *Scythian* extraction. It is as follows :

He tells us of a part of *Scythia*. whose inhabitants he nevertheless doth indiscriminately call *Scythians*, who, though they owned themselves to be of much recenter date than the rest, yet pretended to have been 1000 years before *Darius's* expedition. The account they give of themselves is, that their country was at first peopled by *Targitans*, the son of *Jupiter*, by a daughter of the river *Borysthenes* ; that this prince had three sons, viz. *Lipoxais*, *Apoxais*, and *Colaxais*, in whose reign, a plow, with a yoke, an ax, and a bowl, all of gold, fell from heaven into their country ; that the two elder brothers drew near the place, and one after another tried to take them up, and found them burning hot ; but the youngest, coming presently after, found them cool enough to take and carry them off, whereupon the other two yielded their share of the kingdom to him. They add, that the *Auchatian Scythians* were descended from the eldest, the *Catiarians* from *Apoxais*, and the race of their kings, whom they called *Paralates*, from the youngest brother. All these gave themselves the general name of *Scholates*, which, our author tells us, was also the surname of their kings, but were called *Scythians* by all the *Greeks*. The miraculous golden utensils, we are told, were preserved with utmost care, and that their kings did assist at the annual sacrifices which were offered to them with great magnificence.

Colaxais, who had likewise three sons, perceiving the vast extent of his territories, divided them between them, allowing, however, the biggest share to that portion into which the miraculous golden vessels were fallen. According to this tradition there must have started at least three new kingdoms or principalities, and by what our author adds immediately after, of the vast quantities of feathers or snow, with which the adjoining regions towards the north are covered, we may reasonably suppose, these three tribes to have sprung from a colony of the antient *Scythians*, and to have been forced to seek for a new habitation in those more inclement regions, especially considering, that they pretend to be of much recenter original than any others, meaning doubtless than any other *Scythians*, though older by 1000 years than the time of *Darius*. As for the pretended

thers, *Matheas* and *Machæas*. This prince, being engaged in a war with the *Istrians*, a people of *Mysia* on the south banks of the mouth of the river *Ister*, sent to *Philip* king of *Macedon* to desire his assistance, and upon his complying promised to make him his heir to the crown of *Scythia*. But the *Istrians* having, at the news of this powerful succour, delivered him of his fears by their sudden departure, he sent another message to *Philip*, in which he told him flatly, that he had neither sent for his assistance, nor promised him his crown; that the *Scythians* neither wanted the help of the *Macedonians*, nor their king an heir, whilst he had a son alive. *Philip*, who was then besieging *Byzantium*, sent to desire him at least to remit him some money to defray part of the expences of the siege, especially considering, that he had paid nothing either towards the subsistence of, or by way of reward to, the auxiliaries which he had sent to him.

Atheas had no way to elude so reasonable a demand, but by excusing himself upon the inclemency of their climate, and barrenness of their soil, which he said was so far from contributing to their enrichment, that it scarcely afforded them sufficient sustenance. *Philip*, vexed at heart to see himself thus baffled, resolved to retaliate trick for trick, and whilst he was raising the siege in order to enter into a war with them, he

pretended divine extraction of their founder, and the miraculous fall of the golden utensils, they only imitated their own and other nations in it, there being nothing more common in those early days, than these pretences of something supernatural accompanying the foundations of most kingdoms, and the divine original of their first founders. Hence we would further observe, that it is most likely, that the kings of *Scythia*, which we have given in the above list, did not all belong to the *royal Scythians*, but that some of them reigned over other tribes or branches which time and necessity had divided for them, especially as they were ever warring and elbowing one another out of the most pleasant parts of the country.

With respect to this pretended daughter of the *Borysthenes*, it will not be amiss here to observe once for all, that it was a common custom in those early and ignorant times for the first planters of kingdoms or colonies to give their names, not only to their new territories and capital cities, but also to the most considerable rivers. Hence therefore it is more than probable, that their posterity, who every where affected to boast of something miraculous in their origin, chose rather to derive it from the river itself, than from their real parent who gave name to it. We shall meet in the history of the fabulous and heroic times with instances more than enough of these sons and daughters of rivers, to justify the truth and shew the necessity of this previous observation.

sent

sent the *Scythians* word, that he had vowed to erect a statue to *Hercules* at the mouth of the *Ister*, which he desired liberty to come and set up there, as he was a known friend to the *Scythians*. *Atheas*, who smelt his design, sent him word, that if he had a mind to perform his vow, he need but send the statue, and he would take upon himself the care both of the erecting it, and of its remaining safe there ; but that he would by no means suffer him to bring his army into his territories : he added, that if he persisted in spite of him, to come and set up such a statue, they would soon melt and cast it into arrows against him. *Philip* not minding his threatening refusal, and both monarchs being highly exasperated against each other, a bloody battle ensued, in which, our author tells us, the *Scythians*, though superior in strength and courage, were overcome by the craftiness of the *Macedonian* king ; twenty thousand women and children were carried off prisoners, besides a vast quantity of cattle, and twenty thousand of their finest mares, which they sent into *Macedonia* for breeding. As for gold and silver they found none among them, and this, our author observes, was the first proof which the *Scythians* gave of their poverty in that respect.

HOWEVER, this overthrow is not so universally agreed among antient authors as the war is, neither doth it consist well with what our author has in another place ; where he introduces *Mithridates* haranguing his army, part of which consisted of *Scythians*, and complimenting their known valour with the relation of the two kings, *Darius* and *Philip*, who, having but dared to invade their territories, had been put to a shameful flight °. But be that as it will, 'tis plain their overthrow was not so considerable as to hinder them from signa- lizing themselves upon many occasions, both against the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, and against several other nations ; and during a considerable time, as the sequel of this work will sufficiently shew.

Lambinus is supposed, upon what account doth not clearly appear, to have been the last king of *Scythia* †.

° l. xxxviii. c. 7.

† Vid. HEYL. lib. iii. p. 172.



C H A P. XIII.

The History of the antient Phrygians, Trojans, Lycians, Lydians, &c.

S E C T. I.

A brief account of A s I A Proper.

AS the several small kingdoms, which we are to treat of in this place, were antiently comprehended under the name of *Asia Minor*, we shall premise a general description of that country, for the better understanding of the particular accounts which we shall have occasion to join, as we come to treat of the several regions contained therein.

THE different and various acceptations of the word *Asia*, *Asia Proper* even in its strictest sense, has created a great deal of confusion among writers, and often led the unwary readers into considerable mistakes. To obviate these inconveniencies, the incomparable bishop *Usher*^a advises those who are to give any account of *Asia* to begin with explaining the various acceptations of the word, without which it is impossible to understand the antient historians or geographers. He looks upon this as one of the most difficult points in history, there being a seeming contradiction between the sacred and prophane writers, as to the provinces comprehended under the name of *Asia*, which cannot be reconciled without a very careful distinction of times and places. In reading the antient historians or geographers we frequently meet with the following terms, viz. *The Greater and Lesser Asia, Asia Proper* or *Asia properly so*

^a In his geographical and historical disquisition touching *Asia properly so called*;

called, the *Lydian Asia*, the *Proconnesian* ^e *Asiatic Diocesis*. That vast continent, which was known to the *Greeks* and *Romans* under the name of *Asia*, was divided by the antient geographers first into the *Greater* and *Lesser Asia*. The lesser, commonly termed *Asia Minor*, comprehended a great many provinces, but that which included *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Caria*, and *Lydia*, was named *Asia Proper* or *Asia properly so called*, as is plain from *Tully* ^b. Where it is to be observed that *Tully*, in enumerating the regions contained in *Asia Proper*, makes no mention of *Æolis* or *Ionia*, though undoubtedly parts of *Asia Proper*, because they were comprehended partly in *Lydia* and partly in *Mysia*. *Lydia*, beside the inland country commonly known by that name, contained also the adjoining countries both of *Ionia*, lying on the sea-side between the rivers *Hermus* and *Mæander*, and of *Æolis*, extending from *Hermus* to the river *Caicus* according to *Ptolemy* ^c, or according to *Strabo* ^d to the promontory *Lectum*, the antient boundary between *Troas* and the sea-coast of the *Greater Mysia* (A). The remaining parts of *Æolis* and *Ionia* are by *Pliny* ^e, *Strabo* ^f, *Hellanicus* ^g, and *Scylax* ^h, placed in *Mysia*; nay *Mysia* itself, after the *Æolians* possessed themselves of it, was commonly called *Æolis* ⁱ, which *Stephanus* not being aware of makes *Affos* of *Æolis* a different city from *Affos* of *Mysia* near *Antandrus*. From what we have said it is plain, that *Asia Proper* comprehended *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Lydia*, *Caria*, *Æolis*, and *Ionia*. This tract was bounded, according to *Ptolemy*, on the north by *Bithynia* and *Pontus*, extending from *Galatia* to *Propontis*, on the east by *Galatia*, *Pamphylia*, and *Lycia*, on the south by part of *Lycia* and the *Rha-*

^b Cic. in Orat. pro Flacco. ^c lib. v. cap. 2. ^d lib. xii. ^e lib. v. cap. 30. ^f lib. xv. ^g Id. lib. xiii. ^h SCYLAX. in Periplo. ⁱ POMP. MELA, lib. i. cap. 18. PLIN. lib. v. c. 30.

(A) That *Mysia* reached to the mouth of the river *Caicus* is acknowledged, not only by *Ptolemy* (1), but also by *Strabo* (2); and yet, because it was possessed in his time by the *Æolians*, he tells us, that *Æolis*, properly so called, extended from *Hermus* to *Lectum* (3). In like manner *Pliny* (4) makes the promontory *Lectum* the boundary betwixt *Æolis* and *Troas*; though elsewhere, following other authors, he places *Affos* in *Troas* (5). But *Hellanicus* (6), *Strabo*, and *Stephanus* (7) make it a city of *Æolis* near the *Hellepont*.

(1) lib. v. c. 2. (2) lib. xii. (3) lib. xiii. (4) lib. v. c. 30. (5) Id. lib. ii. c. 96. & l. xxxvi, c. 17. (6) Strab. l. xiii. (7) Id. l. xv.

dian sea, on the west by the Hellespont, by the Ægean, Icarian, and Myrtoan seas. It lies between the thirty fifth and forty first degree of north latitude, and extends in longitude from fifty five to sixty two degrees.

As *Asia Proper* is but a part of *Asia Minor*, so the *Lydian Asia* is only a part of *Asia Proper* (B). *Asia* in this acceptation comprehends *Lydia*, *Æolis*, and *Ionia*, according to the description we have already given of it, and is that *Asia* whereof mention is made in the *Acts* and *St. John's* revelation. In the former we read the following account of *St. Paul's* journey ^k. When they had gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden of the holy Ghost to preach the word in *Asia*; after they were come to Mysia they assayed to go into Bithynia; but the spirit suffered them not. And they passing by Mysia came down to Troas. Where it is to be observed, that the Greater Phrygia through which they passed into Galatia, Mysia Olympea bordering upon Bithynia, and Hellespont where Troas was situate, though provinces of *Asia* properly so called, are yet in express terms distinguished from the *Proper Asia* of the Romans; as is likewise *Caria*, by what we read elsewhere in the same book ^l. As these cities and countries did not belong to the *Lydian Asia*, so what remains of *Asia Proper*, together with the *Seven Churches*

^k Acts xvi.

^l Acts xx. 16, 17.

(B) That in antient times *Lydia* was called *Meonia* and the *Lydians* *Meonians*, is manifest from *Herodotus* (8), *Diodorus Siculus* (9), *Dionysius Afer* (10), *Strabo* (11), *Pliny* (12), *Stephanus*, and others; and that *Meonia* was called *Asia* is no less plain from *Callinus*, who flourished before *Archilochus* (13), from *Demetrius Scephsus*, contemporary with *Crates* and *Aristarchus* the Grammarian (14), from *Euripides* (15), *Suidas* (16), the great etymologist, &c. Nay, that *Lydia* was formerly called *Asia*, is expressly affirmed by the antient scholiast of *Apollonius Rhodius* (17). From whence *Lydia* borrowed the name of *Asia* is altogether uncertain; some deriving it from a city of *Lydia*, seated on mount *Imolus*, others from one *Asias* king of *Lydia*, who according to the *Lydians* communicated his name to the whole continent (18). But be that as it will, it is certain, that *Lydia* has a better claim to the name of *Asia*, than any other part of that continent.

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|-------------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| (8) <i>Herodot.</i> l. vii. | (9) <i>Diodor. Sicul.</i> l. iv. | (10) |
| <i>Dionysf. in Periegesi.</i> | (11) <i>Strab.</i> l. xiii. | (12) <i>Plin.</i> l. v. |
| c. 29. | (13) <i>Strab.</i> l. xiv. | (14) <i>Id.</i> l. xii. |
| <i>Bacch.</i> | (16) <i>In Asia.</i> | (15) <i>In</i> |
| l. ii. | (17) <i>Scholiast. Apollon. Argonaut.</i> | |
| (18) <i>Herod.</i> l. iv. | | |

mentioned in the *Revelations*, were properly *Lydia*, or the *Lydian Asia*. In the first place *Pergamus* is placed by *Xenophon*^m in *Lydia*, and also by *Aristotle*ⁿ. The same *Aristotle*^o tells us, that *Smyrna* was at first possessed by the *Lydians*, and *Scylax Coryandensis* reckons it among the cities of *Lydia*, as also *Ephesus*, wherein he agrees with *Herodotus*^p. *Sardis*, *Philadelphia*, and *Thyatira*, are reckoned by *Ptolemy* among the cities of *Lydia*, as is *Laodicea* by *Stephanus*^q (C).

The Pro-
consular
Asia.

THE *Proconsular Asia* (so called because it was governed by a proconsul) according to the distribution of the provinces of the empire made by *Augustus*, comprehended the following countries, viz. *Lydia*, *Ionia*, *Caria*, *Mysia*, *Phrygia*, and the proconsular *Hellepont*. And this is *Ptolemy's Asia Proper*^r. By the same emperor *Pontus* and *Bithynia* were made a *Pretorian* province^s, and *Asia* a consular, containing all that part of *Asia* which lay on this side of the river *Halys* and mount *Taurus*. In the time of *Constantine the Great* the *Proconsular Asia* was much abridged, and a distinction brought in between the *Proconsular Asia*, and the *Asiatic diocesis*; the one being governed by the proconsul of *Asia*, and the other by the *Vicarius* or *Lieutenant* of *Asia* (D). The *Proconsular Asia*, according to the description which *Eunapius* gives us of it^t, seems to have been much the same with the *Lydian Asia* abovementioned. In the reign of *Theodosius the Elder*, who succeeded *Valens*, the consular *Hellepont* was taken from the *Vicarius* of *Asia*, and

^m XENOPH. de exped. Cyr. lib. 7. ⁿ lib. de Poetica, p. 97.

^o ARISTOT. lib. de Poetica apud PLUTARCH. in lib. de vita & poesi Homeri ^p HERODOT. lib. 1. ^q STEPH. de urbib.

^r Ptolem. l. v. c. 2. ^s Strab. l. xvii. ^t Eunap. in vita Maximi.

(C) *Laodicea* is placed by *Ptolemy* in *Caria*, by others in *Phrygia*, and by some in *Lydia*, the confines of those countries having been so often altered, that it was not possible, as *Strabo* witnesses (19), to ascertain their exact boundaries; and hence it is, that the same city is oftentimes placed by one of the antient geographers in *Phrygia*, by another in *Lydia*, and by a third in *Caria*.

(D) We find in the Imperial Constitutions two rescripts of the emperor *Valens*, the one dated the 27th of *January* 365, (that is, towards the latter end of the first year of his reign), and directed to *Cicarchus Vicarius Asiæ*; the other dated the 6th of the *October* following, and directed to *Auxonius, Vicarius Dioceseos Asiæ* (20). This distinction was brought in by *Constantine*, and continued under the Christian emperors that succeeded him.

(19) *Strab. l. xiii.*
colan. in/cio dom.

(20) *Cod. Theodos. lib. v. tit. 11. Ne*

added to the *Proconsular Asia*; but under *Arcadius* the *Proconsular Asia* was abridged of all the inland part of *Lydia*. And this is the reason, why *Palladius* ^u makes a distinction between the bishops of *Lydia* and those of *Asia*. However, the southern part of *Lydia*, lying between the *Mæander* and *Cayster*, and the maritime provinces from *Ephesus* to *Affos* and the promontory *Leëtum* were left to the *Proconsular Asia* ^w.

THE *Asiatic diocesis* (E) is sometimes taken in a more strict *The Asia-* sense, as distinct from the *Proconsular Asia* and the provinces *tic diocesis*. under the jurisdiction of the proconsul, and sometimes in a more extensive sense, as comprehending also the *Proconsular Asia*. According to this acceptation all *Asia* in the reign of *Theodosius the Younger* consisted of eleven provinces, three whereof were under the jurisdiction of the proconsul of *Asia*, viz. the *Proconsular Proper*, which he governed by himself, the consular *Hellespont*, and that of *Rhodes*, with the other islands called *Cyclades*, which were first made a province by *Vespasian*, and placed under a president ^{*}; eight were under the vicarius or lieutenant of *Asia*, viz. *Lydia*, *Caria*, *Phrygia Salutaris*, *Phrygia Pacatiana*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Lycaonia*, and *Pisidia*; these eight made up what was properly called the *Asiatic diocesis* ^y (F). These are the terms we most commonly meet with in reading the antient historians and geographers, for the explanation of which we are chiefly indebted to the learned bishop *Usher*, who thought it well worth his while to examine

^u Pallad. in vita Chrylost. ^w Hieroclis, notitia imp. in Append. Geograph. sacra. p. 27. Photius de ordine Metropolit. p. 43. & in tomo i. juris Græco Romani, p. 90. Subscript. Concil. Chalced. Act. vi. Concil. Constantinop. vi. Act xviii. &c. ^{*} Sextus Rufus, in Breviario. ^y ALCIAT. Parerg. l. v. c. 13.

(E) The word *diocesis*, in the dialect of the times we are here speaking of, imports a tract of country comprehending several provinces under the jurisdiction of one chief ruler.

(F) In the *Notitia Imperii*, which was compiled in the reign of *Theodosius the younger*, the *Asiatic diocesis* is said to consist of ten provinces only, the first and chief province of all, viz. *Asia* itself, being, we know not how, omitted (21). On the other hand, *Iſidorus Mercator* reckons twelve provinces belonging to this diocesis, and among them *Galatia*, which was without all doubt a province of the diocesis of *Pontus* (22).

(21) *Notit. utriusque Imperii.* (22) *Vid. Salmaſſi. Eucharistic. de Eccles. suburbicar. p. 347.*

the

the various acceptations of *Asia Proper* in a particular treatise^z.

*The name
of Asia.*

As to the common name of *Asia* there is a great variety of opinions among the learned, some deriving it from *Asia* the daughter of *Oceanus* and *Thetis*, wife of *Iapetus*, and by him mother to *Prometheus*; others from *Asius* son of *Atys* king of *Lydia*, from whom that kingdom first, and in length of time the whole continent, was named *Asia*. *Bochart*^a is of opinion, that it took its name from the *Phœnician* word *Asi*, signifying *the middle*, because *Asia Minor*, which, says he, communicated its name to *Asia the Greater*, lies, as it were, in the middle between *Europe* and *Afric*. This opinion he endeavours to support with the authority of *Pliny* and *Pomponius Mela*^b. But as all that can be said on this head is grounded on bare conjectures, it is scarce worth our while to dwell on enquiries of this nature.

*Climate
and fertility.*

THIS country is justly counted among the finest and most fruitful of the earth, and mightily extolled by antient writers, chiefly by the *Romans* who were well acquainted with it, for the fertility of the soil, temper of the climate, nature of the seasons, excellence and variety of its productions and fruits; in all which respects it was preferred by *Tully*^c to all the countries of the then known world. The common epithet, whereby the *Latin* poets distinguish this from other regions, is that of rich, alluding not only to the richness of the soil, but also to the wealth and opulence of the inhabitants, which we may easily judge of from the immense sums that some of the *Roman* governors are said to have extorted from them, namely *Marc Anthony*, who as we are told by *Plutarch*^d, squeezed from the inhabitants of *Asia Minor* in the space of one year the sum of 20,000 talents.

*Its present
division.*

THIS country is at present divided into four parts, viz: *Natolia*, properly so called, the western part; *Carmania* the southern part; *Aladulia* the eastern, and *Amasia* the northmost part. By the *Turks* the whole country, called by them *Nadalu*, is divided into five parts under the government of five *Beglerbegs*, who reside at *Cotyæum*, *Tecat*, *Trabexond*, *Marasch*, and *Iconium*. These are subdivided into lesser governments, denominated from the city or town where the governor resides. But it is now time to proceed to the particular

^z Usher in his geographical and historical disquisition of *Asia*, properly so called, &c. ^a Phaleg. l. iv c. 36. ^b PLIN. in Prefat lib. iii. & Pomp. Mela, de Asia, l. i. c. 2.

^c Cic. pro Q. Ligario. ^d Plutarch. in Lucull. & Antonio.

histories of the various kingdoms, antiently comprehended under the common name of *Asia Minor*.

The HISTORY of the PHRYGIANS.

S E C T. II.

The Description of PHRYGIA.

AS we can scarce offer any thing touching *Phrygia*, but what we have either at second hand, or from mutilated pieces of antiquity, we shall not dwell long on so dark and perplexed a subject, nor pretend to supply the defect of better authorities with such precarious conjectures as every writer may, and the most ordinary usually do, vent on such occasions (G).

WHENCE the small country before us borrowed the name of *Phrygia* is not determined. Some derive it from the river *Phryx* (now *Sarabat*), which divides *Phrygia* from *Caria* and empties itself into the *Hermus**, others from *Phrygia* the daughter of *Asopus* and *Europa*. The *Greek* writers tell us†, that the country took its name from the inhabitants, and these from the town of *Brygium* in *Macedonia*, from whence they first passed into *Asia* and gave the name of *Phrygia* or *Brigia* to the country which they settled in; but we shall have occasion to examine this opinion hereafter. *Bochart* is of opinion‡, that this tract was called *Phrygia* from a *Greek* verb, signifying *to burn* or *dry*, which according to him is a translation of its *Hebrew* name, derived from a verb of the same signification (H).

No

* PLIN. lib. v. c. 29.

† MESSAL. CORVIN. de progen. Aug.

‡ Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 8.

(G) The names of the authors that have wrote the *Phrygian* history are *Democritus*, *Hermesianactes*, *Timolaus*, *Aretaxes*, and *Cornelius Alexander* (23); but as their works have not reached us, we are left quite in the dark, as to some of the most material points of that history.

(H) The *Greek* word *Φρυγία* seems to be derived from the verb *φρύγνυμι*, *to burn* or *parch*; and hence that place on mount *OEta*

(23) *Plutarch. de fluviiis* & *Laert. in Democrito.*

where

Its divi-
sions.

No less various are the opinions of authors as to the exact boundaries of this country, which gave rise to the proverb related by *Strabo* *, viz. that the *Phrygians* and *Mysians* had distinct boundaries, but that it was scarce possible to ascertain them. The same writer adds ^h, that the *Trojans*, *Mysians*, and *Lydians*, are by the poets all blended under the common name of *Phrygians*, which *Claudian* ¹ extends to the *Pisidians*, *Bithynians*, and *Ionians*. Again, *Pliny* ^k places *Ascania* in *Phrygia*, which together with *Dardania* is reckoned by *Strabo* ^l among the provinces of *Mysia*. *Phrygia Proper*, according to *Ptolemy* whom we choose to follow, was bounded on the north by *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, on the west by *Mysia*, *Troas*, the *Ægean sea*, *Lydia*, *Mæonia*, and *Caria*; on the

* STRAB. l. xii. & l. xiv. ^h Strab. ubi supra. ¹ CLAUD.
l. ii. in Eutrop. ^k Plin. lib. v. ^l Strab. ubi supra.

where *Hercules* was burnt took the name of Φρυγία, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖ πύφρυχθαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα. Now as that part of *Phrygia* which was washed by the rivers *Cayster* and *Mæander* was distinguished by the epithet of Καλακεκαυμένη, as *Strabo* and *Diodorus* witness (24), it is not improbable, but that the name of *Phrygia*, which was at first peculiar to one part, might in length of time become common to the whole country. How this part came to be called Καλακεκαυμένη, burnt, is variously reported. *Diodorus* (25) speaks of a fiery monster called *Ægis*, which appearing there consumed all that tract; but was afterwards killed by *Pallas*. Others recur to the fable of *Typhon* (26), who, say they, was in that place thunder-struck by *Jupiter*. But without having recourse to fables, it will be no hard matter to account for this denomination, if we but consider, that this part of *Phrygia* we are speaking of is described both by *Diodorus* and *Strabo* (27) as a dry soil, impregnated with sulphur, bitumen, and other combustible substances, which in all likelihood gave rise to this appellation. We are not ignorant, that the tract we are speaking of is by some of the antients reckoned a province of *Mysia*, by others of *Mæonia*; but *Hesychius* (28), *Diodorus* (29), and most of the other historians and geographers place it in *Phrygia*. *Bochart* is of opinion (30), that by *Gomer* in scripture is meant *Phrygia*, and that the Greek word *Phrygia* is a translation of the Hebrew גֹּמֶר *Gomer*, which he derives from the verb גָּמַר *Gamar*, importing, among other significations, to burn or consume, in which signification he shews it to have been frequently used both by the *Chaldeans* and *Syrians*.

(24) *Strab. l. xiii. & Diod. Sicul. l. iii.* (25) *Diodor. Sicul.*
l. iii. p. 142. (26) *Strab. l. xiii.* (27) *ubi supra.* (28)
Hesych. l. 12. (29) *Diodor. ubi supra.* (30) *Phaleg. l. iii.*
c. 8.

South

south by *Lycia*, on the east by *Pamphylia* and *Galatia*. It lies between the 37th and 41st degree of north latitude, extending in longitude from 56 to 62 degrees. The inhabitants of this country mentioned by *Ptolemy* are the *Lycaones* and *Anthemisenii* towards *Lycia*, the *Moccadelis* or *Moceadine*, the *Cyddeses* or *Cydisses* towards *Bithynia*, and between these the *Peltini* or *Speltini*, the *Moxiani*, *Phylacenses*, and *Hierapolitæ*. To these we may add the *Berecyntes* and *Cerbesis* mentioned by *Strabo* ^m.

Phrygia is commonly divided into the *Greater*, and *Lesser Phrygia* called also *Troas*. But this division did not take place till *Troas* was subdued by the *Phrygians*; and hence it is no more considered by some *Roman* writers as a part of *Phrygia*, than *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, or any other of the adjacent provinces. In after-ages, that is, in the reign of *Constantine the Great*, the *Greater Phrygia* was divided into two districts or governments, the one called *Phrygia Pacatiana*, from *Pacatianus* who under *Constantine* bore the great office of the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the east; the other *Phrygia Salutaris*, from some miraculous cures supposed to have been performed there by the archangel *Michael*.

THIS country, and indeed all *Asia Minor*, as lying in the *Its soil and* fifth and sixth northern climates, was in antient times greatly *climate.* celebrated for its fertility. It abounded in all sorts of grain, being for the most part a plain country, covered with a deep rich soil, and plentifully watered by small rivers. It was in some parts productive of bitumen and other combustible substances. It was well stocked with cattle, having large plains and pasture-grounds. The air was antiently deemed most pure and wholesome, though it is now in some parts thought extremely gross, great part of the country lying uncultivated, a thing too common in such regions as groan under the *Mohammedan* yoke. In short, whatever desirable things nature has frugally bestowed here and there on other countries were found in this, while well manured, as in their original seminary.

THE cities of note in *Phrygia Major* were, 1. *Apamea* or *Apamia*, a famous mart and the metropolis of all *Phrygia*, till the abovementioned division of *Constantine* took place. It was seated at the confluence of the *Marfyas* and *Mæander*. *Pliny* ⁿ places it at the foot of the hill *Signia*, surrounded by the rivers *Marfyas*, *Obrima*, and *Orga*, which empty themselves into the *Mæander*; wherein he seems to confound the situa-

^m STRAB. l. xii.ⁿ Plin. l. v. c. 29.

tion of the antient *Celæne* with that of the new city called *Apamea*. *Celæne* indeed stood at the foot of the hill on which the *Marsyas* has its spring; but *Antiochus Soter*, son to *Antiochus Selcucus*, who built *Apamea* of *Syria*, carried the inhabitants from thence to the new city which he built about ten miles from thence, where the *Marsyas* and *Mæander* begin to flow in one channel; this city he named *Apamea* from his mother *Apame*, wife to *Seleucus Nicanor* °. As there are many other cities bearing the same name, this for distinction sake is commonly called *Apamea Cibotos*; but as to the original of this appellation there is a great discrepancy among authors (I).

Laodicea, now *Eskibissar*, seated on the banks of the river *Lycus*, not far from *Apamea*. It was first called *Diospolis*, afterwards *Rheas*, and at last *Diocæsarea* and *Laodicea*. We are told by *Stephanus*, that *Jupiter* appearing to *Antiochus* the son of *Stratonice* in his sleep, commanded him to build a city, which he did accordingly, calling it *Diospolis* from *Jupiter*, and *Laodicea* from his wife *Laodice*. It was afterwards greatly increased by *Hiero*, by *Zeno* the *Rhetorician*, and his son *Polemon* †, who, being honoured by *Cæsar Augustus* with the title of king, might perhaps out of complaisance to that prince add his name to that of *Jupiter*, calling the city *Diocæsarea*, the city of *Jupiter* and *Cæsar*. However, the name of *Laodicea*, which *Strabo* derives from the river *Lycus* ‡, prevailed.

° STRAB. l. xii. LIV. lib. xxxviii. MARCIANUS lib. vi.

† STRAB. lib. xii. ‡ Id. ibid.

(I) As the word *Κιβώτος* signifies *Ark* or *Coffer*, some have supposed, that it was so called, because the ark rested on the hill from which the river *Marsyas* springs. But these writers confound the situation of *Celæne* with that of *Apamea*; the former, which never bore the name of *Cibotos*, was situate at the foot of the hill *Signia*, but *Apamea Cibotos* at ten miles distance. As those who traded from *Italy* and *Greece* to *Asia Minor* used to convey their wares to this city, as a place of general resort (30), *Salmasius* thinks, it was called *Cibotos* from its being, as it were, the common treasury of those countries (31). It is worth observing, that there are no fewer than seven cities bearing the same name, viz. *Apamea* of *Bithynia*, *Apamea* of *Media*, *Apamea* on the *Tigris*, *Apamea* on the *Euphrates*, one in *Persia*, one in *Syria*, and one in *Phrygia*; and all situate between two rivers, which made *Bochart* (32) conclude, that they were so called from the *Hebrew* verb signifying to surround, whereof the import is plainly expressed in *Jonas* (33) אֶפְפֹּנִי מִיָּמִי *aphaphuni majim*.

(30) LXX. xvii.

(31) *Salmas. Plinianæ Exercitation. c. xl.*

p. 380.

(32) *Phaleg. l. ii. c. 11.*

(33) c. ii. v. 6.

This

This city was famous for its wool, which was universally preferred on account of its softness, as the same author witnesses^r, even to that of *Miletus* so much cried up by the antients, and besides was of a very extraordinary blackness. With this the inhabitants carried on a very considerable trade, and were accounted the most wealthy people of all *Asia Minor*. *Ptolemy* makes *Laodicea* and *Diocæsarea* two different cities, wherein he is certainly mistaken. At *Laodicea* was one of the seven churches mentioned in the apocalypse, but at present not so much as the ruins of it are any where to be seen, that prophetic threat being fully accomplished; *I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot — because thou art lukewarm — I will spue thee out of my mouth*^r (K).

Hierapolis famous for its mineral waters, which, according to *Strabo*'s account^r, when exposed to the air petrified in the space of a year, and yet were endued with such a virtue as to render the fields they watered exceeding fruitful, and prove a present remedy against innumerable distempers to such as used them^u. Near this city was to be seen an opening on the edge of a hill of an extraordinary depth, always overspread with a thick fog, and exhaling such a pestilent steam, that no living creature could come within the reach of it without being immediately stifled. *Strabo* and *Pliny*^w except the *Galli* or eunuchs of *Cybele*; *Ammianus* and *Dio Nicæus* all eunuchs^x (L). *Gordium*

^r Ibid.^r Revel. c. iii. ver. 15, 16.^r lib. xiii.^u STRAB. ubi supra. VITRUVIUS, l. viii. c. 3. ULPIANUS lege prima, sect. xiii.^w lib. iv.^x AMMIAN. lib. xxxvii.

c. 6. DIO. NICÆ. in vita Trajan. p. 252. ed. H. STEPH. 1592.

(K) *Terrari* in his dictionary tells us, that *Laodicea* is still called *Laudichia*, and by the *Turks* *Nove-Lefche*, that it is one of the archbishopricks of *Asia Minor*, &c. But he is either mistaken, or the town was not quite demolished in his time; at present it lies in ruins, and is only the habitation of wild beasts. Several travellers, misled by the similitude of names, have taken the village *Laotick* near *Angoura* for *Laodicea*. At *Eskibissar*, as it is now called, there are still to be seen four theatres of white marble, as intire as if they had been but lately built; near one of them is an inscription in honour of the emperor *Titus*, which the reader will find in *Spon*'s account of the *seven churches* (34).

(L) *Strabo*, an eye-witness (35) says, that in his time this *Plutonium* or opening was inclosed with balisters taking up about half an acre of ground in compass, that the pestilent steam kept within

(34) *Spon. lib. iii.*(35) *lib. xiii.*

Gordium, the seat of *Gordius* king of *Phrygia*, and famous for the *Gordian* knot which we shall have occasion to mention hereafter. This town was situated on the borders of *Phrygia* towards *Cappadocia*, and not between the two *Phrygias*, where *Justin* places it^y. Not long after the death of *Gordius* it was reduced to a poor beggarly village, as *Strabo* calls it, and continued in this despicable condition till the triumvirate of *Augustus*, when it was again made a city and called *Juliopolis* by one *Cleo*, a famous robber native of that place (M).

Colosse, now *Chonos*, on the south side of the *Mæander*, to the people whereof *St. Paul* wrote that epistle which is part of our canon.

Sipylus, the residence of king *Tantalus*, and therefore called also *Tantalus*. Some place this city in *Mæonia*, supposing *Tantalus* to have reigned there. 'Tis observable, that four cities, viz. *Sipylus*, *Archæopolis*, *Colpe*, and *Lebade*, were successively built on the same spot and destroyed by earthquakes.

Synnada, *Synada*, or *Synnade*, noted for its marble quarries. This city was by *Constantine the Great* declared the metropolis of *Phrygia Salutaris*, after his division of *Phrygia* into *Pacatiana* and *Salutaris* took place (N). Besides these and several

^y Lib. xi. c. 7.

that inclosure, so that one might approach the balister without the least danger; but whoever advanced one step farther was immediately stifled. What *Strabo* affirms is vouched by *Ammianus*, *Dio Nicæus*, both eye-witnesses, *Apuleius*, and many others (36). The city of *Hierapolis* is now called *Bamboakkale*, and some footsteps of what it once was are to be seen in the many heaps of ruins and fine pillars in the fields where it stood; insomuch, that *Dr. Smith* after viewing them could not help thinking this city to have been inferior to none.

(M) This *Cleo* having with a band of robbers possessed himself of a strong hold on mount *Olympus* called *Collydium*, by frequent excursions from thence prevented the officers of *Labienus* prefect of *Asia* from gathering the annual tributes, on which consideration he was by *Marc Anthony* rewarded with large territories. But in the *Æliac* war revolting from *Anthony* he sided with *Augustus*, who added great part of *Morena* to what *Anthony* had bestowed on him, created him priest of *Jupiter Abrettenus* worshipped by the *Mysians*, and high-priest of *Bellona* adored in *Commana* of *Pontus*, a dignity no ways inferior to that of king (37).

(N) In the fifth general council held at *Constantinople*, *Severus* subscribes as bishop of *Synnada*, the metropolis of *Phrygia Salutaris*

(36) *Ubi supra* & *Apuleius de Mundo*.

(37) *Strab. lib. xii.*

(38) ;

several other cities of less note mentioned by the antients, there were in later times some of no small account, such as *Sagua*, the habitation of *Etrogul* father of *Ottoman* the first king of the *Turks*, *Chara-chisar*, by the *Greeks* called *Melampyrus*, or the *Black-tower*, *Cillexuga*, *Einegiol*, &c. taken by the said *Ottoman* from the christian princes at the first rise of the *Ottoman* empire:

THE rivers of this country which we shall take notice of, are the *Mæander*, now *Madre* and *Mindre*, a river so celebrated by the antients, for its windings and turnings, that all obliquities are from thence called *Mæanders*. It rises on the hill *Celæne*, the same as *Aulocrene* mentioned by *Pliny*^a, at the foot of which stood antiently a famous city of the same name. *Pliny*^a and *Strabo*^b derive it from a lake on the top of the said hill. It passes through *Phrygia*, divides *Caria* from *Lydia*, and after 600 windings^c, by which it seems to flow back to its fountain-head, empties itself into the *Archipelago* between *Priene* and *Miletus* (O).

^a Lib. xxxviii.^a ubi supra.^b STRAB. lib. xii.^c DIO. PRUSÆUS, lib. i.

(38); and yet *Socrates* in his *ecclesiastical history* (39), and *Nicephorus*, blindly following him, place this city in *Phrygia Pacatiana* (40). And here we may observe by the way, that in the fourth general council held at *Chalcedon*, *Abercius* subscribes as bishop of *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia Salutaris* (41), which some have looked upon as a mistake crept into the acts of that council, not reflecting, that besides the more known city of *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia Pacatiana*, there was another of less note in *Phrygia Salutaris*. They are both mentioned by *Pliny* (42), and the one said to be under the jurisdiction of *Laodicea*, the other under that of *Pergamus*.

(O) The *Cayster*, now *Minder scare*, bears such a resemblance to the *Mæander*, that many of our modern travellers, and among them the incomparable *Pietro della valle*, *du Loir*, and *Monconis*, have mistaken the one for the other (42). The *Turks* call the *Cayster* *Coutchouk-mindre* and *Minder scare*, that is the little *Mæander*, or the black *Mæander*; and the *Mæander* itself *Boujouc-Mindre*, the great *Mæander*. Some have observed, that it forms in its course the following Greek characters, ξ, ζ, ς, ω, ε, some pretend that *Dædalus* formed his labyrinth on this plan. *Seneca* (43) calls it *poetarum omnium exercitatio, & ludus*; but *Ovid*'s description of it (44) is, in our opinion, an inimitable piece, and far preferable to any other.

(38) Concil. v. Collat. viii.

(39) lib. vii. c. 3.

(40) Ni-

cephor. Callist. histor. lib. xiv. c. 11.

(41) Concil. Chalced. Act.

xvi. (42) lib. v. c. 29, & 30.

(42) Spon. Voyag. d'I-

talie, &c. tom. i. p. 244.

(43) Epist. 105.

(44) Metamorph.

lib. viii.

THE

THE river *Marsyas*, so named from *Marsyas*, a celebrated musician, who, challenging *Apollo*, was by him overcome, and dead for his presumption. Most of the antients tell us, that this river hath its spring near that of the *Mæander*; but *Maximus Tyrius*^d, who was upon the spot, derives them both from the same source, and so does *Strabo*^e. It rushes down from a considerable height between rugged rocks and precipices with great noise, on which account it was called by *Herodotus*^f *Cataracta*. It has not only the same spring with the *Mæander*, but flows in the same channel through the town of *Celæne*, standing at the foot of the river on which it rises. In leaving the town the main stream divides itself into two branches, and forms these two rivers, the one the most winding river in the world, the other without so much as one turning during its whole course, and therefore flowing with an incredible rapidity. Near *Apamea*, that is after a course of ten miles only, the *Marsyas* is again received within the banks of the *Mæander* which it left at *Celæne*; so that in reality these two rivers are but two branches of the same original stream. *Q. Curtius* gives us a noble description of it^g, and adds, that while it flows within the walls of *Celæne* it is named *Marsyas*, which name, on its leaving that city, it changes for that of *Lycus*; but, with this author's leave, *Marsyas* and *Lycus* are quite different rivers; the *Lycus* springs from mount *Olympus* and discharges itself into the *Mæander* not far from *Laodicea*, which was therefore called *Laodicea* on the *Lycus*; this is a quite different course from that of the *Marsyas*, which we have already described^h (P).

Sangarius,

^d Serm. xxxviii.

^e lib. xii.

^f lib. vii.

^g lib. iii.

^h Vid. SALMAS. Plinian. Exercitat. cap. xxxviii. p. 582.

(P) The poets feign, that *Marsyas* having challenged *Apollo*, who dead him for his pride and arrogance, his death was so be-moaned by the nymphs and satyrs, that from their tears sprung a river called after him *Marsyas*. This *Marsyas* is said to have been the son of *Olympus*, and one of the most ingenious men of his age. He was the inventer of the pipe called *Syrinx*, and the first that brought in the playing on two pipes at a time. He was born, put to death, and buried near the spring of the river that bears his name. *Pliny* (45) gravely writes; that in his time was still to be seen the plane-tree on which this unhappy musician ended his days. Others say, with the same appearance of truth, that it was a pine-tree. *Maximus Tyrius* (46) informs us, that the riv-

(45) Lib. 1.

(46) Sermon. 38.

Sangarius, Sangaris, or Sangurus, is numbered by *Pliny* among the rivers of note¹; it springs from the hill *Dindymus*, washes *Phrygia* and *Bithynia*, and empties itself into the *Black-sea*. *Phryx*, which divides *Phrygia* from *Caria*, and disembogues itself into the *Hermus*, now *Sarabat*. *Hermus*, much celebrated by the poets for its gold sands, takes its rise near *Dorylaum*, and falls into the *Archipelago* near *Smyrna*. *Mysias, Orgos, Obrima, &c.*

S E C T. III.

Of the antiquity, government, religion, customs, arts, learning, &c. of the antient Phrygians.

THE *Phrygians* deemed themselves the most ancient people of the world, which opinion seems to have prevailed even among the *Egyptians*, at least in the time of *Psammitichus*, who in point of antiquity looked upon all other nations with an eye of contempt. For we are told^k, that after the experiment, which we have mentioned elsewhere^l, those great boasters of antiquity acknowledged the *Phrygians* to be more antient, challenging only the second rank to themselves. And hence it is, that *Apuleius*^m distinguishes them with the epithet of *first-born*. *Their antiquity.*

As to their origin, some suppose them descended from *Origin: Togarmah*, one of the sons of *Gomer*; and of this opinion are *Josephus* and *St. Jerom*ⁿ, who adds, that they were known to the *Hebrews* under the name of *Tigrammanes*. *Herodotus*^o,

¹ PLIN. l. ^k DIODOR. SICUL. l. i. p. 9. ^l See Vol. I. p. 335, note (V). ^m de Asino aur. l. xi. ⁿ JOSEPH. Ant. l. i. c. 7. ^o HIERON. in quæst. Hebraicis. lib. vii.

ers *Mæander* and *Marfyas* were both worshipped by the inhabitants of *Celæne*; and adds, that the victims and offerings, though thrown into the common stream, never failed being carried by the waters, at their parting, into the channel of that river for which the pious votaries had designed them. The river *Lycus*, which *Q. Curtius*, and with him *Mr. Spon*, mistakes for the *Marfyas* (47), runs a few miles under ground, but appears again before it loses itself in the *Mæander*, which *Ovid* seems to have been ignorant of when he said (48),

*Sic, ubi terreno Lycus est epotus biatu,
Existit procul hinc, alioque renascitur orbe.*

(47) *Voyage d' Italie. &c. tom. i. lib. iii.* (48) *Metamorph. lib. xv.*

Strabo

Strabo^p, *Pliny*^q, and *Eustathius*^r, led by the similitude of names, a deceitful guide, derive them from the *Brigians* a people of *Macedonia*, who, passing into *Asia Minor*, were, with a small alteration, called *Phrygians*, and the country which they settled in named *Phrygia*. We are not unwilling to allow, that as the *Phrygians* and *Brigians* bore antiently the same name, so they were originally one and the same people; but how it can be deduced from thence, that the *Brigians* passed out of *Europe* into *Asia* rather than the *Phrygians* out of *Asia* into *Europe*, is what we do not comprehend. All that can be concluded from this similitude, or, if you please, identity, of names is, that they were both derived from the same origin; but in order to prove, that the *Phrygians* were a colony of the *Brigians*, rather than the *Brigians* a colony from *Phrygia*, recourse must be had to some other argument. All we can say is, that if the *Phrygians* had been descended from the *Macedonians*, it is not likely, they would have piqued themselves so much on their antiquity; at least other nations, namely the *Egyptians*, would not so readily have yielded to them the priority. *Bochart*^t is of opinion, that the *Phrygians* were the offspring of *Gomer*, the eldest son of *Japhet*, the word *Phrygia* being, as we have observed elsewhere, the *Greek* translation of his name. *Josephus* makes *Gomer* the father of the *Galatians*, but he by the *Galatians* must necessarily mean the *Phrygians*, inhabiting that part of *Phrygia* which the *Galatians* had made themselves masters of; the descendants of *Gomer* being placed by *Ezekiel*^u northward of *Judea* near *Togarmah*, (which *Bochart*^{*} takes to be *Cappadocia*) long before the *Gauls* passed over into *Asia*. Most of the modern writers will have the *Cimmerii* to be the offspring of *Gomer*, understanding their country by the country of *Gomer* mentioned in the scripture. But as the *Cimmerians* lay beyond the *Euxine* sea, at a vast distance from *Judea*, we can hardly think, that the *Jews* had any knowledge of a nation so remote from them. The *Chaldee* paraphrasts place *Gomer* in *Afric*, wherein they must certainly be mistaken, since it is plain from *Ezekiel*^v, that his country lay northward of *Judea*. We are therefore willing to let *Gomer* enjoy the fine country which *Bochart* is pleased to give him, and allow him the honour of being the progenitor of the *Phrygians*, since we have no body else to bestow it on.

^p lib. vii. x. xii. ^q lib. v. c. 37. ^r EUSTATH. in HOMER. & DIONYS. ^t PHALEG. lib. iii. cap. 8. ^u Ezek. xxxviii. 6.
^{*} PHALEG. lib. iii. ^v ubi supra.

THE ancient *Phrygians* are described as a superstitious, *Their cha-*
voluptuous, and effeminate race, without any prudence or *rafter.*
forecast, and of such a servile temper, that nothing but stripes
and ill-usage could make them comply with their duty, which
gave rise to several trite and well-known proverbs (Q).
They are said to have been the first inventors of divination by
the singing, flying, and feeding of birds. Their music, com-
monly called the *Phrygian mood*, is alledged by some as an ar-
gument of their effeminacy.

CONCERNING their government thus much may be said, *Their go-*
that it was monarchical, and that all *Phrygia* was, during the *vernment.*
reigns of some kings, subject to one prince. *Ninnacus*, *Midas*,
Manis, *Gordius*, and his descendants, were certainly lords of
all *Phrygia*. But some time before the *Trojan* war we find
this country divided into several petty kingdoms, and read of
divers princes reigning at the same time. *Apollodorus* ^w menti-
ons a king of *Phrygia* contemporary with *Ilus* king of *Troy*.
Cedrenus * and others speak of one *Teuthrans* king of a small
country in *Phrygia*, whose territories were ravaged by *Ajax*,
himself slain in a single combat, his royal seat laid in ashes,
and his daughter, by name *Tecmessa*, carried away captive by
the conqueror. *Homer* ^y makes mention of *Phorcys* and *As-*
eanius, both princes and leaders of the *Phrygian* auxiliaries
that came to the relief of *Troy*. *Tantalus* was king of *Sipy-*
lus only and its district, a prince no less famous for his great
wealth, than infamous for his covetousness and other detes-
table vices. Whether *Phrygia* was ever subdued by *Ninus*,
as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, or by the *Amazons*, as we
read in *Suidas* ^z, is much questioned by the learned. Most
authors, that speak of *Gordius*, tell us, that the *Phrygians*,
having sent to consult an oracle, in order to know how they
might put an end to the intestine broils which rent their coun-
try into many factions and parties, received for answer, that
the most effectual means to deliver themselves and their country
from the calamities they groaned under, was to commit the
government to a king, which they did accordingly, placing

^w lib. iii. * CEDRENUS, p. 104. SOPHOCLES in *Ajace*. CALA-
BER. lib. iii. ^y HOMER. *Iliad*. B. ^z SUID. vit. Ὀφφύς

(Q) *Phryges sero sapient, Phryx verberatus melior, Phryx non mi-*
nus quam spyntharus, &c. which proverbs intimate their servile tem-
per, and shew, that they were more fit to bewail misfortunes in an
unmanly manner, than to prevent them by proper measures. Their
music too was suited to their effeminate temper. The *Doric* mood
was a kind of grave and solid music; the *Lydian* a doleful and la-
mentable harmony; but the *Phrygian* chiefly calculated to effemi-
nate and enervate the mind. But this is contradicted by others.

Gordius on the throne. Whence we may conclude, that, some time before his accession to the crown, an aristocratical or democratical form of government had been introduced.

Their
trade,
laws,
learning.

As to their trade, all we can say is, that *Apamea* was the chief emporium of all *Asia Minor*. Thither resorted merchants and traders from all parts of *Greece*, *Italy*, and the neighbouring islands. Besides, we know from *Syncellus*, that the *Phrygians* were for some time masters of the sea (he says 25 years); and none but trading nations ever prevailed on that element. The country was stocked with many choice and useful commodities, and well able to afford considerable exports. They had a safe coast, convenient harbours, and whatever may incline us to think that they carried on a considerable trade. But as most of the *Phrygian* records are lost, we will not dwell on conjectures so hard to be ascertained.

WE have no set form of their laws; and as to their learning, since we are told that for some time they enjoyed the sovereignty of the sea, we may, at least, allow them a competent skill in geography, geometry, and astronomy, and add to these, from what we have said above, a more than ordinary knowledge of music.

Their lan-
guage.

SOME have been of opinion, that the *Phrygian* language bore a great resemblance to the *Greek*; but the contrary is manifest from the few *Phrygian* words which have been transmitted to us, and carefully collected by *Bochart*^a and *Rudbeckius*^b. To these we may add the authority of *Strabo*^c, who, after attempting to derive the name of a *Phrygian* city from the *Greek*, concludes, that it is a difficult matter to discover any similitude between the barbarous words of the *Phrygian* language and the *Greek*. The *Phrygian* tongue after the experiment made by *Psammitichus* king of *Egypt*, as we have mentioned elsewhere^d, was looked upon by the *Egyptians* as the most ancient language of the world. But other nations, namely the *Scythians*, refused to submit to their opinion, as founded on an argument of no real weight. As the two children, say they, had never heard the voice of any human creature, the word *Eec*, or *Eekkos*, the first they uttered, was only an imitation of the goats that had suckled them, and happened to be a *Phrygian* word signifying bread (R). A late

^a BOCHART. Quæst. num *Æneas* unquam fuerit in *Italia*. ^b RUDBECK, in *Atlant.* tom. i cap. 36. ^c STRAB. lib. xii. ^d Universal History, Vol. I. p. 335 (V.).

(R) *Goropius Becanus* makes use of the same argument to prove, that the *High-Dutch* is the original or mother-tongue of the world, because the word *Becker* in that language signifies a baker.

writer

writer*, after observing that *Homer* in several passages distinguishes the language of the gods from that of men, endeavours to shew, that the poet by the language of the gods meant the *Greek*, and by that of men the *Phrygian* (S).

As to the religion of the antient *Phrygians*, we have already observed, that they were greatly addicted to superstition. They had many idols, but the goddess *Cybele* seems to have been their principal deity. She was called *Cybele*, *Berecynthia*, *Dindymene*, from *Cybelus*, *Berecynthus*, *Dindymenus*, all hills of *Phrygia*, and *Idæa* from mount *Ida* in *Troas*, because on these hills she was worshipped in a particular manner (T). She was also named *Cubebe*, because her priests

Their religion.

* LAKEMACHERUS obser. Philol.

(S) *Gothofradus Lakemacherus* in order to prove this chooses the two following verses (49) :

"Αντα δ' αὖτ' Ἡφαιστοιο μέγας ποταμὸς βαθυδίνης,

Ὀν Ξάνθον καλεῖσσι θεοὶ, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον,

where *Homer* tells us, that the river here mentioned is by the gods named *Xanthus* and by men *Scamander*. He shews, that as *Xanthos* is a *Greek* word signifying *yellow*, the above mentioned river had very probably its name from the *Greeks*, who gave the same name, as *Strabo* (50) witnesses, to another river in *Lycia* on account of its yellow sands. From hence he infers, that *Homer*, by the language of the gods, can mean no other than the *Greek*. As to the word *Scamander*, he thinks, that this name was communicated to the river from one *Scamandrius* son of *Hector* and king of the *Phrygians*, whose territories were watered by this river, it being a common custom among the antients to call the rivers after the names of the princes through whose countries they had their course. Now as *Scamandrius*, says he, was a *Phrygian*, his name was undoubtedly taken from that language ; from whence he concludes, that the name of the river *Scamander* is originally *Phrygian*, and that *Homer* by the language of men means the *Phrygian*. This author concludes the same of all other passages in *Homer*, where such a distinction is made ; the more, because two other words attributed by *Homer* to men, viz. *Bateia* and *Kumindis* are without doubt *Phrygian* ; the one being the name of a hill in *Phrygia*, and the other of a bird mostly frequenting mount *Ida* in *Troas*.

(T) *Philostephanus* is of opinion, that the hill *Dindymene* was so called, because it had διδυμὸς μασῆς two tops ; but *Strabo* lays in express terms that it has but one. *Bochart* (51) thinks, that a cymbal was in the *Phrygian* language called *Dindum*, as it is in the *Syrian* *Zinzum* ; and from thence he derives the name of the hill

(49) *Iliad*. 20. ver. 73. (50) *lib* xiv p. 665). (51) *Bochart. de. Quæst. Utrum Æneas fuit it unquam in Italia?*

priests, when seized with their frantic fits, used to throw themselves on their heads, that name being derived from a *Phœnician* verb of that import. *Arnobius*⁸ gives us the following account of *Cybele* from the mythology of the Gentiles. There was a vast rock on the borders of *Phrygia*, called in the language of that country *Agdus*, from whence *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha*, by the direction of *Themis*, took the stones, which they had made use of to repair mankind after the deluge. From one of these sprung *Cybele the great mother of the gods*. The same rock conceived by *Jupiter* and brought forth *Acdestis*, who is said to have been an hermaphrodite, of invincible strength, of a most cruel and intractable temper, and, above all, a most outrageous enemy of the gods, who were in no small fear of him, till *Bacchus* by a cunning contrivance found means to deprive him of his manhood, and thereby rendered him somewhat more tractable. From the blood he shed on this occasion sprung up a pomegranate-tree loaded with fruit in full perfection and maturity, which *Nana* daughter to king *Sangarius* being wonderfully taken with, gathered one, and, as it was of a most beautiful appearance, put it in her bosom. This cost her dear, for soon after proving with child, notwithstanding all her protestations of innocence, she was by her father shut up and condemned to starve. But being maintained alive with fruit conveyed to her by *Cybele*, she was in due time delivered of a son, who being exposed by his grandfather's order, was privately taken up by one *Phorbus*, and nursed with goats milk; whence he was called *Attis*, the word *Attagos* in the *Phrygian* dialect signifying a goat. As he grew up he proved a most beautiful youth, and was on that score greatly favoured both by *Cybele* and *Acdestis*; nay *Midas* king of *Phrygia*, then residing at *Pessinus*, was so taken with him, that he designed to bestow on him his only daughter, by name *La*. The day appointed for the nuptials being come, *Midas*, to prevent any disturbance that other suitors might create, caused the gates of the city to be shut and well guarded. But no gates or guards could keep out *the great mother of the gods*, who, being stung with jealousy, presented herself at the gate

⁸ ARNOBIUS contra Gentes, lib. viii.

Dindymus; the more because the invention of cymbals is generally ascribed to the *Phrygians*, and in particular to this goddess (52), whose festival was on that account solemnized on mount *Dindyme* with great noise of cymbals, drums, trumpets, and other instruments.

(52) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. iii.*

of the royal palace, with the walls of the city and all their turrets on her head; whence she was ever afterwards pictured with a crown of towers on her head. At the same time came *Acdestis*, who, inspiring with an enthusiastic frenzy all who assisted at the fatal nuptials, changed the genial banquet into a scene of horror and confusion. The unhappy bridegroom in the height of his fury emasculating himself under a pine-tree, soon after died of the wound; the bride laying violent hands on herself accompanied her spouse to the shades. *Acdestis* and *Cybele* drenched in tears long bewailed the untimely and cruel death of their beloved *Attis*, and *Jupiter* having, at their joint entreaties, exempted his body from corruption, a magnificent temple was erected to his memory in *Pessinus*, ceremonies instituted, priests appointed, &c. Thus far *Arnobius*.

Eusebius^a gives us a very different account of *Cybele* and *Attis* or *Atys*, copied, as he informs us, from the antient *Phrygian* mythologists. According to these, the first king of *Phrygia*, by name *Meon*, was father to *Cybele*, who being smitten with the charms of *Attis*, proved with child by him; whereupon *Meon* caused *Attis* to be put to death, at which *Cybele* being unspeakably grieved wandered long up and down *Phrygia*, seeking in the mountains and woods some allay to her grief. Her sorrow being in length of time somewhat asswaged, she admitted *Apollo* into an intimacy with her, and with him wandered to the *Hyperboreans*. By his order the body of *Attis* was interred, and *Cybele* after her death ranked among the gods. From these two accounts of *Cybele*, which come both from very good hands, we may conclude, that the *Phrygians* had different genealogies for, and traditions of this their chief diety (U).

THIS

^a EUSEB. Præpar. Evangelic. l. ii. iv.

(U) The *Roman* writers differ widely from those we have quoted, and frequently among themselves. *Cybele* according to them was the daughter of heaven and earth, wife of *Saturn*, and the same with *Ops*, *Rhea*, *Vesta*, and the *Bona dea*. She was exposed immediately after her birth on mount *Cybelus*, nursed there first by wild beasts, and after by the wife of a shepherd who found her by chance, &c. The *Romans* having learnt from the books of the *Sybil*s, that they would never be able to drive the *Carthaginians* out of *Italy*, till the *Idean mother* was brought to *Rome*, sent thereupon ambassadors to king *Attalus*, who delivered to them a stone, which the inhabitants of *Pessinus* called the great mother of the gods.

THIS goddess was pictured sitting in a chariot drawn by four lions, crowned with towers, holding a key in her hand, and attired with a garment seeded with flowers of different colours. The mythologists by *Cybele* mean the earth, taking her crown of towers to be an emblem of the towns and cities built thereon; the key she holds in her hand intimates, that the earth, which, during the winter, is in a certain manner locked up, begins to open in the spring, and the seeds to shoot up; her garment variegated with flowers of divers colours is a symbol of the earth beautifully enamelled with all kinds of flowers; the lions that draw her chariot denote her empire over all sorts of animals, which she both produces and nourishes; finally *Saturn*, that is Time, is feigned to be her husband, to signify, that the earth produces nothing but in time. *Eusebius* and others¹ are of opinion, that *Cybele* was a woman famous for remedies against such distempers as young children are subject to, and that on this skill or knowledge are grounded all the stories that are related of her.

Cybele had her peculiar priests, ceremonies, and sacrifices. Her priests were called in the *Phrygian* language *Cubeboi*, for the reason we have alledged above. the *Greeks* and *Latins* named them *Curetes*, *Corybantes*, which is the *Greek* translation of the word *Cubeboi*, and *Galli*, from the river *Gallus* flowing through *Pessinus*, where this goddess had a magnificent temple. They were also stiled *Idæi Dactyli*; but it is no easy matter to account for this appellation. *Sophocles* quoted by *Strabo*^k informs us, that they were called *Idæi* because they inhabited mount *Ida*, and *Dactyli* from the *Greek* word *Dactylus*, signifying a finger, they being at first ten, which is the number of a man's fingers. *Strabo* indeed numbers five brothers^l, viz. *Hercules*, *Pæon*, *Epimides*, *Jasias*, and

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. l. iii. EUSEB. de Præpar. Evang. ^k STRAB. lib. x. p. 473. ^l ubi supra.

gods. This happened in the year of *Rome* 550 (53). 'Tis to be observed, that the *Romans* made *Cybele* to be the same with *Vesta*, but acknowledged two goddesses bearing the same appellation, which their poets frequently confound; *Cybele* was that *Vesta* they called the earth and wife to *Saturn*, she was called *Vesta* because *Stat vi terra sua*, as *Ovid* says, *vi stando Vesta vocatur*. The other was daughter to *Saturn*, and the goddess of fire, or rather fire itself, according to that verse of the same poet, *Nec tu aliud Vessâ quam vivam intellige flammam*.

Idas, adding, that they had as many sisters. But in other writers we find three only mentioned, and quite different from those *Strabo* speaks of, viz. *Kelmis*, *Damnamenteus*, and *Acmon*. *Apollonius* ^m acknowledges but two, *Fitia* and *Cyllenus*. Some derive the name of *Corybantes* from the word *Cherub*, signifying in the *Phœnician* language *valiant*, and add, that they were the guards of the first kings of *Phrygia* ⁿ (W).

THE

^m APOLLON. in Argonaut. ⁿ Fr. Not. in Scholiast. Luciani, tom. ii. PIRISCUS. Lexicon Antiquitat. NATALIS COMES. l. ix. Myth. c. vii.

(W) *Diodorus* tells us (54), that *Cybele* was daughter to *Meon* king of *Phrygia*, that she married *Jasius* a *Samothracian* the brother of *Dardanus*, and had by him a son called *Corybas*; that after the death of her husband she went with *Dardanus* and *Corybas* into *Phrygia*, and introduced into that country the mysteries of the mother of the gods, calling the goddess after her own name *Cybele*, and her priests *Corybantes* from her son *Corybas*. Thus *Diodorus*; but *Dionysius* (55) informs us, that *Dardanus* instituted the *Samothracian* mysteries, that his wife *Cbryses* learnt them in *Arcadia*, and that *Idæus* the son of *Dardanus* instituted afterwards the mysteries of the mother of the gods in *Phrygia*. *Herodotus* brings the *Curetes* out of *Phœnicia* with *Cadmus*; and Sir *Isaac Newton* (56) thinks, that having followed *Cadmus* out of *Phœnicia*, some of them settled in *Phrygia* where they were called *Corybantes*, some in *Crete* where they were named *Idæi Dactyli*, others in *Rhodes* where they were stiled *Telchines*; others in *Samothrace* where they were known under the name of *Cabiri*; some in *Eubœa* where, as they were well skilled in arts and sciences, they wrought in copper (iron not being yet invented) in a city thence called *Chalcis*; some in *Lemnos* where they assisted *Vulcan*; some in *Imbrus*; and a very considerable number of them in *Ætolia*, which was thence called the country of the *Curetes*, till *Ætolus* the son of *Endymion*, possessing himself of it, called it *Ætolia*. These *Curetes* making themselves armour used to dance in it at the sacrifices, with great noise of pipes, and drums, and swords, which they struck upon one another's armour, keeping time and forming some kind of harmony. And this is reckoned the origin of music in *Greece* both by *Solinus* and *Isidorus* (57). *Clemens Alexandrinus* (58) ascribes to the *Curetes* the invention of musical rhymes, and of the letters

(54) *Diodor.* p. 223. (55) *Dionys* l. i. p. 38. 42. (56) *The chronology of antient kingdoms*, &c. c. ii. p. 146. (57) *Solin*, *Polyhist.* c. xi. *Isidor.* orig l. xi. c. 6. (58) *Clem.* *Strom.* l. i.

called

THE ceremonies performed by these priests in honour of this goddess were, 1st, At stated times they used to carry her statue about the streets dancing and skipping round it, and after having with violent gesticulations worked themselves up to the height of frenzy, they began to cut and slash their bodies with knives and lancets, appearing seized with a divine fury. This ceremony was performed in commemoration of the grief wherewith *Cybele* was transported at the death of her beloved *Attis*: 2dly, A pine-tree was yearly wrapt up in wool, and with great solemnity carried by the priests into the temple of the goddess, in commemoration of her wrapping up after the same manner the dead body of *Attis* and carrying it to her cave; on these occasions the priests were crowned with violets, which were supposed to have sprung from the blood of *Attis*, when he had laid violent hands on himself. The victims immolated in honour of the goddess were a bull or a she-goat, whence the sacrifice is called *Taurobolium* or *Criobolium*. At Rome a yearly sacrifice was offered to her, and the ceremony performed by the priests and priestesses sent for out of *Phrygia* on that occasion, called *Galli* (those at least who were known under the name of *Galli*)

called *Ephesian*. And Sir Isaac Newton is of opinion (59), that when the *Phœnician* letters were by *Cadmus* brought into Greece, they were at the same time introduced into *Phrygia* and *Crete* by the *Curetes*, who called them *Ephesian* from the city of *Ephesus* where they were first taught. These *Curetes* were no less esteemed for their skill and knowledge in religious matters and mystical practices, than for their arts and sciences (60). In *Phrygia* they attended the mysteries of *Cybele*; in *Crete* and the *Terra Curetum* those of *Jupiter*, who had been brought up under their care and tuition in a cave of mount *Ida*, where they danced about him in their armour, with great noise to drown the cries of the infant, and conceal him from his father *Saturn* who sought his destruction. *Bochart* (61) brings them from *Palestine*, and thinks, they had the name of *Curetes* from a people among the *Philistines* called *Cretbim* or *Cerebites*. We must not forget, that *Cybele* or the *Great Mother* was sometimes represented with a key, and sometimes with a drum in her hand; which has made some think that she was the same with the *Syrian* goddess *Astarte*, whose chariot was also drawn by lions. *Lucian* tells us (62), that she was the *Cretan Rhea*, that is, according to some, *Europa* the sister of *Cadmus*; and thus the *Phœnicians* first introduced, as Sir Isaac Newton observes, among the *Greeks* and *Phrygians* the practice of deifying their dead; for we meet with no instance of any such practice before the departure of *Cadmus* and *Europa* from *Sidon*.

(59) *ubi supra*. (60) *Strab. l. x. p. 472, 473. Diodor. l. v. c. 4.* (61) *Boch. in Canaan, l. i. c. 15.* (62) *Lucian. de Saltatione.*

were all eunuchs; this the great goddess required of them in memory of *Attis*; the waters of the river *Gallus*, when plentifully drunk, were believed to inspire them with such a frantic enthusiasm, as to perform the operation on themselves without the least reluctance. They were not allowed to drink wine, because *Attis*, overcome with that liquor, disclosed his amours with *Acdestis*, which he had ever before concealed with the utmost care. They abstained from bread, in commemoration of the long fast which *Cybele* kept after the death of the same *Attis*. They held oaths to be unlawful on all occasions, which tenet, some tell us, was common to all the *Phrygians*. The priests were placed after their death on a stone ten cubits high. Though the *Romans* professed a great veneration for *Cybele*, yet we find, that they looked upon her priests as the very refuse of mankind; of which we have a significant instance in *Valerius Maximus*^p. who tells us, that one *Genetrix* Gallus or eunuch of *Cybele*, having by a decree of the senate^q been admitted to the possession of an estate, the emperor^r bequeathed him, *Mamercus Æmilius Lepidus*, his second time consul, being appealed to, reversed the decree of the prætor, adding thereunto, that an eunuch, as being neither man nor woman, could not enjoy any privileges of that nature. This judgment *Valerius Maximus* extols as a decree worthy of *Mamercus*, worthy of one that was at the head of the senate, since it put a stop to the appearing of eunuchs in the courts of judicature, and defiling the tribunals with their unhallowed presence, under pretence of suing for justice.

BESIDES *Cybele*, who was the peculiar deity of *Phrygia*, the *Phrygians* had divers other idols; namely *Bacchus* whom they stiled *Sabazios*, and his priests and temples *Saboi*, whence *Bochart* derives the Hebrew word *Sabbath*, as that of *Levite* from *Lyfius* and *Evius*^q. *Apollodorus* acquaints us, that while *Bacchus* was travelling through *Phrygia*, he was purified by *Cybele*, instructed in her mysteries, and presented by her with a stole, which was the first he ever used (X). *Adagyus*

• ARNOB. lib. v. HIERONY. Epist. ad Lætam. ^p VAL. MAX. l. vii. c. 7. NATALIS COMES. l. ix. Myth. PITISCUS. Lexicon. Antiquit. &c. ^q Vide BOCH. ubi supra. ^r APOLL. LIB. iii.

(X) *Stephanus* (63) writes, that when *Bacchus* was born, *Jupiter* committed the care of him to one of *Cybele*'s female attendants,

dagys, whom *Bochart*^f takes to be *Hermaphroditus*, the son of *Venus* and *Mercury*, there being, at least to his ear, a great similitude of sound between *Adagys* and *Androgynus*. Some rank also the *Cabiri* or *Cabires* among the *Phrygian* deities, and add, that they were so called from *Cabirus* a hill in *Phrygia*, or, as *Stephimbrotus* terms it, in *Berecynthia*^g. But others, with more appearance of truth, derive their name from the *Hebrew* word *Cabir*, signifying *great* or *powerful*^h. Some confine the number of the *Cabiri* to two, viz. *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*; but *Manasseas* enumerates four, *Ceres*, *Proserpine*, *Pluto* and *Mercury*, whom he disguises under the uncouth appellations of *Axioros*, *Axiokersa*, *Axiokersos*, and *Kasmiros*; to these *Dionysiodorus* adds a fifth whom he styles *Casmiros*, called by others *Camillus*, and the same with *Mercury*; but he is universally looked upon as one of an inferior rank, and no ways on the level with the *Cabiri*, termed *the most high*, *the most powerful*^w. But these we shall have occasion to mention when we come to speak of the *Samothracian* deities.

WE likewise read of some dances and songs used by the *Phrygians* in solemnizing the festivals of their gods, and sometimes on other occasions, which they called *Lityerses*, from *Lityerses* son of *Midas*, king of *Phrygia*. *Hesychius* mentions certain *Phrygian* dances called by him *Bricismata*, without doubt from the word *Briges* the antient name of the *Phrygians*^x. Some speak of a dance called *Sicinnis*, invented, say they, by a *Phrygian* nymph, and used by the *Phrygians* in honour of *Sabatius*, whom they add to the number of the other *Phrygian* gods^y. But it is now time to proceed to the history of the *Phrygian* kings.

^f BOCH. ubi supra. ^g BOCHAR. ubi supra. ^h BOCHAR. ubi supra. ^w BOCHAR. ubi supra. ^x BOCHAR. ubi supra, ^y BOCHAR. ubi supra.

by name *Ma*, who being asked by *Juno*, whose child she nursed, answered, that it was the child of *Mars*, whence *Bacchus* in the *Carian* dialect was called *Masaris* or *Masares*, that is, the *Mars* of *Ma*.

S E C T.

S E C T. IV.

The reigns of the kings of PHRYGIA.

THE successions and reigns of the kings of *Phrygia* are overcast with such an impenetrable mist, and interrupted with so many chasms, that it is no easy matter to give any tolerable account of them. However, we shall here produce what occurs in history relating thereto, and appears most worthy of credit.

THE first king of *Phrygia* we find mentioned in history is *Nannacus*, *Annacus*, or *Cannacus*, for he bore all these appellations. *Suidas* ^a says, that he reigned before the flood of *Deucalion*, and that from thence things exceeding antient were proverbially said, *to be from the time of Nannacus*. He lived to a very great age, for it is recorded of him, that when he was above three hundred years old he sent to enquire of all such oracles as were in any repute how long he should live. The oracles unanimously answered, that at his death all things were to perish; whereupon repairing with his subjects to the temples of the gods, he strove there with many sighs and tears to appease their wrath, and avert the impending calamities; and thence *to weep like Nannacus*, became a trite expression to signify any extraordinary grief or sorrow ^{*}. Not long after *Nannacus* died, and the flood of *Deucalion* ensued, which was attended with the destruction of mankind.

Midas appears next, of whom all we can say is, that he ^{Midas.} resided at *Pessinus*, and designed to dispose of his daughter, by name *Ia*, in marriage to *Attis* or *Atys*, as we have already mentioned. This perhaps is the *Midas* who built, as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us ^y, a magnificent temple at *Pessinus*, and appointed yearly sacrifices to be performed there in honour of the great mother of the gods. *Hyginus* seems to make him the son of *Cybele* ^z.

THE next king we read of is *Manis*, a prince, as *Plutarch* ^{Manis.} informs us, of such prowess and virtue, that the word *Manic*, derived from his name, became synonymous with *Great*, whence *Manic achievements*, were among the *Phrygians* the same as *great, glorious, heroic achievements* ^b.

^a Verbo *Αννακος*.^{*} *SUID.* ubi supra. *ERASM.* *Chiliad.*^y *DIODOR.* *SCIUL.* l.iii. c. 5.^z *HYGIN.* fab. 191. & 274.^a *PLUTARCH.* de *Isid.* & *Osirid.*^b *ERASM.* *Adag.* *Chiliad.* i.

Cent. iii. lxxvii.

Gordius.

AFTER these reigned *Gordius*, who was raised from the plough to the throne. His rise is related thus ^c: While he was one day ploughing, an eagle settled on the yoke, and continued there all day. *Gordius*, terrified at this prodigy, went to consult the soothsayers of *Telmiffus*, a city in *Lydia*, about this so extraordinary an event; for the art of divining was, in a manner, hereditary to all the *Telmiffians*. At his entering the city he met with a most beautiful young woman, who, upon his enquiring after the soothsayers, and acquainting her with the motives of his journey, informed him, as she was herself skilled in the art, that nothing less than a kingdom was presaged by that omen; and therewithal offered herself ready to share with him, in wedlock, the hopes with which she had inspired him. This offer seemed to him the greatest happiness that could attend a crown, he therefore readily complied with her request, gratifying at the same time his own inclination. Not long after a sedition breaking out among the *Phrygians*, the oracles, which they consulted on that occasion, were all unanimous in advising them to commit the government to a king, if they desired to put a stop to the growing evils. Upon this the *Phrygians* having sent again to consult about the person whom they should raise to that dignity, their ambassadors were enjoined to acquaint them, that the first man, who after their return should visit in a cart the temple of *Jupiter*, was by the gods designed for their king. The ambassadors had scarce delivered the answer of the oracle, when *Gordius* appeared riding in his cart, and was immediately with loud shouts of joy proclaimed king of *Phrygia*. *Gordius*, acknowledging the crown from *Jupiter*, in memory of so signal a favour, consecrated in his temple the cart to *regal majesty*, which not by the *Phrygians* only, but other nations, was adored as a goddess. To the beam of the cart he fastened a knot, woven with such art, and so perplexed, that the monarchy of the world was promised by the oracles to him who should untie it; which *Alexander the Great* having attempted in vain, cut it at last with his sword, and thereby either fulfilled or eluded the oracle. We know nothing more of *Gordius*, but that he built the city of *Gordium*, which was his residence, and that of all the princes of the *Gordian* family. *Plutarch* writes ^d, that his son *Midas* was born of the goddess worshipped by the *Romans* under the name of

^c STRAB. l. xii. JUSTIN. l. xi. CURT. l. iii. ARRIAN. l. ii. ÆLIAN. vit. H. l. i. c. i. ^d PLUTARCH. in vita Cæsaris.

Bona Dea ; but whether she was wife to *Gordius* is much questioned by the mythologists (Y).

Gordius was succeeded by his son *Midas*, of whom it is Midas II. recorded, that when he was a child, a swarm of ants was observed very busy one day, while he was asleep, in conveying their stores of wheat into his mouth ; whereupon the oracles being consulted, returned answer, that immense riches were presaged by that omen. The prediction was completely fulfilled, for he is accounted by all the antients as one of the richest princes that ever reigned^c. *Strabo*^f says, that he drew vast treasures from mines of metal, discovered perhaps in his reign, on mount *Bermius*. He is greatly commended by some writers for the comeliness of his person, by others for the religious bent of his mind. He is said to have been instructed by *Orpheus* in the mysteries of religion, and to have filled *Phrygia* with new deities, temples, priests, ceremonies, and sacrifices^g. He introduced the custom of mourning over the dead with doleful songs or dirges, and by annually renewing his lamentations over his deceased mother, brought the

^c CIC. l. i. de Divin. VAL. MAX. l. i. c. 6. ÆLIAN. Vit. H. l. xii. c. 15. ^f STRAB. l. xiv. p. 680. ^g ARRIAN. l. ii. JUSTIN. l. xi.

(Y) *Midas* the son of *Gordius*, according to *Ælian* and *Arrian* (64), was the first king of the *Gordian* family that reigned in *Phrygia*. They tell us, that the *Phrygians*; having inquired of the oracle by what means they could put an end to their intestine broils, received for answer, that a cart would bring them a king who should restore their country to its former tranquillity ; and that while they were musing on this answer, *Midas* came riding in his cart into the throng, who was immediately acknowledged king. But most writers begin, as we have done, the reign of the *Gordian* family with *Gordius* himself. *Justin* (65) makes *Midas* king of the *Brigians* in *Macedonia* ; and adds, that being driven from his own territories he retired into *Asia Minor*, where the *Brigians* with a small alteration were termed *Phrygians*. According to this writer then the *Phrygians*, under the conduct of *Midas*, migrated out of *Europe* into *Asia*, and of course there were no *Phrygians* in *Asia* before *Midas* ; how then could his father *Gordius* reign in *Phrygia*, and be raised to the throne from so mean a condition, as *Justin* himself relates ? As to the *Gordian* knot, some authors say, that it was of the bark of a cornel-tree, and that it fastened the yoke of the cart to the beam.

(64) ÆLIAN. vit. H. l. i. c. 1. ARRIAN. l. iii. (65) JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 7.

Phrygians

Phrygians by degrees to worship her as a goddess ^h. He built the town of *Ancyra* ⁱ, where an anchor of his contrivance was to be seen in the temple of *Jupiter*, when *Pausanias* travelled through *Greece* ^k. He is said to have reigned not over *Phrygia* only, but also *Dardania* ^l. *Cleobulus Lindus*, one of the seven sages of *Greece*, honoured his monument with an epitaph ^m, which is falsely ascribed by some to *Homer* ⁿ. His wife, by name *Hermodica*, is celebrated by *Heracides* ^o in regard of her beauty and wisdom, and said to have been the first that taught the inhabitants of *Cyme* to coin money. By her *Midas* had three sons, *Gordius*, *Ancharas*, and *Otreus*; his fourth son *Lityerses*, was a bastard (Z).

AFTER

^h SUIDAS ἑλεγοῦς. ⁱ NONNUS, in orat. 30. GREG. NAZ. PAUSAN. in Atticis. SUIDAS Μιδάας. ^k PAUSAN. ubi supra. ^l L. SERVIUS in Æneid. II. ^m PLATO in Phædro. LAERT. in Cleob. ⁿ PLUTARCH. in vita, & anthologium PLANUDIS. ^o HERACLIDES in Politis.

(Z) Nothing has rendered the name of *Midas* more famous than the *Greek* proverb Μιδάας ὄντα ὠτιά, that is *Midas has asses ears*; but what gave rise to that saying is variously reported. The poets tell us, that in a trial of skill between *Pan* and *Apollo*, both famous musicians and rivals in that art, *Midas* gave sentence in favour of the former, whereupon *Apollo* clapt a pair of asses ears on his head; this badge of ignorance he artfully concealed a long time under his diadem; but at last it was unfortunately discovered by his barber and made public. Others say, that *Midas* having offered an affront to *Bacchus*, was by the incensed deity metamorphosed into an ass. *Canon* in his first narration (66) tells us, that *Midas*, having found a treasure, became very rich; that being instructed by *Orpheus* on mount *Pierius*, he got himself by various artifices proclaimed king of the *Brigians*; that in his reign *Silenus* appeared on mount *Brime*; that whatever *Midas* touched was immediately turned into gold; and that making use of this prodigy, he persuaded his subjects to remove out of *Europe* into that country which lies on the *Hellepont*; that he settled in *Myfia*, and there changed the name of his subjects, calling them no more *Brigians*, but *Phrygians*. He adds, that *Midas* had a great many spies dispersed up and down the country, by whose information he knew whatever his subjects did or said, whence he reigned in peace and tranquillity to a great age, none of his subjects daring to enter into any plot or conspiracy against him. His knowing by this means whatever his subjects spoke of him occasioned the saying, that *Midas had long ears*; and as asses are said to be endowed with the

(66) *Canon. apud Phot. Biblioth.*

sense

AFTER *Midas* reigned his eldest son *Gordius*, but all we *Gordius* can say of him is, that he surrounded the town of *Gordium* II. with a wall ^P. His brother *Ancharus* is celebrated for the love he bore his country, having even sacrificed his life for the public welfare. The fact is related thus ^q; during the reign of his father *Midas* the earth opened to a prodigious depth, and swallowed up great part of the city *Celæne*; whereupon *Midas*, having recourse to his oracles, understood, that the opening would not close till the most valuable thing in human life were thrown into it. This answer was no sooner imparted to the inhabitants, but all the gold, silver, jewels, and whatever else of any value came to their hands, was gladly sacrificed to the common safety. But all to no effect, for the gap continuing open threatened both the city and citizens with present destruction, when *Ancharus*, considering with himself that nothing in the world was of such value as a human soul, embraced his father, took leave of his wife *Timothea*, and mounting on horseback rid full speed into the opening which immediately closed. His example was long after followed in a parallel case by *Curtius* the Roman.

Otreus is stiled by *Homer* * king of all *Phrygia*, and said to *Otreus*. have been contemporary with *Anchises*, whence we may conclude, that he succeeded his brother *Gordius*.

Lityerses reigned at *Celæne*, and is described as a rustic, *Lityerses*. unsociable, and inhuman tyrant. *Sositheus* the tragedian paints him as one of an insatiable and canine appetite, having in one day, as this poet writes, emptied three large baskets

^P STEPHANUS, p. 99. ^q PLUTARCH. in Parall. STOBÆUS, Serm. 7. * HOMER. in hymnis.

sense of hearing to a degree of perfection above all other animals, he was also said to have *asses ears*; but in process of time, what was taken in a metaphorical sense began to run current in the world for truth. *Tully* (67) relates, that *Silenus*, being taken prisoner by *Midas*, instead of paying gold for his ransom, taught the king, that the greatest happiness was not to be born, and next to that to die soon. To other fables the poets add, that for entertaining *Bacchus* he was rewarded by the gods with the virtue of changing into gold whatever he touched, which is interpreted by some, as if he had been extremely covetous, studying by all means and methods to fill his coffers (68).

(67) *Tuscul. Quest.* l. i. (68) *Maximus Tyrius* Serm. 3 *Joan. Tzetzes* hist. 2. *Isaacus Tzetzes* in *Cassandram Lycophrontis*. p. 377. *Fulgentius*, l. ii. *Natalis Comes* *Mythol.* l. ix. c. 15. *Greg. Sabinus* in lib. xi. *Metamorph.*

of bread, and drank out twelve gallons of wine. He took great pleasure in agriculture, and used often to labour in the fields like a common husband-man. But as acts of cruelty were what he chiefly delighted in, he used to oblige such as happened to pass by while he was reaping to join with him in the work, and then cutting off their heads for their pains bind up their bodies in the sheaves. For these and such like cruelties he was put to death by *Hercules*, and his body thrown into the *Mæander*^r. However, his memory was cherished by the reapers of *Phrygia* (for reaping was his favourite employment); and an hymn, from him called *Lityerses*, sung in harvest-time in honour of their fellow-labourer^r.

Midas III *Midas III.* was king of all *Phrygia*, but whose son he was, or whom he succeeded, is what we find no where recorded. He was an usurper, and seized on the crown in the following manner: One night, under pretence of offering a solemn sacrifice to the gods, he marched out of the town of *Gordium*, attended with a numerous band of *Phrygians*, playing on all sorts of musical instruments; but at the same time, as they were privy to their master's design, with swords and daggers concealed under their garments. The citizens, led by their curiosity and not suspecting any treachery, followed them out of town, when the conspirators, all on a sudden throwing away their musical instruments, fell upon the multitude sword in hand, seized the city, and, in that terror and confusion nobody daring to oppose them, proclaimed *Midas* king of *Phrygia*^r.

Gordius III.

Midas III. was succeeded by *Gordius III.* perhaps his son. He is mentioned by *Herodotus*^u as father to *Midas*, and that is all we can say of him. *Herodotus* does not stile him king, but as his son reigned, it is not unlikely, that he held the crown before him.

Midas IV.

Midas IV. son of *Gordius*, was the first among foreign princes that sent donations to the oracle at *Delphi*; he presented that deity with the royal seat or tribunal, from whence he used to administer justice. *Herodotus*, in whose time it was still to be seen, commends it as a piece of most exquisite workmanship^w: at that time it stood by the golden cups, with which *Gyges* king of *Lydia* had presented the same oracle; for after *Midas* *Gyges* was the first of the *Barbarians*, as *Herodotus* informs us, who sent presents to *Delphi*^x. Perhaps

^r *ATHENÆUS*, l. x. c. i. . *SUIDAS* Αἰτυρίωνος. *POLLUX*. l. iv.

^r *THEOCRITUS* Eidill. x. *ERASM.* Adag. Chiliad. iii. Cent. iv. Ad. lxxv. ^r *POLYÆNUS*, lib. vii. ^u *HERODOT.* lib. i.

^w *HERODOT.* l. i. ^x *HERODOT.* ubi supra.

this *Midas* was succeeded by another *Gordius*, for we find that the kings of *Phrygia* took alternatively the names of *Gordius* and *Midas*.

Midas V. lived in most calamitous times, when the *Cimmerians*, being driven out of *Europe* by the *Scythians*, invaded *Asia Minor*, possessed themselves of *Sardis*, and made a most dreadful havock of the *Lydians*, *Paphlagonians*, and *Phrygians*. *Midas* not finding himself in a condition to oppose so powerful an enemy, and foreseeing the many evils that were inevitably to fall upon him, thought best to prevent them by putting an end to his unhappy days, which he did accordingly, drinking off a large cup of bull's blood ^γ. And this is the first time that we find this sort of death mentioned in history; his example was followed long after by *Psammenitus* king of *Egypt*, and *Themistocles* the *Athenian*. *Plutarch* ² says, that *Midas* thus ended his life, being driven to despair by frightful dreams and apparitions; but these in all likelihood were occasioned from the terror and consternation he was in, at the approach of so dreadful and merciless an enemy. *Midas* had two sons, *Adrastus*, and another whose name is not mentioned in history. *Adrastus*, having unfortunately killed his brother in his father's life-time, and being thereupon banished *Phrygia*, repaired to the court of *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, who not only purified him, according to the custom of those days, from the blood he had innocently shed, but earnestly pressed him to remain at his court, assuring him, he should want for nothing that *Cræsus* could give him. *Adrastus* complied with his request, and being entrusted with the education of the king's favourite son by name *Atys*, he unfortunately killed him too at a chace; which so grieved him, that he laid violent hands on himself, though *Cræsus* had generously forgiven him ^α. In him ended the royal family of *Phrygia*, which became a province of the *Lydian* monarchy, and continued in that state till *Cræsus* was conquered and all *Lydia* reduced by *Cyrus*, as we shall relate in the history of *Lydia*.

Midas V.

Year of
the Flood,
2447.
Year be-
fore Christ
552.

^γ STRAB. l. i. EUSTATHIUS in odys. α
in Q. Flaminio. ² PLUTARCH.
^α HERODOT. ubi supra.

S E C T. V.

The History of PHRYGIA MINOR.

THE tract we commonly call *Phrygia Minor* was antiently stiled *Troas*, *Teucria*, and *Dardania*, from kings that reigned in that country. It was also named *Idæa* from mount *Ida*, and *Phrygia* from the *Phrygians*, who were masters of great part of it, some say before, others after, the destruction of *Troy*; the epithet of *Minor* was added to distinguish it from the other *Phrygia* where *Midas* reigned, as *Eustathius* expresses himself^a. In the reign of king *Priam* the name of *Troas* generally prevailed.

THIS country was divided into two parts, the maritime called *Hellepontica* and the mediterranean termed *Epiētetus*. The former borrowed its name from the *Hellepont*, and extended along the coast from the town of *Percote* to the promontory *Leētum* or *Leētou*, opposite to the north side of the island of *Lesbos*. This part was properly called *Troas* or *Troja*, though the *Trojan* kingdom extended from the river *Æsopus* to the banks of the *Caicus*^b, including not only *Troas* but also the *Greater* and *Lesser Mysia*. *Epiētetus*, or the inland part of *Phrygia Minor*, extended to the neighbourhood of mount *Olympus* in the *Greater Mysia*. This part at first belonged to *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, who yielded it, by agreement, to *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, whence it was called *Epiētetus*, that is, *acquired*. However, these appellations are frequently confounded, and both attributed to all *Phrygia Minor* (A).

Phrygia Minor, as precisely as we can gather, lay between the forty and forty second degrees of north latitude, and was but of a very small extent in longitude, which we shall not

^a EUSTATH. in Dionys. ver. 810. 582.

^b STRAB. l. xiii. p.

(A) *Strabo* sometimes distinguishes *Troas Hellepontica* from *Epiētetus*, and sometimes confounds them; nay, he often makes *Epiētetus* part of *Phrygia Major* (69), wherein he agrees with *Ptolemy*. *Eustathius* distinguishes three *Phrygias*, viz. the *Greater*, where *Midas* reigned, extending as far as *Pisidia*; the *Lesser* lying on the *Hellepont*, and from thence reaching to mount *Olympus*; the third he calls *Epiētetus*, and places it near *Dorylæum*.

(69) *Strab.* l. xii p. 374. 388. 393.

pretend to determine, there being a great disagreement among authors as to the boundaries of the inland provinces. In general we may say, that *Phrygia Minor*, as comprehending both the *Hellepontica* and *Epicetetus*, was bounded by the *Propontis* on the north, by the *Ægean* sea on the south, by *Mysia Minor* on the east, and the *Hellepont* on the west.

ON the coast where the cities of *Percote*, *Abydos*, *Arisba*, *Cities of Dardanium*, *Rhœteum*, *Sigeum*, *Troy*, or *Ilium*, *Larissa*, *Colophonæ*, *Alexandria*, *Troas*, &c. *Percote* is often mentioned *Phrygia Minor*. by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Arrian*, and *Homer*, who mentions one *Merops* and his two sons as being of this city c. *Abydos* was built by the *Milesians* on the *Hellepont*, and became famous for the poetical story of *Hero* and *Leander*. Here it was that *Xerxes* began his bridge so much talked of, over which in seven days and seven nights he marched according to *Herodotus*, seventeen hundred thousand foot and fourscore thousand horse, exclusive of the camels and carriages. Here all *Alexander's* cavalry and most of his infantry landed, under the command of *Parmenio*, on their passing out of *Europe* into *Asia*. The geographers are generally of opinion that the castles of the *Dardanelles* were built on the ruins of *Sestos* and *Abydos*; but they are manifestly mistaken, for the castles are directly opposite to each other, whereas *Sestos* was a great way nearer the *Propontis* than *Abydos*; and *Strabo* d reckons 3750 paces from the port of *Abydos* to that of *Sestos*. Besides, there are no remains of antiquity to be seen near the castles, but very remarkable ones three miles farther, where the channel is considerably narrower e (B). *Arisba*, the place appointed for the

c HOMER. *Iliad*. A. ver. 229. d STRAB. l. xiii. e TOURNÉFORT voyage au Levant. SPON. voyage d'Italie, Dalmatie, &c.

(B) The *Hellepont*, every one knows, signifies *the sea of Helle*; for the ancients tell us, that a daughter of *Atbamas* king of *Thebes*, whose name was *Helle*, was drowned in that channel as she was carrying the golden fleece to *Colchis* with her brother *Phryxus* (70). The name of *Dardanelles* is probably derived from *Dardanium*, an ancient city not far from the castles bearing that name. This strait was antiently called the *Hellepont* and the strait of *Abydos*; but now it goes under the following names, *the strait of Gallipoli*, *the channel of the Dardanelles*, *the arm of St. George*; from a famous church of *St. George* in a village called *Peristasis* not far from *Gallipoli*: It is known to the *Turks* by the name of *Boghas*, or *strait of the white sea*. The mouth of the channel is

(70) *Eustath. in Dionys. p. 810.*

Y y 2

defended

the general rendezvous of *Alexander's* army, after he had passed the *Hellepont*. *Dardarum*, built by king *Dardanus*, near a promontory, bearing the same name. This city was

defended by two new castles, which *Mahomet IV.* built in 1659. to secure his fleet against the insults of the *Venetians*, who used to attack it in sight of the old castles. The waters, that pass through this strait from out of the *Propontis*, flow with great rapidity; when the north-wind blows no ship can enter, but when 'tis south, the current is scarce perceptible. *Tournefort* (71) tells us, that the mouth of the *Hellepont* is four miles and a half over. But *Le Brun* (72) says, that it is only a mile and a quarter. *Spon* (73) informs us, that where the old castles stand the *Hellepont* is near two miles broad, and that the very name of *Abydo* or *Avido* is unknown to the inhabitants of the place. But *Le Brun* assures us (74), that the strait at the old castles is only half a mile over, and that one of them is still called *Sestos*, and the other *Abydo* or *Avido*; he adds, that this sea, where broadest, is but a mile and a quarter over, and half a mile where narrowest: Among the ancients, *Strabo* (75) allows it about a mile in the narrowest place; *Pliny* (76) and *Herodotus* (77), seven furlongs or stadia, and *Polybius* only two (78). Of *Abydos* was *Leander*, who used to swim from thence to *Sestos* to visit his mistress. One night that the sea was very rough, and he near being drowned, *Martial* makes him address the waves thus;

Parciæ dum propero, mergite dum redeo.

He is represented on the medals of *Caracalla* and *Alexander Severus*, as conducted by a cupid flying before him with a torch. The inhabitants of this city made a vigorous resistance against *Philip* of *Macedon*, and when they were not able to hold out any longer, chose rather to destroy themselves than submit to the conqueror. *Abydos* was taken by the *Turks* through the treachery of the governor's daughter in the year 1330. It will not be amiss to observe here, that what *Herodotus* (79) relates of *Xerxes*, viz. that he ordered three hundred lashes to be given to the sea, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it for having broke down the first bridge he built here, is looked upon by some as quite fabulous. *Gilles* (80) thinks, that this piece of folly was first laid to his charge by the *Greek* poets, and that *Herodotus* took the thing too seriously; the 300 lashes, says this writer, intimate 300 anchors, that were thrown into the sea to fix the ships that formed the bridge; and by the pair of fetters is meant the two iron chains that fastened them together at both ends and on each side,

- (71) *Tournefort*, *ubi supra*. (72) *Le Brun* *voyage au Levant*.
 (73) *Spon*, *ubi supra*. (74) *Le Brun*, *ubi supra*. (75) *Strabo* *l. vii.*
l. vii. c. 34. (76) *Plin.* *l. viii. c. 32.* (77) *Herodot.*
l. vii. (78) *Polybius*, *l. c.* (79) *Herodot.* *l. vii.*
 (80) *De Bosph. Thrac.* *l. ii. c. 12.*

the residence of *Dardanus* and his successor *Erichthonius*. It communicated its name to the neighbouring country, and in length of time to all *Troas*. Some think, that the *Dardanelles* borrowed their name from this city. Here *Mithridates* and *Sylla* concluded a peace. Some say, with what foundation we know not, that *Dardanum* was the patrimony of *Æneas*. *Rhæteum*, memorable for the tomb of *Ajax*, who was said to have been interred there^f. *Sigeum*, seated on a promontory of the same name, whence that sea is called the *Sigean* sea^g. On this promontory was the tomb of *Achilles*, which *Alexander* honoured with a visit, and in antient times a statue of the same *Achilles*^h with ear-rings like the statue of a woman, which *Tertullian*ⁱ interprets as an argument of his effeminacy in point of dress (C).

Troy or *Ilium*, a city of great fame, and made immortal by the inimitable poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, was built by *Tros* king of that country, who called it *Troy* from his own name, and *Ilium* from that of his son *Ilus*. It was seated on a rising ground near mount *Ida*, and about five miles from the shore. There were scarce any remains of it to be seen in *Strabo*'s time, and most of the antient, as well as the modern writers, confound the old and new *Ilium*. All *Strabo*^k says of its situation is, that the new *Ilium* or *Troy* was 30 furlongs nearer the shore than the old city. This new city was reduced to a village in the time of *Alexander the Great*, remarkable for nothing but a temple of *Minerva*, which that prince visited after defeating *Darius* on the banks of the *Granicus*, and enriched with offerings, bestowing ample privileges on the place, and honouring it with the title of city. He likewise ordered the buildings to be repaired, and the whole

^f STRAB. l. xiii p. 409.

^g VIRG ÆNEID. ii. ver. 312.

^h SALMASIUS *Plinianæ exercitat.* p. 610.

ⁱ TERTUL. de

pallio.

^k STRAB. l. xiii.

(C) *Pliny* (81) places not far from hence the the tomb of *Protesilaus* with trees set round it of a very extraordinary nature; for when they are grown up to such a height as to be discovered from *Troy*, they begin to wither, and soon after die; then they shoot up again, and thrive till they are grown up to their former height, when they begin anew to decay and wither; and this vicissitude of shooting up and dying away has continued, says our author, ever since they were first planted; that is, since the death of *Protesilaus*, who in the *Trojan* expedition was the first among the *Greeks* that set foot in *Asia*, and the first that was slain.

(81) *Plin. l. xvi c. 44.*

city to be embellished, which was performed by *Lyfimachus*, one of his generals, who surrounded it with a wall of 40 furlongs in circumference. This new city was almost reduced to the condition of the former, and was more like a village than a city, when the *Romans* first entered *Asia*. As they pretended to be the genuine offspring of the antient *Trojans*, no cost nor pains was spared to restore it to its antient lustre, especially in the time of the *Cæsars*. *Cæsar Augustus* sent thither a colony, embellished the city with many stately buildings, and enriched it with most ample privileges and exemptions. And of this *Ilium* are, without all doubt, the ruins which are to be seen at present. *Bellonius*¹ tells us, that in his time the walls were yet standing with the ruinous monuments of their turrets, and that he spent four hours in compassing them, partly on horseback, and partly on foot. He observed round the walls a great many marble tombs of most exquisite workmanship, with their covers entire. Two of these were still remaining when Mr. *Spon*^m visited those places, who informs us, that they were in the style of the antient *Romans*, and not unlike those that are to be seen at *Arles*; whence he concludes them to be the remains of that *Troy* which was rebuilt by the *Romans*. *Bellonius* likewise observed the ruins of three great towers, one on the top of a hill not far from the shore, another about the middle, and the third at the bottom, with a great many large cisterns to receive the rain-water. As to the so much celebrated rivers *Xanthus* and *Simois*, he calls them small brooks, and adds, that in summer-time they are quite dry. But *Sandys*ⁿ thinks, they are not so contemptible as *Bellonius* makes them, who perhaps mistook others for them. *Spon*^o observed on the south of the haven three columns lying among the bryars, of which two were entire, and each of one single piece, being thirty foot long; the third, which was broken in three places, was thirty five feet in length, and four feet nine inches in diameter; they were all three of granite. *Le Brun*^p speaks of great remains of a most noble structure which he visited at the distance of about five miles from the coast. The four gates of this great edifice, at that time intire, were about forty five feet in height, and near them stood a wall of an extraordinary thickness with fourteen gates of a competent size; the vestiges of this magnificent structure took up a hundred and thirty feet in length, and a hundred in breadth.

¹ *BELLONIUS*, l. ii. c. 6.^m *SPON*, ubi supra,ⁿ *SAN-**DYS*, l. i.^o *SPON*, voyage d'Italie, Dalmatie, &c.^p *LE**BRUN*, voyag. du Levant.

Our author thinks, that these ruins may vie with any monuments of antiquity he ever saw. The harbour of *Troy*, so much spoke of by the antients, is now quite choaked up with sand; however, there are still to be seen fragments of columns, to which they fastened their ships and gallies, and as these were placed round it, *Spon* thinks, that the port was about a mile and a half in circumference. As to antient *Ilium*, we shall have occasion to speak of it more at length in the reign of king *Priam*, when it was taken and laid in ashes by the *Greeks* after a ten years siege.

Troas Alexandria was situated between the promontories of *Lectum* and *Sigeum*, and is named by *Stephanus* in the second place among the eighteen cities, which were so called from *Alexander*. It is sometimes named *Alexandria* without the appellation of *Troas*, and sometimes *Troas* without that of *Alexandria*, or *Alexandrea*, which has made some think, that *Alexandria* and *Troas* were two different cities. Its first name was *Antigonia* from its founder *Antigonus*, which was afterwards changed by *Lysimachus* into that of *Alexandria* in honour of *Alexander*⁹. This is supposed to be the place meant by the apostle *Acts* xx. 6. it being at that time the metropolis of the province; it lies now in ruins, and is called by the *Turks* *Eski-Stamboul*. These are the chief cities on the coast, the others are but of small account, and therefore we shall dwell no longer on this subject.

Of the rivers that watered *Troas* or *Phrygia Minor*, we shall only mention the *Scamander* and *Simois*, rivers, as *Mela* writes^r, greater by fame than by nature. The *Scamander* rises from mount *Ida*, and, having received within its banks, not far from *Troy*, the *Simois*, discharges itself into the *Ægean* sea, over-against the island of *Tenedos*. It is said by *Herodotus* to have been drunk up by the army of *Xerxes*. *Pliny*^c calls it a navigable river, and distinguishes it from the *Xanthus*, though it is certain that these are but two different appellations of one and the same river. Its original name was *Scamander*; but it was afterwards called also *Xanthus*, because it was believed to communicate a yellowish tincture to the sheep that drank its waters^t. *Homer* tells us^u, that it was named *Scamander* by the gods and *Xanthus* by men, where according to his custom he ascribes the most antient appellation to the gods, and the more modern to men. This river

⁹ *PLINIUS*, l. v. c. 30. *STRAB.* lib. xiii. p. 408. ^r *POMPON. MELA*, l. i. c. 18. ^c *PLINIUS*, l. v. c. 30. ^t *ÆLIAN.* de animal. l. viii. c. 21. ubi sequester de fluminibus. *MAXIMUS TYRIUS* Serm. 12. ^u *Iliad* xx. ver. 74.

was honoured by *Hesiod* with the title of *divine Scamander*. It was a custom among the *Phrygian* brides to bathe themselves before marriage in this river, using on that occasion the following words, *Receive; O Scamander, my virginity*. Which opportunity one *Cimon* an *Athenian* taking hold of, under the disguise of a river-god deflowered *Callirhoe*, a noble virgin, at that time betrothed, and thereby occasioned the abrogating of that superstitious ceremony.

THE *Simois* springs likewise out of mount *Ida*, falls into the *Scamander* near *Ilium*, and discharges itself into the *Ægean* sea, as we said already. Whatever these rivers were in antient times, they are at present but small brooks, if the accounts of our modern travellers are to be depended upon.

IDA is the only mountain of this country that deserves notice. It is rather a ridge of hills than a single one; for it extends from the city of *Zeleeia*, near the borders of *Mysia Minor*, to the promontory *Leetum*. We are told by the poets, that *Paris* on this hill, being chosen judge by the three contending goddesses, decided the controversy in favour of *Venus*, which, say they, occasioned the destruction of *Troy*.

Soil and
climate.

THE soil of this country was antiently reckoned among the most fertile that were then known. It was productive of whatever was requisite for the pleasures of life, and yielded to no spot that lay under the same happy parallel; nor at this day are there wanting signs and sufficient indications thereof, though it is now in part uncultivated and neglected. Our modern travellers describe the *Asiatic* coast of the *Hellepont* as a most beautiful and fertile tract of land, the hills being covered with vineyards and olive-plantations, and the vales productive of all sorts of grain ^w.

Tenedos.

OVER-AGAINST *Troy* lay *Tenedos* about two leagues from the shore, and formed the *Trojan* harbour. As all the splendor and magnificence of this island stood and fell with *Troy*, it will not be improper to insert here a succinct account of it. All antient writers agree, that this island was first called *Leucophrys*, and afterwards *Tenedos* from one *Tenes* or *Tennes*, who brought a colony thither from the continent. *Tennes* was son to *Cycnus* king of *Colone* in *Troas*, and is described by *Diodorus Siculus* * as a man of great probity and justice, having been greatly beloved by his subjects during his life, and adored by them after his death. The antient inhabitants of *Tenedos* gave the following account of him, which *Diodorus Siculus* looks upon as fabulous, but *Suidas* and *Pausanias*

^w TOURNEFORT, ubi supra.
l. v.

* DIODOR. SICUL.

seem to credit. *Tennes*, say they, was son of *Cycnus* and *Proclea*, sister to *Caletor*, who was killed by *Ajax* in attempting to burn the ships of *Protesilaus*. *Cycnus*, after the death of his wife *Proclea*, married *Philonome*, who falling in love with her step-son *Tennes*, and finding that she could by no means make him comply with her incestuous desires, complained of him to her husband, as if he had offered violence to her. *Stephanus* adds, that the evidence she produced in proof of her charge was a player on the flute. *Cycnus* giving more credit to his wife than his son, caused him to be shut up in a chest and thrown into the sea, which carried the chest safe to the island we are speaking of, where *Tennes* was received as sent by the gods, and with loud acclamations proclaimed king. Some writers tell us, that his sister by name *Hemithea*, not caring to outlive her brother, was at her own request with him locked up in the chest. Some time after *Cycnus*, being convinced of his son's innocence, sailed to *Tenedos* to crave his pardon, and express the concern he was in for so hasty and inhuman a resolution. But *Tennes* instead of receiving him went to the harbour, where with a hatchet he cut the cable which fastened his father's ship to the shore. This hatchet was carried by *Periclytus*, a citizen of *Tenedos*, to *Delphos*, and there lodged in the temple of *Apollo*. The *Tenedians* caused two others to be made resembling this in shape and size, which they consecrated in the temple of their city. These adventures gave birth to two famous proverbs among the antients (D).

SECT.

(D) The one is *Τένεδιος αὐλητής*, that is, the *Tenedian player on the flute*, a saying used by the antients to reproach a false evidence. The other *Τένεδιος πέλεις*, that is, the *Tenedian Ax*, an expression used to signify a quick and an unalterable resolution (82). *Aristotle*, cited by *Stephanus*, explains this in a different manner. He says, that a king of *Tenedos* having enacted a law forbidding adultery on pain of death, the first that transgressed this law was his own son, who was therefore beheaded with an ax. *Stephanus* adds, that the heads of the two lovers back to back were represented on the medals of the island, and on the reverse the ax with which they were beheaded. 'Tis certain several medals of this kind have been found in that island. Some take these two heads to be those of *Tennes* and his sister *Hemithea*, others of *Jupiter* and some *Amazon*, who might have founded a city in *Tenedos*. The ax on the reverse was the instrument used by the inhabitants in the execution of their criminals. *Suidas* tells us, that

(82) *Erasmi Adag. Chiliad. iv. Cent. 1.*

S E C T. VI.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, arts, learning, and trade of the TROJANS.

Antiquity. **T**HE inhabitants of *Lesser Phrygia* or *Trojans*, so called from *Troy* the metropolis of that country, were without all doubt a very antient people; but as to their original there is a great disagreement among authors. Some

Tennes after he was settled on the throne of *Tenedos* ordered an officer to stand behind the judge in all public trials with an *ax* in his hand, ready to strike off the head of such as should give false evidence; and hence *Τένεδιος άνθρωπος*, *Τένεδιος συνηγός*, that is, *A man of Tenedos, an advocate of Tenedos*, were expressions used to signify a man or a judge of great severity (83). Nothing has rendered this island more famous than the siege of *Troy*. It was within sight of that powerful city, as *Virgil* observes (84); he supposes, that the *Greeks* concealed themselves behind this island when they feigned to raise the siege. After the fall of *Troy*, the inhabitants were brought so low, that they gave themselves up to their neighbours, as *Pausanias* observes. *Tenedos* was one of the first conquests of the *Persians*, after the overthrow of the *Ionians* at the isle of *Lada* (85). It was reduced by the *Athenians*, or at least sided with them against the *Lacedemonians*, since *Nicolochus* admiral of *Lacedemon* ravaged this island, and raised contributions in it in spite of the vigilance of the *Athenian* generals. The *Romans* enjoyed *Tenedos* in their turn, and the temple of that town was plundered by *Verres*, who, as *Tully* informs us, carried away, to the great grief of all the inhabitants, the statue of *Tennes* founder of the city (86). This island is about eighteen miles in circumference. It had one city, two havens, and a temple dedicated to *Apollo Smynthius*, of which idol we shall have occasion to speak presently. There are no ruins to be seen at *Tenedos* except those of the granaries, which *Justinian* caused to be built as a repository for the corn that was brought from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*, lest it should mould on ship-board, the vessels being frequently wind-bound for a considerable time at the entrance of the *Dardanelles*. These magazines, as *Procopius* informs us, were two hundred and eighty feet long, and ninety broad (87). The muscate wine of this island is the most delicious of all the *Levant*, and

(83) *Suidas, Erasmus, ubi supra. Cic. lib. ii. Epist. ad Q. Fratrem. Tournfort, voyag. au Lev.* (84) *Virg. Æneid. l. ii.*

(85) *Herodot. l. vi.* (86) *Cic. pro Manil. pro Muræna pro Arch. poeta.* (87) *Procop. de Ædific. Justin. l. v. c. 1.*

though

Some make them *Samothracians* by descent, others *Greeks*, and tell us that *Teucer*, according to them the first king of *Troy*, was by birth an *Athenian*, and lord of a village named *Axonus*. Some derive them from the island of *Crete*, from whence they suppose *Phrygia Minor* to have been peopled; but these are again divided among themselves as to the leader of this colony, some bestowing that honour on *Teucer*, others on *Dardanus*. Some will have them descended from the *Arcadians*, and there are not wanting writers who make them even come originally from *Italy*, which opinion, though destitute of all probability, was embraced by *Virgil*, as most redounding to the glory of that country, and perhaps current among the *Romans* in his days. *Bochart* ¹ thinks, that *Lesser Phrygia* was planted by *Ashkenaz* *Gomer's* eldest son, there being the footsteps of his name in the *Ascanian* lake, and a river called *Ascanius* with a bay of the same name in *Bithynia*, and likewise in a city named *Ascania* in *Lesser Phrygia*, with isles on the coast named the *Ascanian* islands: He also observes, that, besides *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas*, *Homer* mentions a king of that name, who was at the siege of *Troy*. Hence he concludes, that a colony was led by *Ashkenaz* out of *Greater Phrygia*, where his Father had settled, into *Troas* or *Lesser Phrygia*, and that by this colony and their descendants that tract of country was peopled, which from the *Ægean* sea extends along the coast of the *Hellepont* and *Propontis*, to the *Pontus Euxinus* or *Axenus*, as it was first called by the *Greeks*, which he supposes to be a corruption for the *sea of Ashkenaz*. He observes, that the scripture, among the nations which were to be called by the *Medes* under *Cyrus* to destroy *Babylon*, mentions *Ararat*, *Minni*, and *Ashkenaz*. And to prove, that the *Ashkenaz* mentioned in scripture were the people of these parts, he shews out of *Xenophon* ², that *Hystaspes* having conquered *Phrygia* that lies on the *Hellepont*, brought from thence many of the horse and other soldiers, which *Cyrus* carried with him to the siege of *Babylon*. But whoever was the progenitor of the first inhabitants of this country, it is certain, that in process of time

¹ Phaleg. l. iii. c. 9.

² Cyropæd. l. vii.

though it is not celebrated by the antients as that of *Scio* and *Lesbos*, yet it may be proved from several medals, that *Tenedos* has in all times produced great plenty of good wine, since on the reverse of some medals of that island is to be seen the branch of a vine charged with grapes, a plain indication, that it was in ancient times famed for this production.

their blood was mixed with that of foreigners, namely of *Mysians*, *Samothracians*, *Greeks*, and *Cretans*, who settled among them, and were reckoned of the same descent with the antient proprietors.

Govern-
ment.

As to their government, it was, no doubt, monarchical and hereditary; for from *Dardanus* to *Priam* we find the father constantly succeeded by the son, or the elder brother by the younger. Their country was at first, like most others, parcelled out into several petty kingdoms; for we read of *Cycnus*, *Pandarus*, *Eurypius*, and other princes of small territories within the limits of *Lesser Phrygia*^a. But all these were in length of time either driven out by, or made tributary to, the *Trojan* kings; insomuch, that *Strabo*^b enumerates no fewer than nine small kingdoms or principalities subject to *Troy*, besides the island of *Lesbos*. And this is what drew out the *Trojan* war to such a length, for all these countries were to be subdued before *Troy* could be invested. *Diodorus Siculus*, informs us, that the *Trojans* were subdued by *Ninus*; but *Philostratus* tells us in express terms, that they were allies, and no ways vassals or tributaries to the *Assyrians*. The *Trojan* kings seem to have been absolute and no ways contrrollable by the subject. But we shall have occasion to resume this subject when we come to their history.

We have no particular system of their laws, and shall therefore pass to their religion.

Religion.

As to the religion of the *Trojans*, it was in substance hardly different from that of the inhabitants of *Greater Phrygia*, which we have already described. Their principal deities seem to have been *Cybele*, or, as they stiled her, *the great mother of the Gods*, who, according to the common opinion, was brought into *Troas* from *Crete* by *Teucer*, lord of that island and the progenitor of the *Trojans*^a. She was chiefly worshipped on the hills of *Ida*, *Dindymus*, *Berecynthus*, and *Cybele*, whence she borrowed her name. *Apollo*, who had a temple in the citadel of *Troy* called *Pergamus*. In this temple, and by this god, *Homer* feigns, that *Æneas* was concealed, till the wounds he had received in an encounter with *Diomedes* were cured by *Latona* and *Diana*, *Apollo's* mother and sister. *Minerva* or *Pallas*, from whose temple *Virgil* pathetically describes *Cassandra* dragged by the victorious *Greeks*, while the city was in flames^c. The famous *Palladium* was a wooden statue of this goddess, holding in one hand a buckler, and a spear in the other, so contrived as to move them, and at the same time roll

^a DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. STRAB. l. xiii.

^b lib. xiii.

^c ubi supra.

^a VIRGIL. ÆNEID iii.

^c ÆNEID. ii.

her eyes in a threatening manner. We are told, that, while the *Trojans* were erecting a temple to *Pallas* in their citadel, this statue fell from heaven into the temple before it was covered; whereupon an oracle being consulted returned answer, that the city of *Troy* could not be taken so long as it enjoyed this heavenly gift; which coming to the knowledge of the *Greeks*, *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* got privately into the castle, killed the guards, and by bereaving the *Trojans* of their main Defence enabled the *Greeks* to take the city. All the *Roman* writers assure us, that this *Palladium* was brought into *Italy*, by *Æneas*, and lodged first at *Lavinium*, afterwards at *Alba*, and at last removed to *Rome*, and deposited there in the temple of *Vesta* under the care of the vestals and the *Nautian* family. The *Romans* were so strongly possess'd with the false notion, that the city, which was blest with this valuable treasure, could never fall into the enemies hands, that *Metellus*, seeing the temple of *Vesta* all in flames, ventured his life without the least hesitation to rescue this sacred depositum, and was on that score thanked by the senate and people of *Rome*, as if he had saved the republic. The *Romans* universally believed themselves masters of the true *Palladium*, but could never shew how they came by it. For to say, that it was in *Troy* when the city was taken, is the same as to deny its boasted virtue of rendering that city impregnable in which it was lodged. On the other hand, if it was stolen by the *Greeks* before they entered *Troy*, how could *Æneas* bring it into *Italy* (E).

Venus

(E) There is great variety of opinions among the antients as to the *Trojan Palladium*. Some tell us (88), that a king of *Phrygia Major* presented *Ilus* with a pied ox, warning him at the same time to build a city where the ox should lie down; that *Ilus* followed him, and in the place where he lay down built a city, calling it from his own name *Ilium*. They add, that *Ilus*, having desired *Jupiter* to signify his approbation by some visible token, found the *Palladium* next morning before his tent. Others say (89), that *Chrysis* daughter of *Pallas*, marrying *Dardanus*, brought him the *Palladium* as part of her fortune; that *Dardanus* first erected a temple in *Samothrace* to this and other deities, and afterwards took them with him into *Phrygia* on the *Hellepont*. *Lycophron* seems to insinuate, that the *Palladium* was a *Phœnician* goddess, for he calls *Ulysses* Δελφινώσημον κλοπα Φοινίκης Θεᾶς (90). *Johannes Antiochenus*, *Eustathius*, and others say, that it was made by a certain mathematician, and covered over with a human skin (91) *Julius*

(88) *Apollod. l. iii.* (89) *Vide Rosin. Roman. Antiquitat. p. 147.* (90) *Seldenus de dis Syris Syntag. 2.* (91) *Selden. ubi supra. Syntag. 1.* *Firmicus*

Venus also is counted among the *Trojan* deities, but as to *Vesta*, whom *Æneas* is said by the poets to have carried into *Italy*, with his household gods, we find not any footsteps of worship paid her at *Troy*. She was indeed worshipped all over *Greece*, where there was not one city, but could shew a temple dedicated to this goddess with a lamp always burning in honour of her, which has made some think, that the rites and ceremonies of *Vesta* were introduced into *Italy* by the *Greeks*, and not by the *Trojans* ^f.

AMONG the other *Trojan* deities we find mention made of *Apollo Sminthius*, so stiled from the *Phrygian* word *Sminthos* signifying a *field-mouse*. We are told ^g, that this sort of vermin made such a devastation in the fields of *Troas*, that the inhabitants, finding all other means of ridding the country of them unsuccessful, had recourse to the oracle of *Delphos*, which answered, that they should be delivered from that plague if they sacrificed to *Sminthian Apollo*, which they did accordingly, and moreover erected a temple in *Amaxito* a city of *Troas* to their pretended deliverer, addressing him under the title of *Sminthian Apollo*. Others ^h relate the matter in a different manner, and tell us, that the inhabitants of *Troas* worshipped mice for having on a certain occasion gnawed the bow-

^f PRUDENTIUS contra Symmach. l. ii. sect. viii. ^g STRAB. l. xiii. ^h ÆLIAN, vit. H. l. iv. ^b POLEMO apud Clem. Protrept.

Firminus (92), *Clemens* (93) and *Arnobius* (94), tell us, that the *Gentiles* believed it to have been made of the bones of *Pelops*. According to the common opinion it was stolen out of the citadel of *Troy* by *Diomedes* and *Ulysses*; but some tell us, that the true *Palladium* never fell into the hands of the *Greeks*, it being carefully concealed, and another of the same shape and size exposed to public adoration; this, say they, was carried off by *Diomedes* and *Ulysses*; but the true *Palladium* remained in *Troy* till *Æneas* removed it from thence to *Lavinium*. But as this is derogating from the virtue of the true *Palladium*, and putting it, as it were, upon the same level with a false one, since it was not able to save the city in which it was kept, others, to mend the matter, suppose, that the *Greeks* returned the *Palladium* to the *Trojans*, or rather to *Æneas*, being warned so to do by the oracles. But we shall have occasion to examine in the course of this history the truth of *Æneas*'s voyage to *Italy*, and add something relating to this famous idol. In the mean time we may observe, that there was another *Palladium* of great fame worshipped at *Athens*, which *Nicias* had placed in the castle of that city.

(92) *De errore profanar. religion. c. xvi.*
(94) *Adversus gentes, l. iv.*

(93) *In protrept.*

strings

strings of their enemies, and thereby secured a complete victory to the *Phrygians*. The worship of *Apollo Sminthius* was introduced into *Mysia*, the isle of *Tenedos*, and other countries; for *Strabo*¹ tells us, that a mouse was engraved at the foot of *Apollo's* statue in a temple of *Chrysa* a city of *Mysia*, to unfold the reason of his being surnamed *Sminthian*; he adds, that the statue was done by *Scopas* a celebrated statuary of *Paros*. The same author, in speaking of the isle of *Tenedos*, says, that it had one town, two havens, and a temple dedicated to *Sminthian Apollo* (F). As to the religious customs and ceremonies of the *Trojans* we are almost quite in the dark; but we may suppose them to have been much the same with those of the inhabitants of *Phrygia Major*.

THE character we have of the *Trojans* is, that they were *Character.* a brave and warlike people; and in this we shall be more confirmed when we come to view their behaviour in the reign of king *Priam*, when they withstood for nine years with uncommon bravery the combined forces of all *Greece*. They seem to have entertained a fond veneration for their deities, and a great respect for their princes; for we do not find in their history any kind of intestine broils, or plots, or conspiracies against the prince on the throne, whoever he was.

WE can say nothing particular touching the customs of the *Trojans*, their civil concerns, or their arts and learning; they *Customs, language, &c.* are celebrated by the antients as one of the most polite and civilized nations of those days, and in the reigns of their latter kings they arose to a very considerable pitch of splendor and magnificence, those great encouragers of arts and industry. Their language was in all likelihood the same with that spoken by the inhabitants of *Greater Phrygia*, and perhaps in all that tract, which was afterwards known by the name of *Asia Proper*, the several nations spoke one and the same tongue with some variation of dialect.

THEIR trade we can only guess at from their situation, *Trade.* which very likely drew merchants from all the neighbouring parts to traffic in their country, as well for their own growth as for foreign productions. Their country was stocked with many useful commodities, and must have abounded in all things

¹ ubi supra.

(F) *Tournefort* (95) mentions two medals of *Tenedos*, the one with *Apollo's* head, and under it a mouse, having on the reverse a two-edged ax; the other bears two heads back to back, and on the reverse the same ax with two mice.

(96) *Tournefort Voyage au Levant.*

necessary

necessary for life, since it could support for many years together two very considerable armies, as we shall see in the following section. Their settlements in *Thrace*, in *Peloponnesus*, in *Sicily*^k, in *Italy*^l, in *Egypt*^m, and in *Afric*ⁿ, are a convincing proof, that they applied themselves pretty early to trade and navigation, which in all likelihood were the sources of the riches, splendor, and power, wherein they far excelled all the states round them.

S E C T. VII.

The reigns of the TROJAN kings.

TROAS or *Phrygia Minor* was in all likelihood governed by kings before the reigns of *Teucer* and *Dardanus*; for *Servius* names out of *Nero's Troica* one *Cynthius* king of *Troas* long before *Teucer*. But as the *Trojan* history of that epoch is either fabulous, or altogether uncertain, it were lost labour to make a narrow search into it. It is no less uncertain which of the two abovesaid princes reigned first, some writers giving the precedency to *Teucer*, others to *Dardanus*; and truly this is so dark and obscure a subject, that every one may say what he lists. We shall follow the most common opinion, and begin with *Teucer*, without pretending to add any thing of our own, or entering into the merits of so perplexed a cause.

Teucer. *Teucer*, the son of *Scamander* and *Ida*, that is, born in *Phrygia* near the river *Scamander* and mount *Ida*, ruled over all *Troas* or *Phrygia Minor*. He is said to have been very fortunate and successful in all his undertakings, but what they were we find no where specified. Having no issue male he married his only daughter, by some called *Batia*, by others *Asia*, by others *Arisba*, to *Dardanus*, settling therewithal the crown of *Phrygia* on him and his descendants. Those who make *Teucer* a *Phrygian* by birth suppose him to have come to the crown by a lineal descent, and place *Cynthius*, whom we have mentioned above, among his ancestors; so that, according to these writers, *Teucer* was not the founder of the *Trojan* kingdom, but the last of a long series of kings prior to those of the *Dardanian* family sprung from *Dardanus* and

^k PAUSANIAS, l. ii. & 5. ^l STRAB. l. vi. ^m DIODOR. SICUL. l. i. c. i. ⁿ HERODOT. l. iv.

Batia. From *Teucer* the country was called *Teucria* and the inhabitants *Teucræ* (G).

Teucer was succeeded by *Dardanus* the son of *Corytus* or *Corythus*, by *Electra* the daughter of *Atlas*. *Corytus* was king of *Samothrace*, and had by *Electra* two sons, *Jasius* and *Dardanus*, and one daughter by name *Harmonia*. Dar-

Dardanus.
Year of
the Flood,
1520.
Year be-
fore Christ

(G) This is the opinion of *Diodorus Siculus*, and, as we have hinted, the most common. However, *Virgil*, who had as good means to come at the truth, as any other could have, and very likely did not depart from it, in such things as no ways concerned *Augustus*, makes *Teucer* a *Cretan*, and delivers his opinion as follows :

1479.

Creta Jovis magni medio jacet insula ponto ;
Mons Idæus ubi, & gentis cunabula nostræ.
Centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna.
Maximus inde pater, si rite audita recordor,
Teucrus Rhæteas primum est ad-vectus in oras,
Optavitque locum regno ; nondum Ilium, & arces
Pergamæ steterant, habitabant vallibus imis.
Hinc mater cultrix Cybele, Corybantiaque æra,
Idæumque nemus ; hinc fida silentia sacris,
Et juncti currum dominæ subiere leones (96).

Teucer then, according to those who follow *Virgil's* opinion, which is ascribed to *Berosus*, was the son of one *Scamander* a native of *Crete*, from which island *Teucer*, retiring in the time of a great famine, put to sea with the third part of the inhabitants in quest of new seats, and arrived at that part of *Phrygia* which lies on the *Hellepont*. Here he landed not far from the *Rhætean* promontory, and being the first night greatly annoyed by vast numbers of mice, he resolved to settle there in compliance with the oracle, which had directed him, before he put to sea, to fix where he should be attacked in the night-time by an enemy sprung from the earth. His first care was to raise a temple to *Apollo Sminthius*, who was pictured treading under foot a mouse, called in the *Cretan* or *Phrygian* language *Sminthos*. He gave new names to the hill and river near which he landed, calling the one *Ida* from a hill of the same name in his native country, and the other *Scamander*, which was the name of his father. This river to that time had been called *Xanthus* ; whence *Homer* says, that it was called *Xanthus* by the gods and *Scamander* by men, meaning thereby that the former was the more ancient. He likewise introduced the worship of *Cybele* according to the rites that were practised in *Crete*, where that goddess was supposed to have brought forth and nursed *Jupiter*. Some think the authority of *Virgil*, with regard to *Teucer*, to be of very great weight, since it no ways concerned *Augustus* whether *Teucer* was of *Crete*, or not.

(96) *Æncid.* iii. ver. 104.

danus succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Samothrace*, where he erected a stately temple, and instituted religious rites and ceremonies in honour of *Pallas* and the other gods, whose statues his first wife *Chryse* had brought with her as part of her fortune. This, together with the many excellent laws he is said to have enacted on his accession to the crown, gained him the reputation of a wise, just, and religious prince. Insomuch, that *Teucer*, who was stricken in years and had no issue male, invited him over into *Phrygia*, gave him in marriage his only daughter *Batia*, and appointed him his heir and successor to the kingdom of *Phrygia*, which, after the death of *Teucer*, he ruled with the same moderation, equity, and religion, as he had done that of *Samothrace*. He waged war with the neighbouring princes, namely with the *Paphlagonians*, and, as he was always attended with success, extended the boundaries of his new kingdom by considerable acquisitions. He built two cities, the one he honoured with his own name, styling it *Dardana* or *Dardania*, and this he chose for his royal seat; the other he called *Thymbra* from *Thymbraeus* one of his intimates. Having settled the civil concerns of the kingdom, and made many useful laws for the due administration of justice which he looked upon as the basis of regal authority, he applied himself entirely to religious matters. The *Palladium*, or, as others will have it, the *Palladiums* (H), were by his orders

(H) Some writers tell us, that *Dardanus* had with *Chryse* two *Palladiums* or *statues of Pallas*, and that they were both of equal virtue, the oracle having promised, that the city in which either of them was kept should never be liable to any disasters. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* gives us the words which the oracle was said to have uttered, and are the following ;

*Fata dabunt urbem, poteris qua condere sacra,
Cœlicolasque illic festis colere atque choreis.
Munera namque deæ servabis arce reposita
Palladis ; hæc quoniam cepit tua regia conjux,
Servatus a tuam duris præcul omnibus urbem.*

One of these, say they, was stolen out of the citadel of *Troy* by *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* ; but the other was brought by *Æneas* into *Italy* (97). But *Varro* (98) tells us, that the *Palladium* was brought to *Rome* by one *Nautus*, and adds, that the priesthood of *Minerva* was hereditary in his family. Others say, that *Diomedes*, after the destruction of *Troy*, being driven by a storm on the coasts of *Italy*,

(97) *Procop de Bell. Goth. l. i. Isaac Tzetzes in Cassandram Lycophron p. 145.* (98) *Varro de familiis Rom. apud Servium.*

orders brought over into *Phrygia*; as for the other gods, which he had with his first wife, they were left in *Samothrace* till the death of his brother *Jasius*, who governed that island in the absence of *Dardanus* (I). *Dardanus* had two wives, the first named

and there ordered by an oracle to return the *Palladium* to the *Trojans*, sent it to *Æneas* by *Nautes*, one of *Æneas*'s friends and companions.

(I) In what has been said of *Dardanus* we have followed *Homer*, *Manetho*, *Diodorus*, *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, *Eusebius*, *Cyrillus*, *Cedrenus*, *Johannes Tzetzes*, &c. but *Virgil* and the poets to flatter *Augustus* make *Dardanus* son of *Electra* not by *Corytus*, but by *Jupiter*. And as to *Corytus*, they will have him to have been king of *Hetruria*, and not of *Samothrace*. *Virgil* tells us, that *Dardanus* passed out of *Hetruria* into *Samothrace*, and from thence into *Phrygia*. He expresses himself thus (99):

*Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt ;
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebæ:
Oenotrii coluere viri ; nunc fama, minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.
Hæ nobis propriæ sedes ; hinc Dardanus ortus,
Iasusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum.*

And elsewhere (100).

*Atque equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis)
Auruncos ita ferre senes ; his ortus ut agris
Dardanus Idæas Phrygiæ penetravit ad urbes,
Threiciamque Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.
Hinc illum, Coriti Tyrrhæna ab sede profectum,
Aurea nunc solio stellantis regia cæli
Accipit, &c.*

Virgil does not tell us on what occasion *Dardanus* quitted *Tuscany*: But *Annus* informs us, that after the death of *Coritus*, the two brothers *Dardanus* and *Jasius* falling out about the succession to the crown, the former killed the latter, whereupon he was obliged to save himself by flight from the *Tuscans*, and from *Siculus* king of *Spain* and brother to *Electra*, who was come to compose their differences. The same *Annus* gives the name of *Comblobascus* to the father of *Dardanus* and *Jasius*, and adds, that the word *Corytus* was a title of dignity. *Apollodorus*, in his fabulous history of the *Greeks*, tells us, that *Jasion*, as he styles him, and *Dardanus* were sons of *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas* and *Jupiter*; that the former, being passionately in love with *Ceres*, and attempting to ravish her, was thunderstruck, and that *Dardanus* was so concerned for the death of his brother, that, abandoning *Samothrace* his native coun-

(99) *Æneid.* iii. vers. 163. (100) *Æneid.* iv. vers. 205.

named *Chryse* an *Arcadian*, by whom he had two sons, *Idæus* and *Dimas*; the other *Batia*, who likewise bore him two sons, *Zacynthus* and *Erichthonius*. *Idæus* and *Dimas*, according to *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* ^o, inherited, in right of their mother, the territories of their grandfather in *Arcadia*, whence they led colonies into *Asia*, being forced to quit their own country by frequent inundations. *Zacynthus* planted a colony of *Phrygians* in an island of the *Ionian* sea, which from himself he called *Zacynthus* ^p. *Erichthonius* succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Phrygia*, as we shall see anon. As to his sister *Harmonia*, she married *Cadmus* founder of the *Theban* kingdom, whom her brother *Jasius* had initiated in the mysteries of religion. We shall have occasion to speak of her and her husband *Cadmus*, when we come to treat of the *Theban* kingdom. *Dardanus* reigned in *Phrygia* 64 or 65 years, and was succeeded by his son

Erichthonius.

Year of the Flood, 1585.

Year before

Christ

1414.



Erichthonius, who treading in the footsteps of his father was revered by his subjects, and greatly respected by all the neighbouring princes, with whom, as he was more inclined to the arts of peace than of war, he carefully maintained a good understanding. The long quiet he enjoyed gave him an opportunity of heaping up immense riches, which *Homer* takes notice of, without burdening the subject with taxes and impositions. By his wife *Astyoche* he had but one son named *Tros*. He reigned, according to some, forty six, according to others seventy five years, and dying left the kingdom of *Phrygia* in a most flourishing condition (K).

ON

^o DIONYS. HALICAR. l. i. supra.

^p DIONYS. HALICAR. ubi

try, he retired to the opposite continent, where he was kindly received by *Teucer* king of *Phrygia*. *Isaacus Tzetzes* (9) thinks, that *Dardanus* was forced by an inundation to leave *Samothrace*. As to *Atlas* the father of *Electra*, some say, that he was king of *Mauritania*, others of *Samothrace*, and that he gave his daughter in marriage to *Corytus* who had by her *Chryse* first wife to *Dardanus*. *Boccace* (10) is of opinion, that *Atlas* was neither an *African*, nor a *Samothracian*, but an *Italian*. The want of good authorities in this point of antient history has given every one leave to say what he pleased.

(K. *Apollodorus* tells us, that *Erichthonius* had an elder brother, by name *Ilus*, who died before his father, and a sister called *Idæa*, who married *Phineus* II. king of the *Thracian Thyni*, whom we shall have occasion to mention in the history of *Thrace*. As the name of *Erichthonius* is entirely *Greek*, some have concluded from

(9) In *Apollonium*.

(10) *De gen. deor.* l. iv. c. 8.

thence,

ON the death of *Erichthonius*, *Tros* ascended the throne, and in the very beginning of his reign laid the foundations of a city, which became soon the most famous of all *Asia*. This grand work being at last finished, he invited all the neighbouring princes, except *Tantalus* king of *Sipylus*, to assist at the solemn dedication of the new city. Why *Tantalus* was omitted we know not; but he highly resented such a contemptuous behaviour, as he called it, and soon after had a fair opportunity of shewing his resentment. For *Ganymedes*, a youth of extraordinary beauty, and the darling of his father *Tros*, being sent by him with a splendid retinue to carry presents of great value to *Jupiter Europæus*, in passing through the territories of *Tantalus* was not only detained, but abused by that vitious and impious king (L). This indignity the generous

Tros.
Year of
the Flood
1631.
Before
Christ
1368.

thence, that the *Greek* tongue began very early to prevail in *Phrygia*; which argument would be of no small weight, could they but prove, that *Erichthonius* was that prince's original or *Phrygian* name, and not a *Greek* translation thereof; for the *Greeks*, as *Plato* observes (11), used to translate foreign names into their own language, as the *Egyptians* did all *Greek* names into theirs. Some finding a king of *Athens* bearing the same name, infer from thence, that the *Trojans* were originally *Athenians*. An opinion built on so slight a foundation is scarce worth refuting.

(L) The fable of *Ganymede's* being taken up into heaven by *Jupiter* is variously interpreted; but *Natalis Comes* (12) is of opinion, that this story was invented by the *Greeks* to give a kind of sanction to the unnatural lust that greatly prevailed in that nation. And truly *Jupiter*, as *Arnobius* observes (13), seems to have been set up for no other purpose, but that men might father their crimes upon him, and thereby extenuate in great measure their own guilt. Thus *Theocritus* the poet, in celebrating the incestuous marriage of *Ptolemæus Philadelphus* with his sister *Arfinoe*, produces the example of *Jupiter* and *Juno*; and *Seneca* the tragedian had recourse to the same topic to find something commendable in the marriage of *Octavia* and *Nero*: *Sortita fratris more Junonis toros*, says he, speaking of *Octavia* (14). Others tell us, that *Ganymedes* was killed in a battle between *Tantalus* and *Ilus*; for *Ilus* pursued the war with *Tantalus* which his father had begun. They add, that the body of *Ganymedes* not being found among the dead, nor ever after appearing, the poets took occasion from thence to feign, that he had been taken up into heaven by *Jupiter*. *Suidas* charges *Minos* with the rape of *Ganymede*, and says, that *Minos* being kindly received and entertained by *Tros*, on that occasion fell in love with *Ganymede*, and requited the favours he had received of the father, by abusing, and

(11) *In Atlantic*. (12) *l. ix. c. 13*. (13) *lib. v. contra gentes*. (14) *Pag. 334*.

nerous youth took so to heart, that he died soon after of pure grief. Neither did his father *Tros* long outlive him; for the war, which he made upon *Tantalus* to revenge the affront offered to his son, proving unsuccessful, the affliction, which arose from thence, joined to the concern he was in for the loss of his favourite son, put an end to his days in the 60th, or, according to others, in the 49th year of his reign. He had by his wife *Acalide*, or, as *Apollodorus* calls her, *Callirrhoe*, three sons, *Ilus*, *Ganymedes*, and *Affaracus*, and one daughter by name *Cleomestra*, or, as *Apollodorus* will have it, *Cleopatra*. *Hyginus*, by mistake, makes *Ganymedes* son to *Erichthonius*. From this king *Phrygia Minor* borrowed the name of *Troas*, as its metropolis did that of *Troy*.

As the chief commanders of the *Trojan* troops, whose names are of great renown in antient history, and from whom most of our *European* nations have once pretended to derive their pedigree, were descended from *Tros*, before we proceed in the history of the *Trojan* kings, we shall give a succinct account of his numerous progeny. *Tros*, as we have already observed, had by his wife *Acalide*, or, as others call her, *Callirrhoe*, three sons, *Ilus*, *Ganymedes*, and *Affaracus*, and one daughter by name *Cleomestra*. Of *Ilus*, who succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Phrygia*, and his posterity, we shall speak in the series of the kings. *Ganymedes* died without issue. *Affaracus* had by his wife *Hieromneme*, or, according to others, *Clytadora*, one son named *Capys*, of whom we know nothing else but that the city of *Caphya* in *Arcadia*, according to *Stephanus*, borrowed its name of him, and that he married one *Themis*, by whom he had *Anchises*, who was famous for the comeliness of his person, which gave rise to the fable of his amours with *Venus*. He had the misfortune to see the city of *Troy* twice taken and plundered. During the first siege, which happened in the reign of *Laomedon*, he is said to have behaved with great gallantry; but in the time of the second, he was no more fit to bear arms, being wore out with old age and infirmities, occasioned by the lewdness and dissoluteness of

forcibly conveying away the son, who was the only delight of his old age. *Cicero* (15) seems to make *Ganymede* the son of *Laomedon*, which is a mistake. *Orosius* (16) and *Eusebius* (17) inform us, that the war which *Tros* made upon *Tantalus* was described by one *Patrocles* a poet of no mean character; but his works have not reached us.

(15) *Cicero* 1. *Tuscul.*
Evangel. l. ii.

(16) *lib.* i. c. 12.

(17) *De Præpar.*

his youth, to which his blindness is also ascribed. He is supposed to have been saved out of the flames of the burning city on the shoulders of his son *Æneas*, and to have accompanied him to *Sicily*, where he died. He had two sons, *Æneas*, whom we shall have occasion to mention hereafter, and *Elymus*, and one daughter named *Hippodamia*. *Elymus*, according to *Suidas*, imparted his name to the *Elymæi* a people of *Sicily*. *Apollodorus* calls him *Lycus*. *Hippodamia* married *Alcathous*, who fell in a battle by the hand of *Idomeneus* ^q.

Cleomestra had but one son, by name *Lycsus*, father to *Antenor*. As to *Lycsus* antient history is quite silent; but *Antenor* is greatly commended for his prudence and wisdom. He was sent by king *Priam* ambassador into *Greece* to demand his sister *Hesione*, whom *Hercules* after taking *Troy* had carried captive into *Greece*, and bestowed on *Telamon*, as a reward for being the first that mounted the wall of that city. The *Greeks* treated him more like a spy than an ambassador; whereupon, returning to *Asia*, he inflamed *Priam* and his sons against that nation. However, some time after he not only entertained in his house the *Greek* ambassadors that were sent to demand *Helena*, but protected them against the treacherous attempts of *Priam*'s sons, and found means to convey them safe out of *Troy*. This having gained him the good will of the *Greeks*, he was sent into *Greece* on a second embassy, on which occasion he is commonly believed to have betrayed the trust reposed in him, and some years after the city itself, seeing that *Priam* would hearken to no conditions of peace, to which *Antenor* shewed himself mightily inclined after his last embassy. It is agreed on all hands, that the *Greeks*, entering *Troy* sword in hand, shewed in the height of their revenge a tender and friendly regard for *Antenor*, having even caused the skin of a panther to be hung up before his door, lest, through mistake, any violence should be offered to his house or person by the greedy and incensed soldiery. Some add, that having known *Ulysses*, who had entered the city in disguise to observe the strength of the *Trojans*, he neither apprehended nor discovered him. Many, however, clear him from all treachery, and put a more favourable construction on the kindness shewn him by the *Greeks*, saying, that they spared him merely in compliance with the laws of hospitality, which in those days were deemed sacred even by the most savage nations. Of this opinion is *Livy* ^r; and *Virgil* also seems to free him from all suspicion of treachery, saying that he es-

^q HOMER. *Iliad*, v. ^r Decad. i. l. i.

caped falling into the hands of the *Greeks*^c. But be that as it will, the *Trojans*, that remained in the country after the destruction of *Troy*, were so prejudiced against him, that they obliged him to withdraw from *Troas*. At the same time the *Heneti*, being driven out of *Paphlagonia* and forced to seek for new settlements, chose him for their leader in room of their king *Pylæmenes*, who had been killed in the siege of *Troy*. With these and a few *Trojans* he put to sea, and steering his course up the *Adriatic* gulph, landed in the country of the *Euganei* lying between the sea and the *Alps*. Here he resolved to settle, and having driven out the antient proprietors, and blended the mixed multitude of *Heneti* and *Trojans* under the common name of *Veneti*, he gave rise to a new nation. He built a small town in the place where he landed and called it *Troy*. He is supposed to have built the city of *Padua*. *Antenor* had by his wife *Theano*, sister to *Hecuba* and daughter to *Cisseus* king of *Thrace*, *Iphidamus*, *Coon*, *Helicaon*, *Laodocus*, *Acamas*, *Archilochus*, *Polybus*, *Agenor*, *Laodamas*, *Demoleon*, *Glaucus*, and *Crino*. *Iphidamus* was brought up in *Thrace* under the care of his grandfather, and came to succour *Priam* and his country with twelve ships, which he left at *Percope*, marching by land to *Troy*, where he was slain by *Agamemnon*, whom he had engaged, and would very likely have conquered had he not been less fortunate than brave^d. *Coon*, attempting to revenge the death of his brother, singled out and dangerously wounded the same *Agamemnon*, but at last fell likewise by his hand. *Helicaon* married *Laodice* daughter to king *Priam*. *Archilochus* and *Acamas* commanded, in conjunction with *Æneas*, the troops of *Dardania*. *Agenor* was a warrior of great prowess, attended *Hector* in his boldest undertakings, and was not afraid to encounter *Achilles* himself^e. The others are named by *Homer*, *Pausanias*, *Calaber*, &c. but performed nothing worth relating. *Pindar*^w tells us, that the sons of *Antenor*, after the destruction of *Troy*, joined *Menelaus* and *Helena*, and with them settled in *Libya*. But *Eusebius* says, that they reigned in *Phrygia* till the return of *Hector*'s sons, by whom they were driven from the throne and the country. Perhaps some of them remained in *Phrygia*, and some accompanied *Menelaus* and *Helena*; among the latter were, according to *Symmachus*^x, *Glaucus*, *Acamas*, and *Hippolochus* or *Archilochus*. As to *Thiano Antenor*'s wife, *Suidas* and *Cedrenus* inform us, that

^c *ÆNEID*. i. verse 246.
^d *Phoc*.
^e *HOMER*. *Iliad*. λ.

^f *HOMER*. *Iliad* λ. *Pausanias* in
^w *PINDAR*. *Pyth. Od.* 5.

^x *Apud Isaac Tzetzum*, p. 276.

she was the chief priestess of *Pallas*, and that she betrayed the *Palladium* to *Diomedes* and *Ulysses*, who were sent into *Troy* under the pretence of an embassy to king *Priam*. Let us now return to the succession of the *Trojan* kings.

Tros was succeeded by his son *Ilus*, who, pursuing with great vigour the war which his father had begun, after many signal victories drove *Tantalus* out of *Asia* and possessed himself of his kingdom, which he annexed to the crown of *Phrygia*. *Pelops* the son of *Tantalus*, after several unsuccessful attempts, was at last entirely routed, and forced to quit *Asia* and follow his father into *Greece*. *Bysnus* king of the *Bebryces*, who had espoused the quarrel of *Tantalus* and his son *Pelops*, was likewise defeated, and, some say, killed in the engagement. *Ilus* having thus revenged the affront offered to his brother, applied himself entirely to civil affairs, and is said to have made a great many useful laws for the regulation of public affairs. He enlarged and adorned with many stately buildings the city of *Ilium* or *Troy*. *Plutarch* informs us, that in his time the temple of *Pallas* being set on fire by lightning, he saved the *Palladium* out of the flames; but on that occasion lost his sight, which, however, he afterwards recovered. *Herodianus* informs us ^y, that he called the place, where he defeated *Tantalus*, *Pessinus*, which name was afterwards given to a city built on that spot. He died in the 40th year of his reign. He had by his wife *Leucippe* two sons, *Tithonus* and *Laomedon*. *Tithonus*, whom some believe to have been the son, and not the brother of *Laomedon*, was from his early years greatly addicted to hunting; by which manly exercise having acquired a strong and robust constitution, and inured himself to hardships, he betook himself to a military life, and went to serve among the *Assyrians*, who in those days were a very warlike people, and thought to excel all other nations in the military art. His courage and conduct soon raised him to the first posts in the army, in which he acquitted himself so well, that he was ranked among the *Titanes* or chief lords of the *Assyrian* monarchy, and made governor of *Persia*. Hearing that *Phrygia* was invaded by the *Greeks*, he obtained leave of *Teutamus* king of *Assyria*, who had a great value for him, to send his son *Memnon* at the head of a considerable body of chosen troops to assist his countrymen. But this expedition proved fatal both to the father and the son; for *Memnon* being slain by the *Thessalians*, *Tithonus*, already worn out with old age, was to

Ilus.
Year of
the Flood
1680.
Year be-
fore Christ
1319.

^y lib. i.

grieved for his death, that he did not long outlive him. The comeliness of his person, his rising early in the morning as he was a great sportsman, the old age he lived to, and his pining away at last with grief, may have given rise to the many fables which the poets relate of him ; but for these and their explanation we must refer the reader to *Athenæus*^a, *Tzetzes*^b, *Natalis Comes*^c, and other mythologists.

Tithonus had by his wife *Cissia*, or, as *Diodorus* calls her, *Ida*, two sons, *Memnon* and *Emathion*, and one daughter named *Hemera*. *Memnon*, being brought up under the discipline of his father, proved a brave, wise, and experienced commander. He served with great success in *Egypt* against the *Ethiopians*, who were become very troublesome neighbours to the *Egyptians* ; for he routed and dispersed their armies, laid waste their country, and obliged them to pay an annual tribute to the *Egyptians*, who out of gratitude transferred it to *Memnon*, appointing him king over the country which he had subdued. In *Æthiopia* he built a city bearing his own name, and some make him likewise the founder of *Abydos*. Having thus distinguished himself in *Egypt* and *Æthiopia* he returned to his father in *Assyria*, where he was set over part of *Persia* in quality of satrapa or chief governor, and is said to have built in his satrapy the city of *Susa*, and another to which he imparted his own name. To gratify his father he marched, at the head of 20,000 *Ethiopians* and the like number of *Persians*, to the assistance of king *Priam*. On this occasion he behaved with his usual bravery, and often put the *Greeks* to flight ; but at last falling into an ambuscade was killed by *Achilles* at the head of the *Thessalians*. His body was rescued out of the enemies hands, his obsequies performed with great solemnity, and his ashes sent back to his father. *Josephus* places his tomb near *Ptolemais* in *Phœnice*, but *Pliny* and *Ælian* say, that he was buried at *Susa* (M).

^a Athen lib xii. c. 26.

^b Isaac Tzetzes in Cassandr. Lyc.

^c Nata is Come., l. vi c. 4.

(M) *Pausanias* (18) tells us, that a cenotaphium or empty tomb was raised to him in the country of *Troas*, not far from the river *Æsepus*, which tomb, as the inhabitants informed him, was yearly visited by strange birds known to them under the name of *Memnonian* birds. These on stated days flocking to the tomb, cleared the ground, on which it stood, of all rubbish, and afterwards dipping their wings in the *Æsepus* sprinkled it with the water of that river.

(18) *In Phocis.*

Every

Every body has heard of the vocal statue of *Memnon* near *Thebes* in *Egypt*. This, according to *Pausanias* ^d, *Eustathius* ^e, and *Lucian* ^f, was broke in pieces by order of *Cambyses*, but ever after that part which remained on the pedestal, at the rising of the sun, yielded a sound like that of the string of a lyre or lute, when it breaks on the instrument by being drawn too tight. *Eusebius* seems to have credited this story; for he says, that this miraculous effect ceased at the birth of Christ. *Pausanias* ^g informs us, that *Memnon's* sword was kept at *Nicomedia*, and produces it as an argument to prove, that the arms used by the antients were of brass. *Anticles*, quoted by *Pliny*, says, that *Memnon* invented letters fifteen years before the reign of *Phoroneus* first king of *Argos*. *Heliodorus* ^h makes him the progenitor of the kings of *Æthiopia*.

Emathion, the other son of *Tithonus*, remained at home with his uncle *Laomedon*, and was killed in the war that broke out between him and *Hercules*. *Probus* the grammarian is of opinion, that *Macedonia* was from him named *Emathia*, and *Justin* mentions an antient king of *Macedonia* bearing his name ⁱ. *Romus*, descended from one of the sons of *Tithonus*, was reckoned by some, as *Plutarch* informs us, among the founders of *Rome* ^k. As to *Hemera*, we know nothing of her but what is related by the spurious *Diety* now extant, whose history deserves no manner of credit.

ON the death of *Ilus* *Laomedon* was placed on the throne, his elder brother *Tithonus* being at that time employed in foreign wars. He built the citadel of *Troy*, being assisted therein by *Apollo* and *Neptune*, that is, he carried on the work with the treasures that were consecrated to them and lodged in their temples. Several inundations are said to have happened in his reign, and a plague to have broke out, which carried off great numbers of the inhabitants. These were looked upon as punishments inflicted by the gods whose temples he had plundered. He treated *Jason* and the other *Argonauts*, who had landed on the coasts of *Troas*, in a very inhospitable manner, refusing to supply them with necessaries, and even threatening to treat them as enemies, if they did not forthwith return on board their ships and quit the country. To revenge this affront, *Hercules* who was one of the *Argonauts*, returned some time after with twelve galleys to *Troy*, which he besieged, took, and plundered. In this war *Laomedon*

Laomedon.
Year of
the Flood,
1720.
Year be-
fore Christ
1279.



^d In Atticis. ^e In Dionys. ^f In Toxeri. ^g In Atticis.
^h In Æthiop. l. x. c. 1. ⁱ Justin. l. vii. ^k Plutarch. in Romulo.

killed *Oileus*, a commander of great renown, but was himself not long after killed by *Hercules*, whom he had engaged with more courage than caution (N). *Laomedon* had five sons, *Titbonus*, *Lampon*, *Clytus*, *Iceaton*, and *Priam*; his daughters were *Hesione*, *Cilla*, *Astyoche*, *Antigone*, *Proclia*, and *Euthria*. All his sons, except *Priam*, were killed in the war with *Hercules*. As to the daughters, *Hesione*, as we have said, being taken by *Hercules*, was bestowed in marriage on *Telamon*, who treated her more like his concubine than wife; which *Priam* who had succeeded his father, no sooner understood, but he sent *Antenor* into *Greece* to expostulate with *Telamon*, and to demand his sister *Hesione*. In the council of the princes of *Greece* this embassy was heard with contempt, and the ambassadors used in a manner no way suitable to their character, which gave occasion, according to several writers, to the *Trojan* war. *Cilla* and *Astyoche* are only named by *Apollodorus* *. *Antigone* is described as a woman of a proud, haughty, and insolent behaviour, which gave rise to the fable of her contending for beauty with *Juno*, and being transformed into a stork by that incensed goddess †. *Proclia* married *Cycnus*, by whom she had *Tenus* and *Hemithca* †. *Euthria*, being taken by the *Greeks*, and preferring death itself to slavery, advised the *Trojan* women, who were captives with her on board the *Greek* fleet, to set the enemies ships on fire, and thereby revenge the evils which they had brought upon their common country, and prevent those that were reserved for themselves. Her advice was followed, and the *Greeks* being gone ashore near *Pallene* to take in fresh provisions, they burnt both the fleet and themselves, which obliged the *Greeks* to settle there ^m, having no other ships to

* *Apollod.* l. iii. † *Servius* in l. i. *Æneid.* † *Isaac Tzetzes* in *Cassandr. Lycoph.* p. 118. ^m *Polyænus* l. vii.

(N) Others tell us (19), that *Apollo* and *Neptune* were hired by *Laomedon* to build the walls of *Troy*; and that, upon his refusing to pay them their wages, *Apollo* sent a plague, and *Neptune* drowned part of the country with inundations. They add, that the oracle advised him to expose his daughter *Hesione* to a sea-monster, and atone for his crime by sacrificing his favourite child. She was delivered by *Hercules*, say they, but *Laomedon* refused him the reward which he had promised; whereupon *Hercules* besieged and took *Troy*, killed the king, and gave *Hesione* in marriage to *Telamon*.

(19) *Enseb. in Chron.*

purſue their voyage. *Apollodorus* mentions one *Bucolion*, a natural ſon of *Laomedon*'s by *Calybe*, who was ſlain with his father and brothers by *Hercules*. *Laomedon* reigned, according to ſome, thirty fix, according to others, forty four years.

Laomedon being ſlain by *Hercules*, as we have ſaid above, *Podarces*, the only ſurviving ſon, who had been carried away captive with his ſiſter *Heſione*, was with a great ſum of money ranſomed and placed on the throne of his anceſtors, and hence came the ſurname of *Priam*, which is derived from a *Greek* verb ſignifying to *redeem* or *ransom*. His firſt care after his acceſſion to the throne, was to encompass the city of *Troy* with a ſtrong wall, to prevent ſuch calamities as had happened in his father's reign. There being diſcovered in the beginning of his reign a mine of gold near *Abydos*, he was thereby enabled to undertake and carry on many public works; for he is ſaid to have embellished the city with ſtately edifices, towers, caſtles, aqueducts, &c. He maintained in conſtant pay a conſiderable army, reduced moſt of the neighbouring ſtates, and was rather conſidered as ſovereign of all *Aſia Minor*, than king of *Troas*. He married to his firſt wife *Arisbe*, or, as others call her, *Alyxothoe*, by whom he had but one ſon named *Æſacus*; but by his ſecond wife *Hecuba*, daughter to *Ciſſeus* king of *Thrace*, he had *Heſtor*, *Alexander* or *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus*, *Polites*, *Antiphus*, *Hipponous*, *Polydorus*, and *Troilus*; and daughters, *Creuſa*, *Laodice*, *Polyxena*, and *Cassandra*. Beſides theſe he had many children by concubines, in all to the number of fifty. Some writers ſay, that being abroad when *Troy* was taken in the reign of his father, he was called home and placed on the throne by *Hercules*, notwithſtanding ſome of his elder brothers were then alive.

THE name of this king will be ever memorable in hiſtory for the war that happened in his reign between the *Greeks* and *Trojans*, a war famous to this day for the many princes of great prowels and renown that were concerned in it, the battles that were fought, the length of the ſiege, the deſtruction of that great city, and the endleſs colonies that were planted in divers parts of the world by the conquered as well as the conquerors. As to the cauſe of this fatal and deſtructive war, it is agreed on all hands, that the rape of *Helen* firſt kindled it; but what encouraged *Paris* to ſuch an attempt, and induced his father *Priam* to ſtand by him at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure, is not determined by antient

Priam.
Year of
the Flood
1764.
Before
Chriſt,
1235.

antient writers. *Herodotus*ⁿ gives a very unnatural and far-fetched account of this rape. He says, that the *Phœnicians* having ravished *Io*, the daughter of *Inachus* king of *Argos*, and carried her with other *Greek* women into *Egypt*, the *Greeks* making use of reprisals, first carried off *Europa*, the king of *Tyre*'s daughter, and afterwards *Medea* daughter to the king of *Colchis*, refusing to restore either till such time as they received due reparation for the rape of *Io*. *Paris*, adds *Herodotus*, in the next succeeding age hearing of these adventures, was encouraged to ravish *Helen*, persuading himself that he should not be constrained to make any reparation, seeing others had escaped with impunity. But this whole account is quite frivolous and foreign to the purpose. For how could the *Greeks* ever take it in their heads to quarrel with the king of *Colchis*, or revenge on him an injury done to their nation by the *Phœnicians*, whom the king of *Colchis*, in all likelihood, had never so much as heard of? Besides, it is plain from *Thucydides*, that the distinction of *Greeks* and *Barbarians* was not introduced even in *Homer*'s time, and consequently highly improbable, that the *Greeks* so long before, when they had not even one common name to distinguish themselves from other nations, should nevertheless look upon them all as their enemies by reason of an injury done by one. Others say, that king *Priam*, hearing that his sister *Hesione* was ill-used by *Telamon*, to whom *Hercules* had given her in marriage, sent first *Antenor*, and afterwards *Paris* to complain thereof, and insist on her being delivered to them. This, they think, has some appearance of truth; for *Telamon* in history bears the character of a surly, cruel, and ill-natured prince; insomuch, that his own son *Teucer* chose rather to roam on the seas in quest of a new habitation after the war, than return home, not daring to appear before his father, for no other reason, but because his brother *Ajax* had laid violent hands on himself, which it was not in *Teucer*'s power to prevent. *Paris*, add these authors, coming into *Greece* upon this embassy, was hospitably entertained by *Menelaus* king of *Sparta*, who being obliged by his private concerns to pass over into *Crete*, his base and ungrateful guest laid hold on that opportunity to entice away his wife. But neither is this account by any means satisfactory; for were it true, that *Hesione* was ill used by *Telamon*, yet no body can imagine, that *Priam* would on that score send a solemn embassy into *Greece*, or think of taking his sister from her husband, with

ⁿ lib. i.

whom

whom she had lived above thirty years. Whereupon it is most natural to think, that *Paris*, in ravishing *Helen*, never thought of *Europa*, *Medea*, or *Hesione*; but, falling in love with her, as she was the most beautiful woman in *Greece*, was prompted by his own perverse inclinations to do what in those days was commonly practised both by *Greeks* and *Barbarians*. Thus *Helen* herself had been stolen before by *Theseus*, and such practices of stealing women were so common, as *Thucydides* ^o informs us, that none durst venture to live near the sea-coast. The same *Thucydides* ^p tells us, that as *Helen* was a woman of extraordinary beauty, her father *Tyndareus*, after recovering her from *Theseus*, to prevent a second rape, obliged all her suitors, who were most of the princes of *Greece*, to bind themselves by a solemn oath to rescue her, in case she should be taken from her husband. This done, he gave his daughter free choice of a husband, who preferred *Menelaus* to all the rest. According to this account, the oath, which so many princes had taken to *Tyndareus*, was what drew them together, and armed them against the ravisher and his abettors. To which we may add the great power of *Agamemnon*, brother to the injured *Menelaus*, who, as he was by far the most potent prince of all *Greece*, so he had without all doubt, a great influence over the rest of his countrymen. But be that as it will, war against *Troy* was determined in a general assembly of all the princes of *Greece*, and this was the first enterprize the *Greeks* ever undertook with common consent. Before the assembly broke up, *Agamemnon* was appointed commander in chief of the whole army; *Ægium* a city in *Peloponnesus* was fixed upon for the place of the general rendezvous; and each prince, as *Greece* was at that time divided into endless dynasties, enjoined to send his quota of troops and ships.

THE best and most rational account we have of this great war is that which we gather from *Homer*, whose inimitable performance ought not to be regarded as a mere fiction, or the result of a poetical imagination, but as a rich fund of the most antient history of *Greece*. The known rules of epic poetry suppose the truth of the history, though they admit of its being embellished with poetical fictions. So that if we had no other monuments of antiquity to convince us of the *Trojan* war, and the taking of that city by the *Greeks*, yet we could not question the truth of the fact. But most of the historical events related by *Homer* are attested and con-

^o Thucyd. l. i.^p Idem ibid. p. 6.

firmed by the most creditable historians, and by all the monuments of antiquity, namely by the *Arundelian* marbles. We must therefore carefully distinguish in *Homer's* works what is historical from what is merely fictitious. He describes the state of *Greece* at that time, and informs us, that it was cantled out into a great many dynasties; that *Agamemnon*, king of *Mycæne*, *Sicyon*, and *Corinth*, was the most powerful prince of all *Greece*; that he was appointed to command in chief; he enumerates and names the several nations and princes that sided with the *Trojans*; he gives us an insight into the art of war practised in that age; discloses the laws and religion of the *Greeks*; gives us the character of their leaders; describes the situation of their country and cities, &c. all which are purely historical; so that *Homer's* poems may deservedly be considered as the most antient history of the *Greeks*, whose earlier ages are buried in oblivion for want of such a writer to transmit their actions to posterity (O).

THE number of ships employed by the *Greeks* in this expedition, according to *Euripides*, *Lycophron*, and *Virgil*, amounted to 1000; *Homer* enumerates 1186; but *Thucydides*^a raises the number to 1200. The *Bæotian* ships, that were the largest, carried 120 men each; those of the *Philœtætæ* were the smallest, and each manned with 50; every man, the commanders excepted, was both a mariner and a soldier; so that supposing the fleet to have been of 1200 sail, as *Thucydides* affirms, and the ships to have carried one with another 85 men, we shall find the *Greek* army to have been 102,000 men strong, no great force, considering, that all the powers of *Greece*, except the *Acarnanes* alone^r, were engaged in this war. The *Greeks*, as *Thucydides* observes, could have raised a far more powerful army, but were afraid of being distressed for provisions in a foreign country^s. Against this army the city of *Troy* held out ten years; but the *Trojans*, as *Homer* makes *Agamemnon* say, were not the tenth part of

^a lib. i. p. 8.^r JUSTIN. l. xviii.^s ubi supra.

(O) *Dion Chrysostom* (19), in an oration addressed to the *Trojans*, attempts to prove the siege and reduction of *Troy* by the *Greeks* to be an errant fable without any foundation of truth. But his performance is generally looked upon only as a witty essay, since the author elsewhere (20) disproves what he endeavours to prove here. And truly the siege and taking of *Troy* are transactions so well attested, and have left such a remarkable epocha in history, that no man of sense can call them in question.

(19) *Orat.* xi.

†

(20) Περὶ ἀσκησιως, p. 255. d.

the

the enemies which the *Greeks* had to contend with; for all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Mysia*, and the greatest part of *Asia Minor* sided with the *Trojans*. *Rhesus* king of *Thrace* marched at the head of a considerable body to their assistance, and *Memnon*, as we have said, joined them with 20,000 *Persians* and the like number of *Æthiopians*. Wherefore the *Greeks*, foreseeing the resistance they were likely to meet with, and how dear it would cost them to carry their point by dint of arms, before they began any hostilities, sent *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* ambassadors to *Troy*, to demand *Helen* and the treasures which *Paris* had carried off with her, hoping, that the fame of the vast preparations which they had made might frighten the *Trojans* into a compliance with so equitable a demand. What answer was returned to the ambassadors we know not; but 'tis certain, that they returned without *Helena*, and highly dissatisfied with their reception at *Troy*.

*Herodotus**, upon a tradition that prevailed among the priests of *Egypt*, seems inclinable to believe, that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before he could reach *Troy*. The tradition, as *Herodotus*, who learnt it of the priests themselves, informs us, amounts to this: *Paris* on his return with *Helen* was by stress of weather driven on the coast of *Egypt*, and forced to put in at *Tarichea* on the *Canopean* mouth of the *Nile*. Here some slaves of *Paris*'s retinue, taking sanctuary in a temple of *Hercules* which stood on the shore, informed against their master, aggravating before the governor of the province, by name *Thonis*, the injury which he had done to *Menelaus*. *Thonis* laid the whole matter before *Proteus*, at that time king of *Egypt*, who, finding, upon examination, the deposition of the slaves to be true, detained *Helen* and the treasures that had been taken with her, in order to restore them to *Menelaus*; but commanded *Paris*, after having severely reprimanded him for his crime, to depart the kingdom within the term of three days, on pain of being treated as an enemy. The *Egyptian* priests add, that when the *Greeks* sent ambassadors to demand *Helen* and her riches, the *Trojans* protested, that they were not in their power, but in the hands of *Proteus* king of *Egypt*, which the *Greeks* looking upon as a mere shift to put them off, began the war; but at last after taking the town, as *Helen* no where appeared, and the *Trojans* persisted in their former protestations, the *Greeks* began to believe them, and sent *Menelaus* into *Egypt*, where he was kindly entertained by *Proteus*, and had his wife restored to him without any injury done to her person or goods.

* lib. ii.

These things the *Egyptian* priests assured *Herodotus* that they knew for certain, as they had happened in *Egypt*, and had been handed down to them from those who had conversed with *Menelaus* himself. *Herodotus* produces one argument of no small weight to prove the truth of this tradition, viz. that if it had been in king *Priam*'s power to restore *Helen*, he would certainly have done it, rather than suffer the unspeakable calamities that beset his family, his kingdom, and himself, during the course of the war. How great soever his tenderness to *Paris* might have been, yet it could not be proof against so many misfortunes. *Homer* seems not to have been ignorant of the tradition of the *Egyptian* priests, for he mentions *Paris* and *Helen*'s arrival in *Egypt*, and says, that *Menelaus* went thither before he returned home to *Sparta*, which voyage it is not likely he undertook at that time for pleasure. Nevertheless *Homer*, and with him all the *Greek* poets (after whom the *Latins* have copied) except *Euripides*, suppress the circumstance of *Helen*'s not being in *Troy*, as too favourable to the *Trojan* cause. But whether the *Trojans* would not, or could not, restore her, the ambassadors on their return highly complained of the treatment they had met with, and with their complaints so incensed their countrymen, that they resolved without further delay to put to sea, and carry fire and sword into the enemies country (P). They steered to the coast of *Troas*, where on their landing they met with so warm a reception, that they began to be sensible of the difficulty of the enterprize. In the first encounter they lost *Protesilaus*, who was slain by *Hector*, and many others of less note. However, they gained ground enough to encamp on. But what most of all retarded their progress was want of provisions, which daily increased, and was owing partly to their numbers, partly to the smallness of

(P) *Calchas*, a famous soothsayer, without whose advice and approbation nothing was undertaken by the *Greeks* during the war, declared, that the goddess *Diana* opposed their passage with contrary winds, and that she was to be appeased with a victim of no smaller note than *Iphigenia* daughter to *Agamemnon*. The goddess, say the poets, was incensed against him for having killed by chance one of her stags; but after all, pitying the innocent young virgin, she prevented so horrid a sacrifice by putting a hind in her room. Some writers are of opinion, as we have observed elsewhere (21), that the fable of the sacrifice of *Iphigenia* had its birth from *Jephthah*'s sacrificing his daughter.

(21) *Vol. III. p. 469. (O)*

their

their vessels, which, as the building of ships with decks was not then introduced, could not carry such stores of provisions as were necessary to supply the army. Wherefore they were obliged to divide their forces, sending part of them to cultivate the ground in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, and part to rove about the seas for the relief of the camp. All writers, whether poets or historians, agree, that the *Greeks* employed the first eight or nine years in scouring the seas, pillaging the coasts, and reducing such cities and islands as sided with the *Trojans*. Hence in the poets we read of many towns taken, islands plundered, strong holds razed, and numbers of people carried into captivity by *Achilles*, whom the army could not well have spared, had there been any service of importance to be performed before *Troy* (Q).

At last the several small parties, that had been dispersed up and down the neighbouring countries and islands, being joined in one body, and great store of provisions brought into the camp, they approached the city with a design to exert their utmost efforts, and put an end to so tedious a war. But by this time the *Trojans* had been reinforced with considerable bodies both of mercenaries and allies. Infomuch, that when the *Greeks* first invested the town, *Hector* attacked them at the head of an army scarce inferior to theirs in number. The *Greeks* had not been long before the city, when a plague broke out in their camp, which *Homer* says was sent by *Apollo*, because *Agamemnon* refused to release the daughter of one of his priests; but *Heraclides* on this passage informs us, that it was occasioned by the violent heats, and pestilentious vapours raised by the sun, the *Greeks* being encamped among fens and marshes. The plague was followed by a quarrel between

(Q) *Ovid* says, that from the first year to the tenth there was no fighting at all; and *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Greeks* did not sit down before *Troy* till the tenth year, contenting themselves with laying waste the enemies country, and blocking up the city. *Homer* (21) introduces king *Priam* sitting on a high tower, and there learning of *Helen* the names of the *Greek* commanders who appeared in the field on the tenth year, for which fiction, allowing it to be such, there would have been no room, had the *Greeks* been encamped under the walls of *Troy* for ten years together. The only thing wherein authors differ as to this particular is, that some with *Thucydides* (22), say, that the whole army was employed in subduing the *Trojan* allies; while others, with *Herodotus*, tell us, that a considerable body of troops was encamped the whole time before *Troy*.

(21) *Iliad.* 5(22) *lib.* i. p. 9.

Ccc ?

Agamemnon

Agamemnon and *Achilles*; for *Agamemnon* being obliged by the soothfayer *Calchas* to return his fair captive to her father a priest of *Apollo*, to appease that revengeful deity, took *Bri-seis* in her room, who in the division of the booty had fallen to *Achilles*. This affront *Achilles* revenged by withdrawing his forces, and retiring with them on board his vessels. In his absence several battles were fought with great slaughter on both sides, the victory generally inclining to the *Trojans*. In one of these *Patroclus* was slain by *Hector*; but his death was not long unrevenged, for *Achilles* returning to the camp put the *Trojans* to flight, and revenged the death of his friend by killing *Hector* himself. *Achilles* did not long outlive him, being slain by *Paris*. Thus fell many of the chief leaders on both sides, but the *Greeks* at last carried the city; whether by force, stratagem, or treachery, is uncertain. All writers agree, that it was taken by night: Some say, that *Aeneas* and *Antenor*, who commanded the *Dardanians*, seeing that *Priam* would hearken to no terms, even after the death of *Hector* and *Paris*, concluded a separate peace with the *Greeks*, betraying the city into their hands. The poets tell us, that it was taken by the contrivance of a wooden horse, which fable some think to have had its birth from the *Greeks* entering the city by the *Scaean* gate, over which was the picture or statue of a horse. Perhaps they entered the town through a breach made in the wall by some wooden engine, called a horse, and in the nature of that which the *Romans* in after-ages made use of to batter the walls, and from its shape called a *Ram*. Be that as it will, the *Greeks*, having at last mastered the city, practised all the cruelties and abominations which a cruel, hungry, and enraged enemy can be guilty of. The city was laid in ashes, and such of the inhabitants as had not time to save themselves by flight, were either put to the sword without distinction of sex or age, or carried by the conqueror into captivity. And thus ended the kingdom of *Troy*, after having stood, from *Teucer* to *Priam*, 296 years, according to the most exact computations. The city was taken the 24th day of the month *Thargelion*, or *April*, 1184 years before Christ.

Troy
taken.

Year of
the Flood,
1815.
Year be-
fore Christ
1184.



THE *Greeks*, having at last put an end to the war, divided the booty, and put to sea in order to return to their respective homes, but met with many adventures, many of them being driven on far distant coasts. *Menestheus* king of *Athens* died at *Melos*. *Teucer* the son of *Telamon* settled in *Cyprus*, where he built a city calling it *Salamis*, from the chief city of his own country, which bore that name. *Agapenor*, who commanded the

the

the *Arcadians*, built in the same island the city of *Paphos*. *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles* settled in *Epirus*, and there built *Ephyra*. *Ajax* the son of *Oileus* was lost. Some of the *Locrians* were driven on the coasts of *Afric*, others to *Italy*, whereof all the east part was called *Magna Græcia*, by reason of the many towns built there by the *Greeks*. Many, who got safe home, were obliged to put to sea again, as *Thucydides* informs us ^u, in quest of new seats, others having seized their territories, and usurped the sovereignty, during their absence. *Agamemnon* and his brother *Menelaus* fell out when they were upon the point of weighing anchor to return home, and their quarrel divided the whole fleet, some sailing with *Menelaus* to the island of *Tenedos*, and others remaining with *Agamemnon* on the coasts of *Troas*. Those, who followed *Menelaus*, not agreeing among themselves, parted, each holding his own course homewards. *Agamemnon* arrived safe at *Mycenæ*, where he was soon after his arrival murdered by his wife *Clytemnestra*; but his son *Orestes* revenged his death by the murder of *Clytemnestra*, of *Ægisthus* her gallant, and of *Helen* their daughter; for which murders he was tried and acquitted by the *Areopagus*. The adventures of *Ulysses* are related by *Homer* in a fabulous manner; but what may have some foundation in history is, that some years passed before he got home. The adventures of the other *Greeks* are less known; but upon the whole it appears, that this war proved no less fatal to the conquerors than to the conquered.

As for the *Trojans*, those who escaped the general slaughter, seeing their country utterly ruined, took their measures accordingly, and settled in distant regions. *Antenor*, as we have said already, established himself in *Italy*, and founded the nation of the *Heneti*. *Helenus*, one of *Priam's* sons settled in *Macedonia*, where he built the city of *Ilium*. Some say, that during the siege he went over to the *Greeks*, and shewed them in what manner they might easily master the city.

As to *Æneas*, all the *Roman* writers assure us, that he settled in *Italy*, and there founded the kingdom of *Alba*. From him the *Cæsars* affected to derive their pedigree, as the other *Romans* did theirs from the *Trojans* who accompanied him. *Livy* alone seems to betray some sort of doubt as to this particular, insinuating, with a great deal of reserve, that he has not sufficient grounds either to admit or reject the common opinion. But, notwithstanding the unanimous consent of

^u lib. i.

the *Latins*, there are not wanting arguments of great weight, which the learned *Bochart*^w has carefully collected, to evince the arrival of *Æneas* in *Italy* to be a mere fable (R).

THE

^w *Bochart. Quest. num Æneas unquam fuerit in Italia.*

(R) In the first place this opinion is directly opposite to that of *Homer* (23), who supposes *Æneas* to have remained in *Phrygia*; for he introduces *Neptune*, whom he represents favourable to *Æneas* on all occasions, and averse from *Priam* and his whole race, assuring him, that he and his posterity should reign over the *Trojans*, which the poet would never have done, had he not known that *Æneas* and his posterity had reigned, or were actually reigning in his time. It is the custom of poets to introduce their deities or prophets telling before-hand that such things will happen as the poet knows to have already happened; but no poet ever made them utter such things as he knew neither did nor could happen, which would be *Homer's* case if *Æneas* had not reigned in *Phrygia*. To this argument some answer, that *Æneas*, after settling a colony in *Italy*, returned to *Phrygia*, and reigned over the few *Phrygians* that outlived the destruction of their country. As this answer has no manner of foundation in history, it is scarce worth refuting. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* (24) is of opinion, that *Neptune*, or rather *Homer*, meant only, that *Æneas* was to reign over such *Phrygians* as accompanied him, or over a *Phrygian* colony. But this is no more than what happened to *Antenor*, *Acestes*, *Capys*, *Helenus*, and others; whereas the poet's intent is to make *Neptune* distinguish *Æneas* from the other *Phrygians* by some particular marks of his favour. Besides, the words of *Venus* in the hymn which is generally ascribed to *Homer* ἐν Τρωσὶ Διὶ ἀνὰ ἄλγυς are capable of no other sense, but that *Æneas* shall reign in the country of the *Trojans*; and in this sense they are understood by *Strabo* (25), who tells us in express terms, that *Æneas* remained in the country of the *Trojans*, that the family of *Priam* being extinct, the crown fell to him, and was by him transmitted to his posterity. *Eustathius* thinks (26), that when *Homer* introduces *Neptune* promising to *Æneas*, that he and his posterity should reign over the *Trojans*, the poet by the *Trojans* meant the *Romans*; and because it might be objected, that *Homer* could have no knowledge of the *Romans*, being dead long before the foundation of *Rome*, he adds, that *Homer* had either seen the oracles of the *Sibyls*, which derive the *Roman* princes from *Æneas*, or had himself foreseen, as most poets are endowed with the gift of prophecy, that the *Romans* were to descend from *Æneas* and be masters of the world. But as to the books of the *Sibyls*, *Homer* certainly never did, nor could, see them; for they

(23) *Iliad*. 20. (24) *lib* i. (25) *lib*. xiii. (26) *In Iliad* 20.

THE city of *Troy* being utterly ruined, and most of the inhabitants of *Troas* put to the sword, some writers tell us, that the neighbouring *Phrygians* and *Lydians*, possessing themselves of that country, settled there, and that *Troas* from that time began to be called *Phrygia*; others are of opinion, that *Æneas*, having gathered together the scattered remains of the *Trojans*, rebuilt the city, and that his descendants and the descendants of *Hector* reigned there till the country was subdued by the *Lydians*, who became so powerful as to over-run all *Asia Minor*. If the *Trojans* had any kings of their own after their city was destroyed by the *Greeks*, they must needs have made but a very indifferent figure, since they are not so much as named in history.

were forged, as several writers have demonstrated, above a thousand years after *Homer's* time; and as to the spirit of prophecy, which *Eustathius* is pleased to bestow upon poets, every one sees that it has not the least appearance of truth. To the authority of *Homer* we may add that of *Agathocles Cyzicensis*, quoted by *Festus* (27), who cites many authors affirming *Æneas* to have been buried in the city of *Berecynthia*, by the river *Nolos* (or, as others read, *Gallus*) not far from *Troy*. *Stephanus* informs us, that the city of *Ascania* in *Phrygia* was built by *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas*, wherein he agrees with *Nicolaus Damascenus*. *Mela* tells us, that the city of *Antandros* was so called, because *Ascanius* who reigned there, being taken by the *Pelasgi*, yielded this city to them for his ransom. *Hellanicus* in his *Troica* makes *Æneas* fly into *Thrace*, and from thence to *Pallene*; but as to *Ascanius*, he says, that he remained in *Troas* and reigned there. *Strabo* assures us, that the city of *Scepsis*, in former times situate near *Troy*, was removed from thence sixty furlongs by *Scamander* the son of *Hector* and *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas*; and adds, that these two families reigned for many years in that city; and that the monarchical form of government being first changed into an oligarchy, and afterwards into a democracy, nevertheless such as were descended from these two families were still honoured with the title of kings. To these authorities *Bochart* (28) adds two arguments of no small weight, namely, that the chief deities of the antient *Trojans*, viz *Venus*, *Apollo*, *Cybele*, &c. were for a long time quite unknown to the *Romans*, and that there is not the least similitude imaginable between the antient *Phrygian* and *Roman* language, which he proves by producing the few *Phrygian* words that have been transmitted to us. This, however, is no exception to *Virgil's* divine and inimitable *Æneid*; for he advances nothing but what was vouched by all the historians, orators, antiquaries, critics, and poets, who had flourished before him. Neither is it the duty of a poet to contradict an opinion which a whole nation holds for indubitable.

(27) *Festus voce Roma.*(28) *Ubi supra.*

C H A P. XIV.

The HISTORY of the MYSIANS.

S E C T. I.

The description of the country, the manners, customs, religion, &c. of the inhabitants.

Name.

THE small country before us is thought to have borrowed its name from the *Lydian* word *Mysos* signifying a *beech-tree*, because that tree remarkably abounded here. It was divided into the *Greater* and *Lesser Mysia*. *Mysia Minor* or the *Lesser Mysia* lay on the *Propontis*, and from thence extended to mount *Olympus*, being bounded by *Bithynia* and the *Propontis* on the north and west, by *Phrygia Minor* on the south, and by *Phrygia Major* on the east. *Mysia Major* or the *Greater Mysia* was bounded on the north by *Phrygia Minor*, on the south by *Æolia*, on the east by *Phrygia Major*, and on the west by the *Ægean* sea. What *Strabo*, whom we have followed, calls *Mysia Minor*, *Ptolemy* calls *Mysia Major*; the former is also named *Olympena* from mount *Olympus*, and *Hellepontica* because some towns antiently belonging to it were seated on the *Hellepont*. That part of *Mysia* which lay between *Ancyra* of *Phrygia* and the river *Rhyndacus* is called by *Strabo* *Abrettana*, and the remaining part *Morone*. The former denomination is often given to all *Mysia*.

IN that part of *Mysia Minor* which lay on the *Propontis* were the following cities: *Cyzicus* or *Cyzicum* seated in an island of the *Propontis* bearing the same name, but joined to the continent with two bridges by *Alexander the Great*. It borrowed its name from *Cyzicus* king of that island and the adjacent continent, who is said to have been killed through mistake by *Jason* the *Argonaut*. This city, when first known

†

to

to the *Romans*, was one of the greatest and richest of all *Asia*, and hence was stiled by *Florus* the *Rome* of *Asia*, and celebrated by him and all the other *Latin* writers for its walls, bulwarks, haven, marble towers, &c. *. Among its many magnificent buildings the chief temple is mightily cried up by the antients ; the whole structure was of polished marble, and the joinings all covered with lines of gold ; the pillars were four cubits thick and fifty high, each of one piece. The statue of *Jupiter*, which stood in the temple, was of ivory, and most exquisite workmanship †. In after-ages this city made a glorious stand against *Mithridates*, who lost under its walls no fewer than 300,000 men, and after all could not conquer it. However, the antient inhabitants of this city and island were generally deemed a cowardly and effeminate race ; infomuch, that when any one behaved himself in an unmanly manner, or through fear did what was unbecoming, he was contemptuously called a *Cyzican* ‡. *Tully* § represents those of his time as a quiet and inoffensive sort of people, enemies to plots or tumults, averse from war, and of a turn to enjoy the sweets of peace, whatever they cost. The current coin of this island, called *Stater* and weighing eighteen drams, was engraved with such nicety, exactness, and skill, that they were looked upon in those days as a miracle of art (S). The inhabitants pretended to a very great antiquity, and believed, that their city had been given by *Jupiter* to *Proserpine* for her dowry, and on that account worshipped her as their chief deity. As for the beauty, greatness, riches, and laws of this city, we refer our reader to *Appian* ¶. It was ruined by an earthquake, and the fallen marbles and pillars were conveyed to *Constantinople* to embellish that city. Under the *Romans* it was the metropolis of the *Consular Hellespont*, but is at present little better than a village, and known under the names of *Chizico*, *Spiga*, and *Palormi*.

* *Florus*, lib. iii. c. 5. † *Xiphilinus* in *Dione*. *Plin.* l. xxxvi. c. 15. ‡ *Hesychius*. *Erasm.* *Chiliad.* § *Act.* iii. in *Verr.* ¶ *Appian.* in *Mithridatico*.

(S) This gave birth to the *Greek* proverb *Κυζικηνὸν σαρπίς* an expression used in commending any eminent performance in the art of engraving ; as if the *Cyzician stateres* were the utmost effort of that art. This coin represented on one side *Cybele* the great mother of the gods, and a lion on the other, which has made some imagine the abovementioned proverb to be a taunt on those who talk big and affect to appear like lions, though they be in effect as timid and fearful as women (29).

(29) *Erasm.* *Chiliad.*

Parium, so called, as some writers inform us, from *Parus* the son of *Jason*. Some think, that *Archilochus*, the famous writer of *Iambics*, was a native of this place. In this city was a naked *Cupid* much celebrated by the antients, and deemed no ways inferior to the famous *Venus* of *Cnidos*. In the neighbourhood of this city lived the *Ophiogenes* mentioned by *Pliny*^c, who are said to have had the gift of curing the bitings of serpents with their touch. Not far from hence stood a stately temple of *Apollo Aetæus* and *Diana*, which being demolished, the ruins were employed to build an altar at *Parium*, which was looked upon as one of the miracles of *Asia*. The antient *Parians* were a colony of *Milesians*, and the more modern of the *Romans*, who in all this province had but two colonies, namely *Parium* and *Troas*. *Homer* makes *Parium* and *Adraastia* one and the same city; but *Strabo* distinguishes them. *Parium* is now reduced to a village, but retains its antient name.

Lampsacus or *Lampsacum* was seated at the entrance of the *Propontis* over-against *Callipolis* in the *Thracian Chersonese*. It was built, according to some, by the *Phocenses*, according to others by *Priapus*, who was a native of this city and the most infamous of all the heathen deities. This city, as we are told, borrowed its name from a young woman named *Lampsaces*. It had a capacious and safe harbour and a noble temple consecrated to *Cybele*. It was in antient times famous for its wine, and on that consideration given by *Artaxerxes* to *Themistocles* in his exile. *Alexander the Great* conceived such an aversion to this city for the lewdness and vices of the inhabitants, that he resolved to lay it in ashes; which the inhabitants having timely notice of, dispatched deputies to intercede for mercy, and avert if possible their impending doom. They no sooner appeared before *Alexander*, but the incensed monarch, to redeem himself from their importunity, solemnly vowed, that he would deny their request. Whereupon *Anaximenes*, who was at the head of that embassy, addressed the king thus: Most just and powerful monarch, the inhabitants of *Lampsacus*, having been so unhappy as to incur your royal displeasure, and desiring to atone for the enormous crimes that could provoke the wrath of so merciful a prince, have sent us to beg, that you would utterly destroy their unfortunate city, a punishment richly deserved by those who could provoke your displeasure. This unexpected request, and the vow which *Alexander*, being bent on its destruction, had made to reject the deputies petition, was its preservation.

^c lib. vii. c. 2.

Priapus was worshipped here in a particular manner, and his temple was a perfect sink of lewdness, a very school of the most unnatural lusts. *Tully* * represents the inhabitants of *Lampsacus* as a quiet and indolent sort of people, and more fit to relish the ease of peace, than suffer the toils of war. This city is still in a tolerable good condition, situated in a pleasant plain, and surrounded with vineyards, which are fenced in with pomegranate-trees, and produce excellent wine. The *Greeks* call it *Lampsaco*, and the *Turks* *Lepseck*. These were the chief cities of *Mysia Minor* seated on the coast.

WE will not take on us to mark out the bounds of the midland *Mysia*, which, according to *Strabo*, lay between the river *Rhyndacus* and mount *Ida*. Here *Stephanus* places the city of *Apollonia* on the banks of the *Rhyndacus*, which rises from a lake bearing the name of the city. This lake called now the lake of *Abouillona* is five and twenty miles in compass, and eight miles wide, being interspersed with several islands and peninsulas, whereof the largest, which is three miles in circuit, is called *Abouillona*. As the village situate in this island bears the same name, some modern travellers ^d take it to be the antient city of *Apollonia* (U), which was once a city of great note, and maintained its antient lustre to the reign of the emperor *Alexis Comnenus*, when it was taken and pillaged by the *Turks*, as his daughter *Anna Comnena* informs us. *Apollo* was undoubtedly the chief deity of this city, for, besides that it bore his name, he is represented on the reverse of several medals of this city ^e.

THE chief rivers of *Mysia Minor* are the *Rhyndacus* and the *Granicus*. The *Rhyndacus*, called by *Pliny* *Lycus*, and by the moderns *Lartacho*, has its source in the lake of *Apollonia*, or *Artynia*, as *Pliny* names it, and falls into the *Propontis* near *Cyzicus*. This river is memorable in the *Roman* history for the overthrow of *Mithridates*, who, designing to surprise *Lucullus*, was himself surprized by that great commander, and his army cut to pieces on the banks of this

* *Act.* iii. in *Ver.* ^d *TOURNEFORT* voyage au Levant, &c.
^e *TOURNEFORT* ubi supra.

(U) *Vaillant*, who visited those places, describes *Apollonia* as seated on the top of a hill, at the foot of which runs the *Rhyndacus*; but this learned traveller mistook the city of *Lopadi*, or as the *Turks* call it, *Ulubat*, for the antient *Apollonia*, not being aware, that the inhabitants of *Apollonia* for the conveniency of their commerce removed from *Apollonia* to *Lopadi*, giving the name of the city they had forsaken to this their new habitation; it being manifest from *Anna Comnena*, that in her time *Lopadi* bore also the name of *Apollonia*.

river. The *Granicus* rises on mount *Ida*, and discharges itself into the *Propontis* between *Parium* and *Cyzicus*. This river *Alexander* crossed at the head of 30000 *Macedonians* in face of the *Persian* army 600000 strong. Travellers observe, that its banks are very high and steep on the west side ; so that the forces of *Darius* had a considerable advantage, had they known how to use it. This river at present is called the *Sousoughirli*, which is the name of a village it waters (W).

In this part of *Mysia* stands mount *Olympus*, called by the antients *Olympus Mysiorum* to distinguish it from several other mountains of the same name. It is one of the highest mountains in *Asia*, and great part of the year covered with snow.

THE city of greatest note in *Mysia Major* was *Pergamus*, seated in a spacious plain on the banks of the *Caicus*. It was the royal seat of the *Attalic* kings and of *Eumenes*, and enriched with a library containing 200,000 choice volumes, for the transcribing of which parchment was here first invented, and thence called by the *Latins* *Charta Pergamena*. *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* gave occasion to this useful contrivance by prohibiting the exportation of the *Egyptian* papyrus, in order to defeat the design of *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, which was to cause all the valuable books then extant to be carefully transcribed, and by that means make a collection that might vie with *Ptolemy's* famous library at *Alexandria*. In *Pergamus* were likewise invented those costly hangings which we call *Tapestry*, and the *Romans* named *Aulæa* from *Aula* signifying a hall, because the hall of *Attalus*, who invented them, was the first room adorned with this furniture. *Galen* the famous *Physician* was born in this city. Here *Æsculapius* is said to have practised physic. We must not forget that *Pergamus* was one of the seven churches mentioned in the *Revelations*. It is now an inconsiderable place, and thinly inhabited. There are still to be seen in the neighbouring fields the ruins of the palace of the *Attalic* kings, of an aqueduct, and a theatre.

ON the coasts of the *Greater Mysia* were seated the following cities, *Antandros*, *Scepsis*, *Affos*, *Adramyttium*, *Pitane*, &c.

Soil and
climate.

THE soil of this country is one of the finest and richest of

(W) *Spon* mistakes the *Fourtissar*, as it is now called, for the *Granicus*. The *Fourtissar* is a small brook rising on mount *Tininus*, which some, through mistake, think to be the *Caicus* of the antients.

Asia,

Asia, and as such celebrated by the antients ^f. It chiefly abounded in corn and wine, was well stocked with cattle, and had a great many large plains proper for pasturing them. It was plentifully watered with small rivers running down from mount *Ida* and mount *Olympus*. In short, the *Mysians*, as *Philostratus* informs us, with respect to their country, were the happiest of all the *Asiatics*.

As to the origin of the *Mysians*, *Herodotus* ^g informs us, *Origin.* that they were *Lydians* by descent. According to his account, *Manes*, the first king of *Lydia*, was father to *Cotys*, and *Cotys* to *Atys*, who had three sons, *Lydus*, *Mysus*, and *Cares*. From *Lydus* the *Lydians*, formerly called *Mæones* from *Mæon* the father of *Cybele*, borrowed their name. *Mysus* and *Cares* planted *Lydian* colonies in the neighbouring countries, which from them were named *Mysia* and *Caria*. Others derive them from the *Phrygians*, and tell us that *Mysus*, was not a *Lydian* but a *Phrygian*. *Strabo* derives the *Asiatic Mysians* from those of *Europe*, inhabiting that tract which lies between mount *Hermus* and the *Danube*, and is now known under the names of *Bosnia*, *Servia*, and *Bulgaria*. There are divers other opinions touching the origin of this people, which it would be of no use to relate, as they are mostly founded on distorted and far-fetched etymologies.

As to the character of the antient *Mysians*, it must be con- *Character.* sidered at different times ; for they seem to have been once a warlike people. *Herodotus* ^h and *Pliny* ⁱ speak of a very powerful army of *Mysians* and *Trojans*, which before the *Trojan* war, passing over the *Bosphorus* into *Europe*, subdued all *Thrace*, and advancing to the *Ionian* sea penetrated as far as the river *Peneus*. But in after-ages they degenerated from the valour of their ancestors, so as to be looked upon as the most contemptible and insignificant nation on the earth ; insomuch, that the *Greeks* ^k had no expression to signify more emphatically a person of no worth or merit, than to call him *the last of the Mysians*. They were prone to tears, and on that account employed by the *Greeks* ^l to attend their funerals, and lament over the deceased. Their language was in all likelihood the same as the *Phrygian* and *Trojan*, with some variation of dialect. As to their manners, customs, arts, and sciences we are quite in the dark. Their trade we can only guess at from their situation and wealth ; for *Philostratus* in-

^f VIRG. GEORG. l. i. vers. 103. ^g lib. i. & vii. ^h lib. vii. ⁱ lib. vii. c. 6. ^k STRAB. l. xii. Cic. pro Flacco. ^l ÆSCHYL. in Persis. ERASM. Chiliad.

forms us, that in antient times they were the most wealthy nation of all *Asia*.

Religion. THEIR religion was much the same with that of the neighbouring *Phrygians*, whom they did not fall short of in superstition. They worshipped the same deities, and used the same religious ceremonies, which has made some believe them to be originally *Phrygians*. *Cybele* had a stately and rich temple at *Cyzicus*, and *Apollo Aëtæus* near *Parium*. *Nemesis* also is numbered among their deities, and was worshipped in a magnificent temple built by king *Adrastus* not far from the city of *Parium*, whence both the country and the goddess were named *Adrastia*. *Priapus* was worshipped by the more modern *Mysians*, but unknown to them even in *Hesiod's* time. The *Mysian* priests abstained from flesh, and were not allowed to marry. It was a ceremony practised among them to sacrifice a horse, and eat his entrails, before they were admitted to the priesthood.

Their history. CONCERNING their government, thus much appears that it was monarchical. We find no mention made of their kings till the *Argonautic* expedition; but authors are of opinion, that they had kings long before that time. *Diodorus* ^m tells us, that they lived in subjection to *Ninus*, by whom they had been conquered, and to the *Assyrian* kings that succeeded him. After the destruction of *Troy* and dispersion of the *Trojans*, the *Mysians* possessed themselves of great part of that country, which they held till they were conquered by *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*.

Olympus. THE first king of *Mysia* we find mentioned is called *Olympus*: He is said to have married *Nipæa* the daughter of *Jasius* or *Jasion*, brother to *Dardanus* king of *Troy* ⁿ.

Teuthras. *Teuthras* appears next; it is uncertain whom he succeeded; he is said to have reigned over the *Mysians*, *Cilicians*, and *Ceteans* ^o. He married *Auge* daughter to *Aleus* the king of *Arcadia's* son ^p. As he had no issue male, he gave his daughter *Agriope*, whom he had by his first wife, in marriage to *Telephus* his second wife's son by *Hercules* ^q (X). He built a city

^m lib. ii. cap. 1. ⁿ Scholiast. Apoll. p. 155. ^o STRAB. l. xiii. ^p DIODOR. l. iv. c. iii. ^q STRAB. l. xiii.

(X) *Euripides*, quoted by *Strabo* (30), informs us, that *Telephus* was a natural son of *Hercules* by *Auge*; and adds, that her father *Aleus* caused both her and her child to be locked up in a chest and

city calling it *Teuthrania*, which name became common to the country where the new city stood, and in process of time to all *Mysia* ^r. He had another daughter by name *Tecmessa*, who, in the division of the booty, which the *Greeks* had got in plundering *Mysia*, fell to *Ajax* the son of *Telamon*.

Teuthras was succeeded by *Telephus* a natural son of *Her-* Telephus.
cules by *Auge*. *Telephus*, being exposed by his grandfather's order on mount *Parthenius*, was nursed there by a hind till he was found by the shepherds of one *Corythus*, who brought him up as his own child. Being desirous, when he was grown up, to find out his mother, he was directed by an oracle to steer his course towards *Mysia*, where he was received with incredible joy, not by his mother only, but also by king *Teuthras* her husband, who, being taken with this extraordinary youth, bestowed his daughter on him and appointed him his heir. In the *Trojan* war he first sided with king *Priam*, and was dangerously wounded by *Achilles*; but was afterwards prevailed upon by the *Greeks* to stand neuter ^s. *Pausanias* and *Aristides* tell us, that he planted a colony of *Arcadians* in the neighbourhood of *Pergamus*. *Jornandes* ^t makes him king of the *Goths*, wherein he confounds the *Europæan* with the *Asiatic Mysians*; for those of *Europe*, whom *Pliny* calls *Mæsiens*, are thought to be descended from the *Mysians* of *Asia*. *Telephus* had two sons, *Eurypylus* and *Latinus*: *Eurypylus*, according to some ^u, was killed in the *Trojan* war, according to others succeeded his father, or reigned over the *Cilicians* ^w. *Latinus* is said to have led a colony of *Ceteans* into *Italy* ^x.

Eurypylus left one son by name *Arius*, who succeeded his Arius.
father or grandfather, and was slain in a single combat by *Amphialus* the son of *Neoptolemus*, who possessed himself of the kingdom of *Mysia* ^y. We read of no other kings of *Mysia* till many ages after, when the *Attalic* family reigned at *Pergamus*, which we shall speak of in its proper place.

^r PINDAR. in Olymp. ^s DIODOR. lib. iv. STRAB. l. xiii.
APOLLODOR. STEPHAN. &c. ^t De rebus Geticis. ^u Calaber. l. vi. vii. viii. ^w STRAB. l. xiii.
^x CEDRENU. p. 115. ^y PAUSANIAS in Atticis.

thrown into the sea; that the chest was by the provident care of *Pallas* guided to the mouth of the river *Caicus*, and that *Teuthras*, who at that time reigned there, falling in love with *Auge*, married her, and, as he had no children of his own, adopted her son *Telephus*, declaring him his heir and successor to the crown.

C H A P. XV.

The History of the LYDIANS.

S E C T. I.

The description of LYDIA.

Name.

WHENCE this country borrowed the name of *Lydia* is not determined. Some, led by the affinity of Words, derive it from *Lud*, *Shem's* fourth son, whom they pretend to have settled here. But this opinion we shall examine, when we come to enquire into the origin of the *Lydians*. All the antient writers tell us, that *Lydia* was first called *Mæonia* or *Meonia* from *Meon* king of *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, and that it was known under no other name till the reign of *Atys*, when it began to be called *Lydia* from his son *Lydus*. *Bochart*², finding in his learned collection of *Phœnician* words the verb *Lud* signifying *to wind*, and observing that the country we are speaking of is watered by the *Mæander* so famous for its windings, concludes, that it was thence named *Lydia* or *Ludia*. As to *Meon* and *Lydus*, he rids himself of them at once, by denying that there ever were any such persons. To support this opinion, he endeavours to prove, that the *Phœnicians*, and after them *Moses*, who, in the description of countries, made use of their terms, gave the name of *Lud* not only to *Lydia* on the banks of the *Mæander*, but likewise to *Æthiopia*, where the *Nile*, as *Herodotus* observes³, has as many turnings and windings as the *Mæander* itself. Now as these two countries, lying on the two most winding rivers that were then known, were named *Lud*, which word signifies *to bend* or *wind*, who can doubt, says he, but they had their common denomination from the rivers which watered them? As to the antient name of *Mæonia*, he takes it to be a *Greek* translation of the *Phœnician* word *Lud*, wherein he agrees, in some measure, with *Stephanus*, who derives the name of *Mæonia* from *Mæon* the antient name of

² Phaleg. l. ii. c. 12.³ lib. ii. c. 29.

†

the



the *Mæander*. Some take the word *Mæonia* to be a translation of a *Hebrew* word signifying *metal*, because that country, say they, was in former times enriched above any other with mines.

THOUGH *Lydia* and *Mæonia* are by most authors indifferently used for one and the same country, yet they are sometimes distinguished, that part, where mount *Tmolus* stood, and which was watered by the *Pactolus*, being properly called *Mæonia*, and the other lying on the coast, *Lydia*. This distinction is used, as *Spanhemius* observes ^b, by *Homer*, *Callimachus*, *Dionysius*, and other antient writers. In after ages, when the *Ionians*, who had planted a colony on the coast of the *Ægean* sea, began to make some figure, that part was called *Ionia*, and the name of *Lydia* given to the antient *Mæonia*.

Lydia, according to *Pliny*^c, *Ptolemy*, and other antient geographers, was bounded by *Mysia Major* on the north, by *Caria* on the south, by *Phrygia Major* on the east, and *Ionia* on the west, lying between the 37th and 39th degrees of north latitude. What the antients style the kingdom of *Lydia* was not confined within these narrow boundaries, chiefly under the latter kings, but extended from the river *Halys* to the *Ægean* sea. *Pliny*'s description includes *Æolia*, lying between the *Hermus* and the *Caicus*, but that tract we shall consider apart.

THE chief cities of *Lydia* were *Sardis*, the metropolis of that kingdom and the seat of king *Cræsus*. This city stood on the banks of the *Pactolus* at the foot of mount *Tmolus*. The *Persians* thought *Sardis* of such consequence after it fell into their hands, that *Xerxes*, hearing it was taken by the *Greeks*, commanded one of his attendants to cry aloud every day while he was at dinner; *The Greeks have taken Sardis*; which was continued till he recovered the city. It was utterly ruined by an earthquake, and rebuilt by *Tiberius*. There are still to be seen the ruins of a large palace and two magnificent churches with a great many pillars and cornices of marble. Not far from *Sardis* stands a village of the same name, which some take to be that *Sardis* which is mentioned in the *Revelations*, and was one of the seven churches. Near this city was to be seen in *Herodotus*'s time ^d the sepulchre of *Alyattes* father to *Cræsus*, whereof the foundation was of stone, but the whole superstructure of earth, being

^b Ad Callimachi hymnum in Delum, vers. 250.
c. 29.

^d HERODOT. l. i.

^c Lib. v.

six furlongs and 200 foot in circumference, and a thousand three hundred foot in breadth.

Philadelphia, formerly the second city of *Lydia*, and so called from *Attalus Philadelphus* brother to *Eumenes*, stood in a spacious and fruitful plain on the north side of mount *Tmolus*. In this city were antiently celebrated the common feasts of all *Asia*, as appears from an inscription quoted by *Spon*^c. It was one of the seven *Churches*, and continued to make a good figure under the *Greek* emperors. It was the last in *Asia Minor* that submitted to the *Turks*, and that upon very honourable terms after six years siege. Among the *Greeks* it retains its antient name, but is known to the *Turks* by the name of *Allachsbeyer*. Part of the antient walls is still remaining, with the ruins of an amphitheatre, and some sepulchres, whence the bodies, according to an antient tradition among the inhabitants, were transported by the *Christians* into *Europe*.

Thyatira, a colony of the *Macedonians*, as *Strabo* informs us, was situated in a pleasant plain not far from the river *Hermus*. This city was another of the seven churches, and its present ruins testify its former grandeur. The *Greeks* call it *Thyra*, and the *Turks* *Akbisar*. It is a place of some trade for corn and cotton, and inhabited by about 5000 *Turks*.

Magnesia, by the *Turks* called *Guzethisar*, seated on the *Mæander*, was formerly a city of great note, as the ruins of many stately buildings demonstrate. Here *Themistocles* died, this being one of the three towns that *Xerxes* allotted to him for his subsistence during his exile. It is still a large, handsome, and well-built city. Another city of the same name stood at the foot of mount *Sipylus* on a rising ground, whence it commanded a very large and beautiful plain, famous in history for many battles fought there, but especially for that between *Antiochus* and the *Romans* under the command of *Scipio*, which decided the fate of *Asia*. This city was for some time the seat of the *Ottoman* empire, and is still the capital of *Carasia*.

MOUNT *Sipylus* is the only one in *Lydia* of any note. The goddess *Sipylene* took her name from this mountain; or rather *Cybele* was called *Sipylene*, because she was worshipped in a particular manner on mount *Sipylus*. And hence on the reverse of almost all the antient medals of *Magnesia* this goddess is represented, sometimes on the frontispiece of a temple with four pillars, and sometimes in a chariot. *Plutarch* informs us, that mount *Sipylus* was likewise named the *Thun-*

^c Voyage d'Italie, &c.

der mountain, because it thundered more frequently there than on any other mountain of *Asia*; and hence we find on the reverse of several medals stamped at *Magnesia*, *Jupiter* armed with thunderbolts. Mount *Imolus*, and in more ancient times *Timolus*, was once very famous for its wine and saffron.

THE rivers of this country, that we shall take notice of, are the *Pactolus*, which rushing from mount *Imolus* waters the city of *Sardis*, and then discharges itself into the *Hermus* or *Sarabat*. It was called by the antients *Chrysoorhoas*, from the colour of its sands which shine like gold. The *Cayster*, celebrated by the poets for the swans that frequented its banks, has its source in *Phrygia Major*, bathes *Lydia*, and empties itself into the *Ægean* sea near *Ephesus*. It has almost as many windings, if *Spon* is to be believed, as the *Mæander* itself, but neither have near so many, according to *Tournefort*, as the *Seine* beneath *Paris*.

As to the origin of the *Lydians*, *Josephus*, and after him *Origin and all the ecclesiastic writers*, derive them from *Lud*, *Shem's antiquity*. fourth son. As this opinion has no other foundation but the similitude of names, there is a strong objection against it, viz. that the *Lydians* were first called *Mæones*, as all the antients agree, and *Lydians* from *Lydus* the son of *Atys*, except we suppose the *Greeks* were deceived, and that, the name of *Mæones* ceasing, they resumed their old name of *Lydians*, which often has happened. But even in that case, we ought perhaps to consider *Lydia* as possessed by the *Ludim*, or posterity of *Lud*, on a second or third remove; for we see no more reason than *Sir Walter Raleigh*[†], why *Lud* should straggle so far from his friends as *Lydia*, according to what we have said elsewhere[‡]. Some of the antients will have the *Lydians* to be a mixt colony of *Phrygians*, *Mysians*, and *Carians*. Others, finding some conformity in religion and religious ceremonies between the *Egyptians* and *Tuscans*, who were a *Lydian* colony, conclude them, without any further evidence, to be originally *Egyptians*. The very similitude of names, which on like occasions is generally ready at hand to help out at a dead list, fails here; which has obliged some writers to take up with arrant fables not worth relating. All we know for certain is, that the *Lydians* were a very ancient nation, as is manifest from their very fables, for *Attis*, *Tantalus*, *Pelops*, *Niobe*, and *Arachne*, are all said to have been the children of *Lydus*. And *Xanthus* in his *Lydiaca*, quoted by *Stephanus*, informs us, that the ancient city of *Ajcalon*,

[†] Book i. cap. viii. sect. 15.

[‡] Vol. I. p. 265.

one of the five satrapies of the *Philistines* mentioned in the books of *Joshua* and the *Judges*, was built by one *Ascalus* a *Lydian*, whom *Alcymus* king of *Lydia* had appointed to command a body of troops which he sent, we know not on what occasion, into *Syria*. The *Heraclidæ*, or kings of *Lydia* descended from *Hercules*, began to reign before the *Trojan* war, and had been preceded by a long series of kings sprung from *Atys*, and hence styled *Atyadæ*, which is a strong proof of the antiquity of that kingdom.

Govern-
ment.

The *Lydians* began very early to be ruled by kings, whose government, so far as we can gather from their conduct, seems to have been truly despotic, and the crown hereditary. We read of three distinct races of kings reigning over *Lydia*, viz. the *Atyadæ*, the *Heraclidæ*, and the *Mermnadæ*. The *Atyadæ* were so called from *Atys*, the son of *Cotys* and grandson of *Manes*. *Manes*, the son of *Jupiter* and *Tellus* and first king of *Mæonia*, had by *Callirhoa*, the daughter of *Oceanus*, one son by name *Cotys*; *Cotys* by *Halia* the daughter of *Ti'llus* had two, *Asius* and *Atys*; from *Asius* *Lydia* borrowed the name of *Asia*, which in process of time became common to the whole continent. *Atys* married *Callithea* the daughter of *Choræus*, and had by her *Lydus* and *Tyrrhenus*. *Lydus* succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Mæonia*, which in his reign began to be called *Lydia*. *Tyrrhenus* led a colony into *Italy*, and settled in *Hetruria*, now *Tuscany*. This is the account *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* gives us of the kings sprung of *Atys*, or the first race of the *Lydian* kings.

THE *Atyadæ* were succeeded by the *Heraclidæ* or the descendants of *Hercules*. For *Hercules*, being by the direction of the oracle sold as a slave to *Omphale* queen of *Lydia*, to expiate thereby the murder of *Iphitus*, had during his captivity by one of her slaves a son named *Cleolaus*, whose grandson by name *Argon* was the first of the *Heraclidæ* that ascended the throne of *Lydia*. This race reigned from *Argon* the first to *Candaules* the last 505 years, the father succeeding the son for 22 generations. They began to reign about, or not long before, the time of the *Trojan* war.

THE third race called *Mermnadæ*, perhaps from one of the family named *Mermnas* (for the antients are silent as to the origin of this appellation) began to reign not long before the *Medes* shook off the *Assyrian* yoke. The *Mermnadæ* were also, properly speaking, *Heraclidæ*, being descended from one *Lemnos*, or, as *Apollodorus* calls him, *Agelaus*, the son of *Hercules* by *Omphale*. The first king of this race was *Gyges*, and *Cræsus* the last.

As to their character, it must be considered at different *Their cha-* times: Under *Cræsus* and some of his predecessors, they were *rafter*. without all doubt a very warlike people; for they reduced all the neighbouring countries, and spread far and wide the terrour of their arms. But being afterwards subdued by the *Persians*, and enjoined by *Cyrus*, according to the advice given him by *Cræsus* (Y), to wear long vests, and apply themselves to such arts and callings only, as had a natural tendency to debauch their manners and enervate their courage, they became by degrees a most voluptuous and effeminate race, unfit for action, and intirely given up to idleness, pleasures and diversions.

THE soil of this country, by reason of the many rivers *The soil*. that watered it, was exceeding fruitful; it abounded in all sorts of grain, and is celebrated for its exquisite wines. It was enriched with several mines, whence *Cræsus* is said to have drawn his immense wealth.

As to the religion of the *Lydians*, it seems to have been *Religion*. much the same with that of the *Phrygians*, which we have already spoke of; they worshipped *Diana*, *Jupiter*, and *Cybele* at *Magnesia* under the name of *Sipylene*; for in the alliance concluded between those of *Smyrna* and *Magnesia* on the *Mæander* in favour of king *Seleucus Callinicus*, both par-

(Y) The *Lydians*, not long after they were conquered by *Cyrus*, rebelled at the instigation of one *Paëtyas* a *Lydian*, whom *Cyrus* had trusted with the gold which he had found in the treasury of *Cræsus* at *Sardis*. With this gold *Paëtyas* putting to sea engaged the maritime powers to join him, and having raised a considerable army of mercenaries, marched to *Sardis*, where he besieged *Tabalus*, whom *Cyrus* had appointed governor of that city. News of this revolt being brought to *Cyrus*, as he was leading his army against the *Babylonians*, *Bactrians*, and *Egyptians*, he resolved to march back into *Lydia*, sell all the *Lydians* for slaves, and at once put an end to that unhappy nation. This resolution he imparted to king *Cræsus* at that time his prisoner, who, fearing the utter ruin of his country, earnestly entreated him to forgive the *Lydians*, and wreak his just anger on *Paëtyas* alone by whom they had been seduced, advising him at the same time, in order to prevent any future rebellion, to forbid the *Lydians* the use of arms, to encourage luxury and debauchery among them, to which they were naturally inclined, and to cause their children to be brought up to such callings only, as were most capable of debauching their minds, and inclining them to idleness. This advice was followed by *Cyrus*, and in a short time the *Lydians* became the most lewd and debauched nation under the sun (31).

ties swore, as appears from the *Arundelian* marbles, by the goddess *Sipylene*. She borrowed this name from mount *Sipylus*, or perhaps from a town of the same name, which, as *Strabo* informs us^h, was ruined by an earthquake in the reign of *Tantalus*. In the same city of *Magnesia* stood a temple of *Diana Leucophryna*, no ways inferior to the so much celebrated temple of *Diana Ephesiana*.

The manners, customs, &c. of the Lydians.

THE customs of the *Lydians* were, as *Herodotus* informs usⁱ, much the same with those of the *Greeks*, except that they used to prostitute their daughters; for the young women among them had no other fortune but what they earned by prostitution; after they had by this means acquired a competent dowry, they were allowed to marry whoever they pleased. They punished idleness as a crime, and inured their children from their very infancy to hardships. Their arms were not bows and arrows, as some have pretended to argue from *Jeremiah* ^k, but long spears, such as were antiently used by the horse; and in horsemanship, if *Herodotus* is to be credited^l, the *Lydians* far excelled all other nations. They were the first that introduced the art of coining gold and silver to facilitate trade; the first that sold by retail, that kept eating-houses and taverns, that invented public sports and shews, which were therefore called *Ludi* by the *Romans*, who borrowed them of the *Tuscan*s, descended, as we shall see anon, from the *Lydians*. *Herodotus* informs us^m, on what occasion they invented those public and several other private diversions. During the reign of *Atys* the son of *Manes*, a great scarcity of provisions prevailed all over the kingdom of *Lydia*, which the inhabitants endured for several years with an astonishing patience. But as the evil continued, in order to divert their minds from the consideration of their unhappy condition, they applied themselves to all manner of diversion, and some inventing one game, others another, they gradually introduced dice, balls, and such other diversions as were in antient times used among the *Greeks*, chess only excepted, whereof the *Lydians*, as we are told by *Herodotus*, do not challenge the invention. Having thus contrived various kinds of diversions, they used to play one whole day without intermission, eating and drinking the next day without amusing themselves with any kind of games. After they had continued thus alternately fasting and feasting, as the scarcity of their provisions could well allow, finding that their calamities increased rather than abated, the king divided the whole nation into two bodies,

^h STRAB. l. i. p. 38.

xlvi. 9.

ⁱ HERODOT. l. i.

^l HERODOT. ubi supra.

^k Jerem.

^m HERODOT. ubi supra.

commanding

commanding them to determine by lot, which of the two should remain at home, and which go abroad in quest of new seats, since their native country could not afford wherewithal to maintain them at home. The king appointed his son *Tyrrhenus* to command those who should be obliged to remove, he himself remaining to reign over those who should have the fortune to stay. Those who by lot were constrained to abandon their country marched to *Smyrna*, where they equipped a small fleet, and putting to sea, after many adventures, arrived in that part of *Italy* which was then called *Umbria*, and now *Tuscany*. Here they changed their name, and were no longer called *Lydians*, but *Tyrrhenians* from their leader *Tyrrhenus*.

THE trade of the antient *Lydians* is no where mentioned ; but we may suppose it to have been very considerable, especially under the latter kings, when *Lydia* was in the meridian of its glory ; whosoever considers the splendor of this monarchy, and commodious situation of the country, cannot doubt, but commerce must here have flourished to a very eminent degree. To this we may add the immense riches not only of the *Lydian* princes, but of several private persons. *Herodotus* ^{Commerce.} mentions one, by name *Pythius*, who not only entertained *Xerxes* and all his army, while he was marching with innumerable forces to invade *Greece* ; but made him a proffer of two thousand talents of silver, and three millions, nine hundred, ninety three thousand pieces of gold bearing the stamp of *Darius*, wherewithal to defray the charges of that war. The same *Pythius* had presented *Darius*, father to *Xerxes*, with a plane-tree and vine of massive gold, and was reckoned, after the kings of *Persia*, the richest man in the then known world.

S E C T. II.

The reigns of the kings of LYDIA.

THE first king of *Lydia* we find mentioned in history is *Masnes*, or *Manes*, as *Herodotus* call him. He is said to have been the son of the earth, which in the language of the antients denotes him to have been of a mean extraction. *Heraclides* mentions an anonymous king of *Lydia*, who, from the abject condition of a journeyman or slave to a cartwright living at *Cyme*, was raised to the throne of

* HERODOT. lib. vii.

Lydia. The same author adds, that as the *Lydians* were disbursing the money for his ransom, a citizen of *Cyme*, for whom the slave was at that time making a cart, insisted on his finishing what he had in hand before he was set at liberty, protesting, that he valued more the glory of having a cart made by the king of *Lydia*, than all the gold they could offer him. This fortunate slave may have been *Mafnes*, since he in regard of his mean descent is called by the antients son of the earth. *Heraclides* does not tell us what induced the *Lydians* to place a slave on the throne; but we may suppose this to have been brought about by the advice of some oracle, as it happened in the case of *Gordius* king of *Phrygia*; for *Heraclides* informs us, that the *Lydians* chose a slave for their king, in hopes of being rescued by his means from the oppressions they groaned under.

Cotys.
Atys.

Mafnes was succeeded by his son *Cotys*, and *Cotys* by his son *Atys*, in whose reigns, as the country was overstocked with inhabitants, the great famine, which we have mentioned above, reigned for the space of 18 years, and obliged the king to divide his subjects, keeping one half of them at home, and sending the other abroad in quest of new settlements, under the conduct of his younger son *Tyrrhenus*.

Lydus.

Atys was succeeded by his son *Lydus*, from whom the country had the name of *Lydia*, having been called to that time *Mæonia*.

Alcymus.

Alcymus appears next: It is uncertain whom he succeeded: He is represented as an excellent prince, and is said to have had nothing so much at heart, as the welfare of his subjects; whence in the seventh year of his reign the whole nation met, as *Suidas* informs us, to offer up prayers and sacrifices for his health and prosperity. *Stephanus* calls him *Alciamus*, and adds, that in his time the city of *Ascalon* was built by *Ascalus*, son of *Hymenæus* and brother to *Tantalus*, who conducted an army of *Lydians* into *Syria*.

Adrymetes.

Adrymetes or *Adramytis* is mentioned by *Athenæus*, and said to have been the first that employed women in such ministries as other kings had done eunuchs.

Cambletes.

Cambletes, *Camblitas*, or *Cambles*, a debauched prince, who murdered his wife, and afterwards revenged her death by laying violent hands on himself. *Athenæus* says, that he was so ravenous as to devour his wife in his sleep, and that finding her hand in his mouth next morning, he was so grieved and ashamed of what he had done, that he put himself to death.

Tmolus.

Tmolus put an end to his life by throwing himself headlong from a precipice, being driven thereto, as *Plutarch* acquaints

us ^a, by *Diana* for ravishing one of her followers, by name *Arrhipe*.

Theoclymenus succeeded his father *Imolus*, of whom we find Theocly- nothing in history, but that he buried his father on mount *menus*. *Imolus*, which from him had its name.

AFTER *Theoclymenus* *Marfyas* reigned, who, on what *Marfyas*. occasion we know not, coming into *Italy*, built there, as we are told by *Solinus* ^o, the city of *Archippena*.

Jardanes succeeded *Marfyas*, and in his reign all manner *Jardanes*. of lewdness prevailed in the kingdom of *Lydia* to such a degree, that *Omphale*, the king's only daughter, could not find shelter even within the walls of the royal palace against the insults of the licentious multitude, the most infamous lusts receiving a kind of sanction from the example of the prince.


ON the death of *Jardanes* his daughter *Omphale* was by the *Omphale*. unanimous votes of the nobles placed on the throne. She punished with great severity those by whom she had been abused in her father's life-time, and by causing the slaves all over the kingdom to be shut up with their mistresses, extended her revenge to the whole nation. But in the mean time falling in love with *Hercules* she gave herself entirely up to him, and had by him a son named *Alcæus*.

Omphale was succeeded by her son *Alcæus*, according to *Alcæus*. some authors, who will have him to have been the first king of *Lydia* of the race of *Hercules*.

AFTER *Alcæus* reigned *Belus*, and after *Belus* his son *Ni- Ninus*. *nus*, of whom we know nothing but their bare names.

Argon succeeded his father *Ninus*, and is said to have trans- *Argon*. ferred the royal seat to *Sardis*. *Herodotus* will have *Argon* to have been the first of the descendants of *Hercules* that reigned in *Lydia*.

Argon was succeeded by his son *Leon*, *Leon* by *Adryfus*, who *Leon, &c.* reigned thirty six years; *Adryfus* by *Alyætes* who reigned fourteen; and *Alyætes* by *Meles*, who reigned twelve.

Candaules the son of *Myrsus* was the last king of this se- *Candaules* cond race, and lost by his imprudence both his life and king- Year of dom. The fact is thus related by *Herodotus* ^p: He had a the Flood, wife whom he passionately loved, and believed the most beautiful 2264. of her sex. He extolled her charms above measure to *Cyges*, Year be- his favourite, whom he used to entrust with his most important fore Chait affairs; and, the more to convince him of her beauty, resol- 735 ved to shew her to him quite naked; and accordingly placed  him in the porch of her chamber, where the queen used to

^a PLUTARCH. de fluviis.
DOT. x. l. i.

^o SOLINUS, lib. vii.

^p HERODOT.

undress when she went to bed, ordering him to retire after seeing her, and take all possible care not to be observed. But notwithstanding all the caution he could use, she plainly discovered him going out, and though she did not doubt but it was her husband's contrivance, yet she passed that night in a seeming tranquility, suppressing her resentment to the next morning, when she sent for *Gyges*, and resolutely told him, that he must either with his death atone for the criminal action he was guilty of, or put to death *Candaules* the contriver of it, and receive both her and the kingdom of *Lydia* for his reward. *Gyges* at first earnestly begged of her, that she would not drive him to the necessity of such a choice. But finding that he could not prevail with her, and that he must either kill his master, or die himself, he chose the former, and being led by the queen to the same place, where her husband had placed him the night before, he stabbed the king while he was asleep, and at the same time married the queen, and took possession of the kingdom, in which he was confirmed by the answer of the *Delphic* oracle. For the *Lydians* having taken up arms to revenge the death of their prince, an agreement was made between them and the followers of *Gyges*, that if the oracle should declare him to be the lawful king of *Lydia*, he should be permitted to reign; if not, he should resign the crown to the *Heraclidæ*. the answer of the oracle proved favourable to *Gyges*, whereupon he was universally acknowledged for lawful king of *Lydia*. *Candaules* is said ^r to have purchased a picture, done by one *Bularchas*, and representing a battle of the *Magnetes*, for its weight in gold, which shews how early the art of painting began to be in request, for *Candaules* was contemporary with *Romulus*.

Gyges.
Year of
the Flood,
2281.
Year be-
fore Christ
718.

Gyges, having thus possessed himself of the kingdom of *Lydia*, sent many rich and valuable presents to the oracle of *Delphi*, among the others six cups of gold weighing thirty talents, and greatly esteemed for the workmanship. He made war on those of *Miletus* and *Smyrna*, took the city of *Ceophon*, and subdued the whole country of *Troas*. In his reign, and by his permission, the city of *Abydos* was built by the *Milesians*. *Plutarch* and other writers relate his accession to the crown of *Lydia* in a quite different manner, and tell us, without making any mention of the queen, that *Gyges* rebelled against *Candaules* and slew him in an engagement. As to his fabulous ring mentioned by *Plato* ^c, and *Tully* ^t, we refer the reader to *Tzetzes*,

^r *PLIN.* lib. xxxv. c. viii. ^c *PLATO* de rep. l. xi. & x. ^t *Cic.* lib. iii. de off.

Suidas, Philostratus, &c. Gyges reigned thirty eight years, and was succeeded by his son *Ardyes*.

Ardyes.

Ardyes or *Ardys* carried on the war against the *Milesians* which his father had begun, and possessed himself of *Priene*, in those days a strong city. In the reign of this prince the *Cimmerians* invaded and over-ran all *Asia Minor*; but what battles were fought between the *Lydians* and these invaders, and with what success, we find no where mentioned. *Herodotus* only informs us^u, that in the time of *Ardyes* they possessed themselves of *Sardis* the metropolis of *Lydia*, but could never win the castle. *Ardyes* reigned forty nine years, and was succeeded by his son

Salyattes.

Sadyattes, who reigned twelve years, and warred most part of his reign with the *Milesians*.

Alyattes.

AFTER him came his son *Alyattes*, who for the space of six years waged a bloody war with *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*. The occasion of this war is thus related by *Herodotus*. Certain *Scythians* being driven out of their country on occasion of a sedition that happened among them, they retired into *Media*, where *Cyaxares* received them with great humanity, and, as he entertained a good opinion of them, committed to their care divers youths to be instructed in the use of the bow, and in the *Scythian* tongue. The strangers were great sportsmen, and used daily to supply the king's table with game, which they dressed after their own manner. But returning one day empty, *Cyaxares*, as he was of a violent temper, treated them with most opprobrious language, which the *Scythians* resenting, agreed among themselves to kill one of the youths committed to their care, and serve his flesh up to the king's table dressed like venison. This they effected and then made their escape into *Lydia*, where they were kindly entertained by *Alyattes*, which, according to *Herodotus*, gave occasion to a war that lasted six years, *Cyaxares* demanding the *Scythians*, and *Alyattes* refusing to deliver them up. This war was carried on with various success, the *Medes* sometimes defeating the *Lydians* and the *Lydians* sometimes the *Medes*. In the sixth year, while both armies were engaged, the day was all on a sudden turned into night (Z), which so frightened both the *Lydians* and *Medes*, that they gave over fighting, and shewed a strong inclination to make up their differences in an amicable manner, which was done accordingly by the mediati-

Year of
the Flood,
2379.
Year be-
fore Christ
620.



^uHERODOT. ubi supra.

(Z) The total eclipse fell upon the 28th of May, and had been foretold by *Thales* the *Milesian* some years before.

on of *Syennesis* king of *Cilicia* and *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*. The peace was ratified by a marriage between *Aryenis* the daughter of *Alyattes* and *Alyages* the son of *Cyaxares* (A). A peace being thus concluded between the *Lydians* and *Medes*, *Alyattes* employed all his forces against the *Scythians*, and, after a war, which lasted several years, had the good luck to rid his kingdom of so troublesome guests. He was attended with the like success in the war he undertook against the *Smyrneans*, whom he worsted in several battles, and at last made himself master of their capital and whole country. He continued for the space of five years the war, which his father had begun against the *Milesians*, ravaging their country, and about harvest time carrying away yearly all their corn, in order to oblige them for want of provisions to surrender their city, which he knew he could not reduce any other way, the *Milesians* being at that time masters of the sea. In the 12th year of this war the *Lydians* having set fire to the corn in the fields, the flames were carried by a violent wind, which happened to blow at the time, to the temple of *Minerva* at *Affesus*, which was burnt down to the ground. Not long after *Alyattes* falling sick sent to consult the oracle at *Delphi*, which refused to return any answer, till such time as the king should rebuild the temple of *Minerva* at *Affesus*. Hereupon *Alyattes* dispatched ambassadors to *Miletus*, enjoining them to conclude a truce with the *Milesians* till the temple should be rebuilt. On the arrival of the ambassadors *Thraſybulus*, then king of *Miletus*, commanded all the corn that was at that time in the city to be brought into the market-place, and the citizens to banquet in public and revel, as if the city were plentifully stored with all manner of provisions. This *Thraſybulus* did to the end, that the ambassadors, seeing such quantities of corn, and the people every-where diverting themselves, might acquaint their master therewithal, and divert

(A) The account which *Herodotus* gives us of the cause of this war seems to some writers highly improbable. And truly it is not very likely, that the *Scythians* falling out among themselves should have had recourse to either of these kings, whose countries the *Scythians* had over run, and oftentimes plundered. They had chiefly reason to distrust *Cyaxares*, for the treachery he had shewn in massacring such of their country-men as had settled in his dominions. Others are of opinion, that *Alyattes*, being jealous of the too great power of *Cyaxares* (who had seized, after the conquest of *Ninive*, the regions belonging to the *Assyrians* as far as to the river *Euphrates*), entered into an alliance with the *Scythians* against the *Medes* and that the war was carried on with the joint forces of the *Lydians* and *Scythians*.

him

him from pursuing the war. As *Thraſybulus* had deſigned, ſo it happened ; for *Alyattes*, who believed the *Mileſians* greatly diſtreſſed for proviſions, receiving a quite different account from his ambaffadors, changed the truce into a laſting peace, and ever afterwards lived in amity and friendſhip with *Thraſybulus* and the *Mileſians*. *Alyattes* had two ſons, *Cræſus* by a *Carian*, and *Pantaleon* by an *Ionian*. *Cræſus* ſucceeded his father after he had reigned fifty ſeven years.

Cræſus, ſucceeding his father at the age of thirty five years, *Cræſus*, enlarged his dominions ſo as to be no ways inferior to any Year of prince of that age, though there were in his time three very ^{the} ſtrong, powerful monarchies, viz. of *Media*, of *Babylon*, and of *Egypt*. *Cræſus* was the firſt that made war on the *Ephēſians*, Before ⁵⁶² *Cræſus*, whoſe city he beſieged and took, notwithſtanding their confe- crating it to *Diana*, and faſtening the walls by a rope to her temple, which was ſeven ſtades diſtant from the city. After the reduction of *Ephēſus* he attacked under various pretences the *Ionians* and *Æolians*, obliging them, and all the other *Greek* ſtates of *Asia*, to pay him a yearly tribute. He alſo formed a deſign of equipping a fleet to attack the inhabitants of the iſlands, but was diverted from this thought by *Eias* of *Priene*, or, as others ſay, by *Pittacus* of *Mitylene* (B). Not long after he ſubdued the *Phrygians*, *Myſians*, *Maryandini*, *Chalybes*, *Paphlagonians*, *Thracians*, *Thynians*, *Euthyrians*, *Carians*, *Dorians*, *Æolians*, *Pamphylians*, and all the nations that lay between *Lydia* and the river *Halys*. *Athenians* out of *Beroſus* mentions a ſignal victory of his over the *Saccæans* a *Scythian* nation, in memory whereof the *Babylonians* his allies yearly celebrated a feaſt, which they called *Sacæa*. *Cræſus* having by theſe victories acquired great ſame and renown, many wiſe men of that age went to *Sardis* on purpoſe to ſee him, and among others *ſolon*, who, after publiſhing his laws at *Athens*, had abſented himſelf from his country under pretence of travelling for the ſpace of ten years, that he might not be obliged to repeal any of the conſtitutions which he had

(B) *Bias* arriving at *Sardis* from *Greece* told *Cræſus*, inquiring what news he brought from thence, that the iſlanders had bought ten thouſand horſes with a deſign to attack him by land, which *Cræſus* believing thanked the gods for inſpiring them with ſuch a reſolution, as knowing, that the main ſtrength of his army conſiſted in cavalry. Then *Bias* acquainted him, that the iſlanders had no ſuch deſign, but were no leſs pleaſed in hearing that he deſigned to attack them by ſea, than he was at the news of their preparing to attack him by land. Whereupon *Cræſus*, being fully aſorriſhed of the raſhneſs of his deſign, laid it aſide, and concluded an alliance with all the *Greeks* that inhabited the iſlands.

eſtabliſhed ;

established; for the *Athenians* could make no alteration of themselves, the citizens having taken a solemn oath to observe his laws for the space of ten years. Being arrived at *Sardis* he was with great humanity entertained by *Cræsus* in his own palace, and a few days after his arrival carried to see the wealth and magnificence of his treasury, which when he had seen, *Cræsus* asked him who was the happiest man he had ever known, believing, that he would give, without any hesitation, the preference to himself. But *Solon*, as he was an enemy to all manner of flattery, and resolved on all occasions to speak the plain truth, answered, that *Tellus* the *Athenian* was the happiest man he had ever seen (C). *Cræsus* again asked him who was the happiest man after *Tellus*, not doubting but he would name him at least in the second place, but was again disappointed, the philosopher adjudging the second place to *Cleobis* and *Biton* two *Argives* (D). *Cræsus* shewing himself highly dissatisfied with *Solon*, for preferring the condition of private men to that of so rich and powerful a prince as he, the philosopher informed him, that it was impossible to judge of the happiness of any man before death, and that all things ought to be measured by their end. Where-

(C) *Tellus* was an *Athenian*, had many virtuous children who all survived him, and, after having enjoyed all the happiness which the condition of mortals is capable of, ended his life in a most glorious manner. For coming to the assistance of his countrymen in a battle fought at *Eleusis* against the neighbouring people, he put the enemy to flight, and died in the field of victory. He was buried by the *Athenians* at the expence of the public in the place where he fell, and yearly honours were paid to his memory.

(D) These two *Greeks* proved victorious in the *Olympic* games and all other public sports. Their mother was a priestess of *Juno*, who being one day obliged to go to the temple, whither she ought to have been carried in a chariot drawn by a yoke of oxen, her sons, seeing that the oxen were not brought from the field at the time appointed, yoked themselves, and drew the chariot the space of forty five furlongs. This action was greatly extolled by all the people that were assembled at the temple, and their mother, transported with joy in seeing her sons so much honoured by the whole nation, begged of the goddess, that she would reward her children with what she thought would prove most advantageous to them. Having put up this petition, and after offering the usual sacrifices banquetted, and with her sons, they both fell asleep and died in the temple. Upon which the *Argians*, in commemoration of their piety, caused their statues to be made and dedicated at *Delphi* (31).

(31) *Herodot. lib. i.*

upon

upon he was dismissed by *Cræsus* as a man of no experience. Not long after the departure of *Solon*, *Cræsus* lost his favourite son *Atys*, who was unfortunately killed at the chace of a wild boar by *Adrastus*, son of *Gordius* and grandson of *Mydas* king of *Phrygia*, who had fled to *Sardis* for refuge. This loss was no small allay to his happiness, for he continued disconsolate the space of two whole years and in a state of inaction, till the conquests of *Cyrus* and growing power of the *Persians* roused up his martial spirit, and diverted his mind to other thoughts. He apprehended, that the good success, which attended *Cyrus* in all his undertakings, might at last prove dangerous to himself, and therefore resolved to put a stop, if possible, to his conquests. To this end he consulted all the oracles of any fame either in *Greece* or *Afric* (E), he strengthened

(E) We are told by *Herodotus*, that *Cræsus* sent ambassadors to the oracles of *Delphi*, of *Abe*, of *Phocis*, of *Amphiaraus*, of *Trophonius*, of *Branchis*, and of *Jupiter Ammon*, enjoining them to propose, each to the oracle he was to consult, and all on the same day, the following question ; *What is Cræsus the son of Alyattes king of Lydia now doing ?* What answer the other oracles returned we find no where mentioned ; but that of *Delphi*, as *Herodotus* informs us, answered thus : *I know the number of the sands of Libya the measure of the ocean, the secrets of the silent and dumb lie open to me. I smell the odour of a lamb and tortoise boiling together in a brazen cauldron ; brass is under, and brass above the flesh.* *Cræsus* hearing this answer adored the god of *Delphi*, and owned, that the oracle had spoke truth ; for on the same day that his ambassadors consulted the oracle, he was employed in boiling together a lamb and a tortoise in a cauldron of brass, which had a cover of the same metal, thinking it impossible, that any, but a god, could know what he was doing. Wherefore he immediately offered to the *Delphic Apollo* a sacrifice consisting of three thousand oxen ; and to render him more favourable and propitious, he brought out beds of gold and silver, vessels of gold, robes of purple, and other rich apparel, and burnt them all together, commanding the *Lydians* to follow his example. On this occasion so much gold was melted down that one hundred and seventeen tiles were made out of it, whereof the longest were six spans in length, the shortest three, but all one span in thickness. These, with a golden lion weighing ten talents and many other rich presents, *Cræsus* sent to the *Delphic* oracle, enjoining his ambassadors to enquire whether he should undertake a war against the *Persians*. The oracle returned this answer ; *If Cræsus passes the Halys he will put an end to a vast empire,* which was capable of being interpreted either of *Persia* or *Lydia*. *Cræsus*, hearing this answer, and not doubting in the least, but that he should overturn the *Persian* monarchy, sent more presents to the oracle

strengthened himself with alliances, and, having raised what forces he could, marched into *Cappadocia*, then belonging to the *Persians*, before his allies could join him. Here he encamped near the city of *Sinope* on the *Euxine* sea, took the city of *Pteria*, and laid waste all the adjacent country. *Cyrus*, hearing of the enemy's motions, put himself at the head of a powerful army, and marching into *Cappadocia* encamped in sight of the *Lydian* army. Here after several skirmishes the two armies came at last to a general engagement, wherein many fell on both sides. The night coming on both armies parted on equal terms. But *Cræsus* fearing to venture a second battle, as his forces were not near so numerous as those of *Cyrus*, retired in the night-time, and marched with all possible expedition to *Sardis*, where he disbanded his troops, enjoining them to re-assemble at the end of five months; for he did not in the least apprehend, that *Cyrus*, who had not been able to get the better of him in the field, would venture to advance to his capital. *Cyrus*, finding the next morning that the enemy had left the field, resolved to pursue him to *Sardis*, and oblige him to venture a second battle before his allies could join him. This resolution was executed with such expedition, that *Cyrus* at the head of his army appeared in the plains of *Sardis*, before *Cræsus* had any intelligence of his design. The *Lydians* were strangely alarmed at so bold an attempt, which they had neither foreseen nor expected. The king, however, drawing together what forces were still remaining, marched out against the *Persians*, by whom, after a sharp engagement, he was put to flight, and forced to shut himself up in *Sardis*, which was soon after taken by assault and *Cræsus* himself made prisoner. In

oracle, and two staters of gold to each of the inhabitants of *Delphi*. In consideration of which the *Delphians* granted *Cræsus* and the *Lydians* a right to consult the oracle before any other nation, together with the first place in the temple, and the freedom of the city for ever. *Cræsus*, having made these presents, sent a third time to consult the oracle, whether he should long enjoy the kingdom. The oracle answered, *That he should reign till a mule ruled over the Medes*, which *Cræsus* deeming impossible concluded, that he and his posterity were to hold the kingdom of *Lydia* for ever. But the oracle, as it was afterwards interpreted, by a mule meant *Cyrus*, whose parents were of different nations, his mother being a *Mede* and his father a *Persian*. And now *Cræsus*, relying on these fallacious answers, and believing himself invincible, marched, without waiting for the troops of his allies, into *Cappadocia*, where he was met by *Cyrus* at the head of a powerful army.

the

the taking of the town *Cræsus* himself had been killed, had *Cræsus* * not his second son, who to that time had been speechless, *taken*. cried out to the *Persian* who was ready to strike, *Spare Cræ-* Year of *sus*. Whereupon he was against his will saved and carried to the flood, *Cyrus*, who commanded him to be put in fetters, and placed ^{2450.} on a great pile of wood, with a design to burn him and four- Before *teen young Lydians* in honour of the gods, as a sacrifice and Christ, the first-fruits of his victory. Then *Cræsus* recollecting the ^{549.} words of *Solon*, that no man can truly be called happy before his death, pronounced thrice that great philosopher's name, which *Cyrus* hearing, and understanding what induced him to invoke *Solon*, commanded him to be taken down from the pile, and ranked among his friends and counsellors. *Xenophon* tells us, that *Cyrus* received his royal prisoner with great kindness and humanity, when he was first presented to him, without mentioning the treatment which we read of in *Herodotus*. The first favour *Cræsus* begged of the conqueror was, that he would give him leave to send his fetters to the oracle of *Delphi*, as the trophies of the success which *Apollo* had promised him. This favour *Cyrus* willingly granted; but the oracle, or rather the priests, convinced *Cræsus*, that he and not *Apollo* was to blame (F). Thus ended the antient kingdom of *Lydia*, continuing subject to the *Persians* till they also were conquered by the *Macedonians*, as we have seen in the foregoing part of this history.

(F) The oracle answered, that the god himself could not reverse the decrees of fate, and that *Cræsus* in the fifth generation suffered for the crime of one, who, at the instigation of a woman, had murdered his master, and possessed himself of a crown which did not belong to him; and that as to the answers of the oracle, he had no reason to complain; for *Apollo* only foretold, that by making war on the *Persians* he would overturn a great monarchy. Had he desired to be truly informed, continued the oracle, he ought to have sent again to enquire whether his own, or that of *Cyrus*, was meant by the oracle. But if he neither understood the true meaning of the oracle, nor would be at the pains of suing for a further explanation, his misfortune and downfall was entirely owing to himself. *Cræsus*, hearing this answer, acknowledged himself to be in the wrong; and cleared, as much as in him lay, the oracle, from all suspicion of falshood.

* It may not be amiss to observe here, that, the defeat of *Cræsus*, which is above referred to the year before Christ 549, is by Sir *Isaac Newton* placed in the year before Christ 544, as also by the authors in the 4th Volume p. 538.

C H A P. XVI.

The History of the LYCIANS.

Name and
divisions.

THE country before us was at first called *Milias* or *Tremile* from the *Milia*, a people of *Crete* that settled there, as *Herodotus*^a and *Stephanus* inform us, and afterwards *Lycia* from *Lycus*, the son of *Pandion* king of *Athens*. The proper *Lycia*, as precisely as we can gather, lies between the thirty sixth and thirty eighth degrees of north latitude. It was bounded by *Caria* on the west, by *Pamphylia* on the east, by *Phrygia Major* and part of *Pamphylia* on the north, and by the *Mediterranean* on the south.

THIS country was divided into two parts, the *Maritime* and the *Mediterranean*, or the coast and the country. The most remarkable cities on the coast were *Telmessus* or *Telmisus*, seated on a noted bay in the western limits, whose inhabitants are said to have been the first pretenders to the interpretation of dreams. *Patara*, situated on a hill, and formerly celebrated for a temple and oracle of *Apollo* no ways inferior to that of *Delphi*. At *Patara* *Apollo* was said to reside the six winter months, and the six summer months at *Delos*, whence the epithets of *Pataræus Apollo*^b and *Sortes Lyciæ*^c. This city was greatly improved and embellished by *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*, and called *Arsinoe* from his wife who bore that name, but the former name prevailed. *Myra* built on a high hill about twenty furlongs from the coast, mentioned in the *Acts*^d. This city was the metropolis of *Lycia* when a *Roman* province, and of consequence in the christian times an archbishop's see. *Olympus*, a famous city with a mountain of the same name. *Phaselis*, on the borders of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, and therefore by some placed in *Pamphylia*, by others more accurately in *Lycia*. This city in the time of the *Romans* was a famous nest of pyrates, but was at last reduced by *Servilius*, while *Pompey* scoured the sea with a numerous fleet. To the pirates of this town former ages were indebted for those swift vessels, which the *Romans* from the place called *Phaseli*, and we *Brigantines*. We will not take upon us

^a HERODOT. l. i. & vii.

^b HORAT. lib. iii. Carm. ode 4.

^c VIRGIL. *Æneid* iv. v. 346.

^d *Acts* xxvii. 5.

to mark out the bounds of the midland *Lycia*. *Strabo* reckons in it the following towns, *Pinara*, *Cragus*, at the foot of a hill bearing the same name, *Tlos*, *Simena*, &c. *Ptolemy* adds to the *Mediterranean* part of *Lycia* two small countries, viz. *Milyas* on the west bordering on *Caria*, and *Cabalia* on the east bordering on *Lycia Proper*. But *Strabo* places *Milyas* on the borders of *Pisidia* and *Pamphylia*. The inland part of *Lycia* was divided by the river *Xanthus*, which, rising in two springs from the foot of mount *Cadmus*, and washing the walls of *Xanthus*, a city formerly of some note, discharges itself into the *Mediterranean*. From this river the people, inhabiting the inland parts of *Lycia*, were called *Xanthians*. The chief mountain of this country, and indeed of all *Asia*, is mount *Taurus*, which has its beginning in this province, and extends eastward to the great oriental ocean. In *Lycia* was also the famous mountain *Chimæra* which vomited flames, the bottom whereof was infested with serpents, the middle parts afforded pasture for goats, and the top much frequented by lions, which gave occasion to the poets to paint it as a monster with the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and the tail of a serpent. This mountain was first planted and rendered habitable by *Bellerophon*, who is therefore fabled by the poets to have killed this monster.

THE soil of this country is very fruitful, and the air reckoned very wholesome. It is plentifully watered with small rivers running down from mount *Taurus*, which often swell to an immoderate degree, and overflow the country, being increased by the melting of the snows on that mountain, or by heavy rains. Soil and climate.

As to the origin of the *Lycians*, *Herodotus* and others^c inform us, that they were descended from the *Cretans*; for *Sarpedon*, being driven out of the island by his brother *Minos*, and landing in *Asia* with those *Cretans* who had sided with him, settled in *Milyas*, and there founded a new kingdom, after having conquered and driven out the ancient proprietors, whom *Herodotus* calls *Milyans* and *Solymi*. During the reign of *Sarpedon* they continued to be called *Cretans*, but after his death took the name of *Lycians* from *Lycus*, the son of *Pandion* king of *Athens*, who being forced by his brother *Ægeus* to quit his native country, had fled to *Sarpedon*. Hence the poets, and with them *Strabo*, seem to confound the *Lycians* with the *Carians*, who were undoubtedly descended from the *Cretans*. But *Diodorus Siculus*^d, and *Plato*^e before him, counts the *Lycians* among the *Greek* na-

^c HERODOT. lib. i. & vii. STRAB. lib. xii & xiv. PAUSANIAS lib. vii. ^d DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. c. 16. ^e PLATO in *Minoe*.

tions of *Asia*, as being descended from the *Argivi*. But not to dwell on such uncertainties, the *Lycians* were once a very powerful and warlike people, considering the smallness of their country. They had, according to *Strabo*^h, three and twenty according to *Pliny*ⁱ six and thirty, large and populous towns, were experienced mariners, and extended their power on the seas as far as *Italy*.

*Their man-
ners, go-
vernment,
&c.*

THE *Lycians* are highly commended by the ancient writers for their sobriety, and manner of administering justice. They had in latter ages twenty three considerable cities, each of which sent their deputies to a general assembly or diet, the great cities three, the lesser two, and the least one only. In this assembly all matters of consequence were canvassed, and determined by the majority of votes. They chose in the first place the president of the council, and after him the civil and military officers of each city. Here they administered justice, settled all private differences, declared war, made peace, concluded alliances, &c. Whence we may conclude, that their government, at least in latter times, either was not monarchical, or their monarchs no ways absolute. This form of government they maintained even under the *Romans*, as *Strabo* informs us^k, but with this difference, that the consent of the *Roman* governor, and, in matters of moment, of the senate, was requisite for the validity of such acts and decrees as had passed in their assembly. Their government was at first monarchical, and the country parcelled out into several petty kingdoms; for we read of the families of *Bellerophon*, *Sarpedon*, *Lycus*, *Telephus*, and *Pandarus* reigning in *Lycia* at one and the same time; if we will not rather suppose the government to have been aristocratical, and these families to have bore the greatest sway in the administration. But be that as it will, in process of time all *Lycia* became subject to one prince; for *Herodotus*, in enumerating the princes that contributed towards the equipping and arming of *Xerxes*'s fleet, mentions but one king of *Lycia*, by name *Cyberniscus*. This nation, as most of the other nations of *Asia*, was first subdued by *Cræsus* or the *Lydians*, and after the downfall of the *Lydian* kingdom by *Cyrus*. The courage, resolution, and intrepidity, with which the *Lycians* of *Xanthus* opposed *Harpagus* the *Persian* general, deserves particular notice. For instead of tamely submitting, like their neighbours, to the *Persian* yoke, they attacked with a handful of men *Harpagus*'s numerous army, and fought with incredible bravery, though under all the disadvantages imaginable. But being over-

^h STRAB. l. xiv.

ⁱ PLIN. l. v. c. 27.

^k STRAB. l. xiv.
powered

powered with numbers, and forced to retire into their city, they first set fire to the castle, where they had shut up their wives, children, slaves, and all their riches; and then, engaging themselves by a solemn oath to die together, returned to the field of battle, renewed the fight, and were all killed to a man. The *Lycians* continued to be governed by their own kings even after they were subdued by the *Persians*, but paid an annual tribute to the king of *Persia*. They fell with the *Persians* under the power of the *Macedonians*, and after the death of *Alexander* were governed by the *Seleucidæ*. Of these *Antiochus the Great* being confined by the *Romans* beyond mount *Taurus*, *Lycia* was granted to the *Rhodians*; but these disobliging the *Romans* in the war with *Perseus*, *Lycia* was declared a free country, and continued to be so till the reign of *Claudius*, who, provoked at their intestine dissensions, reduced their country into the form of a province.

THEIR customs were much the same with those of the *Cretans* and *Carians*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. But they had one custom peculiar to themselves; for they took their names not from their fathers, but from their mothers, so that if any one was asked, who he was, or of what family, he had recourse to the female line. Besides, if a free-born woman married a slave, her children enjoyed all the privileges of citizens; but, on the contrary, if a man of ever so great a family married a slave, their children were incapable of enjoying any honours or bearing any public employment¹. As to their trade and navigation, we are quite in the dark. Their religion was the same with that of the inhabitants of *Crete*, which we shall have occasion to describe when we treat of the *Greek* islands.

THE succession of the kings of *Lycia* and the years of their respective reigns are overcast with such a mist, and interrupted with so many chasms, that it is not possible to give any tolerable account of them. We find mention of but three kings of all *Lycia* that we are sure of. Their
kings.)

Amisodarus, who is fabled to have nourished the monster *Chimæra*.

Jobates, who married his daughter *Sthenobæa*, or, as others call her, *Antæa*, to *Prætus* king of the *Argives*. He is said to have undertaken an expedition against the *Tyrinthians* in favour of his son-in-law, and to have subdued them. His daughter *Sthenobæa* falling in love with *Bellerophontes*, the son of *Glaucus* king of *Ephyra*, and having solicited him in vain to comply with her unchaste desires, complained to her

¹ HERODOT. lib. i.

husband as if she had been solicited by him. Whereupon *Prætus*, being unwilling to violate the laws of hospitality by putting a stranger to death in his own kingdom, sent him into *Lycia* with letters to *Jobates* his father-in-law, requesting him to revenge the affront offered his daughter by the death of the bearer. *Jobates*, thinking it a base thing to imbrue his hands in the blood of a stranger, sent him with a small body of troops against the *Solyimi*, a warlike and barbarous people, in hopes he should there find his doom. But *Bellerophon* returned from this and many other dangerous expeditions, which he was put upon, not only safe, but victorious; whereupon *Jobates*, being reconciled to him and discovering the calumny, gave him his other daughter in marriage, and with her part of his kingdom.

MANY years after reigned *Cyberniscus*, who was one of *Xerxes*'s admirals in his expedition against *Greece*^m. And this is all we find upon record concerning the antient kings of *Lycia*.

The History of the antient CILICIANS.

Name and
divisions.

CILICIA, according to the *Greek* writers, borrowed its name from *Cilix*, the son of *Agenor* and brother of *Cadmus*, who is said by them to have settled in this country, as we have observed elsewhereⁿ. *Josephus*^o tells us, that it was antiently called *Tarsis* from *Tarshish* the son of *Javan*, who first peopled this part of *Asia*^p; and of the same opinion are *Stephanus*^q, *Zonaras*^r, and *Hierom*^s; but the latter by *Tarshish* in scripture sometimes understands *Carthage*^t, sometimes a province in *India*^u, and sometimes the sea^w. *Bochart*^x derives the name of *Cilicia* from the *Phœnician* word *Challekim* or *Eballukim* signifying a stone, that part of *Cilicia*, which the *Greeks* called *Cilicia Trachæa*, being very stony, and to this day called by the *Turks* *Tas Wileirh*, that is, the stony province.

Cilicia properly so called, lies between the 36th and 40th degrees of north latitude, and is bounded by *Syria* on the east, or rather by mount *Amanus* which separates it from that kingdom, by *Pamphylia* on the west, by *Isauria*, *Capadocia*, and *Armenia Minor* on the north, and by the *Me-*

^m HEROD. l. vii. ⁿ Vol. II. p. 330. ^o JOSEPH. Antiq. l. i. c. 7.
^p See Vol. I. p. 372. ^q STEPH. verbo *Tarşos* ^r ZONAR.
tom. i. ^s HIERONYM. in quest. Hebraic. ^t Idem, in
cap. 23. Esa. ^u Idem, ad Marcell. ^w Idem, in cap.
10. Esa. ^x BOCHART. Phal. l. i. c. 5.

diterranean on the south. It is now called *Caramania*, having been the last province of the *Caramanian* kingdom that held out against the *Ottoman* race. This province is so surrounded by steep and craggy mountains, chiefly the *Taurus* and *Amanus*, that it may be defended by a handful of resolute men against a whole army how numerous soever, there being but three narrow passes leading into it, commonly called *Pilæ Ciliciæ* or *the gates of Cilicia*, one on the side of *Cappadocia* called *the pass of mount Taurus*, and the other two, called *the pass of mount Amanus*, and *the pass of Syria*, leading from *Syria*. The *Persian* army marched through the straits of mount *Amanus*, while that of *Alexander* was encamped at *Iffus* not far from the straits of *Syria*, which lie more to the south, and were guarded by a body of *Macedonians* under the command of *Parmenio*; the straits of mount *Taurus* *Alexander* had passed in entering *Cilicia*, the *Persians* who guarded that important pass having retired at the approach of the *Macedonians*.

THE whole country was divided by the antients into *Cilicia Aspera* and *Cilicia Campestris*; the former, called by the *Cilicia* *Greeks* *Trachæa* or *stony*, is bounded by *Isauria* on the north, *Aspera*. *Pamphylia* on the west, *Cilicia Campestris* on the east, and the *Mediterranean* on the south. The cities in this part of *Cilicia* mentioned by the antients, are *Sydra*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Syedra*, *Nagidus* a *Samian* colony, *Anemurium*, *Arfinoe*, *Calendris* or *Celanderis*, *Aphrodisias*, so called from *Venus* who was worshipped there in a stately temple, *Holmus*, or, as *Pliny* calls it, *Holmia*, *Sarpedon*, famous for a noble temple consecrated to *Apollo* and *Diana*, *Lephyrium*, according to *Ptolemy*, the last city of *Cilicia Aspera*, which *Strabo* extends to *Solæ*. *Pliny*, *Mela*, and *Scylax* make no distinction between the two *Cilicias*. Near *Lephyrium* was a grove much celebrated by the antients, and minutely described by *Pomponius Mela*†. *Sebastæ*, which *Archelaus* the *Cappadocian* chose for his residence, after he was by *Augustus* appointed king of *Cilicia Aspera*; this city was situated on a small island called *Eleusa*, and not on the continent, where *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* have placed it. These were the Towns of most note on the coast of *Cilicia Aspera*; the inland cities were, *Seleucia*, built by *Seleucus Nicator* on the banks of the *Calycadnus*, and peopled by the inhabitants of *Holmus*; it was a free city under the *Romans*, and maintained its liberty, as is plain from several medals, at least to the time of the emperor *Gordian*. *Domitianopolis*, *Philadelphia*, *Lamus*, and in latter

† POM P. MELA, apud APOLLODOR. l. i. c. 6. sect. iii.

times *Scandoloro*, on the confines of *Pamphylia*, which, with the adjoining territory, was governed by its own prince, while all the neighbouring provinces were subject to the *Caramanian* kings.

Cities of Cilicia Proper. THE chief cities of *Cilicia* properly so called, or *Cilicia Campestris*, were, according to *Strabo*, *Soli*, or *Solæ*, built by the *Rhodians* and *Achæans*. This city was destroyed by *Tigranes* king of *Armenia* in his wars with the *Romans*, and rebuilt by *Pompey*; whence in after-ages it was known by the name of *Pompeiopolis*. *Laertius*² tells us, that this city was built by *Solon* on his return from the court of *Cræsus*, and peopled by a colony from *Athens*; and adds, that these *Athenians*, having in process of time quite lost the purity of their native language by conversing with the *Barbarians*, became remarkable for their rude pronunciation and uncouth expressions, whence any impropriety of speech was called a *Solecism*. But this is contradicted by others³, who derive the word *Solecism* not from the *Solenses* in *Cilicia*, but from the *Solii* in *Cyprus*⁴. *Tarsus*, which produced the great apostle of the *Gentiles*, and was, if we believe *Strabo*⁵, in former times no ways inferior for the study of philosophy and polite literature either to *Athens* or *Alexandria*. We are told, that it borrowed its name from *Tarshish* the son of *Javan*, by whom or by his descendants it was built; but *Strabo* out of *Aristobulus* acquaints us, that it was built by *Sardanapalus*, and proves his assertion from an antient monument found in those parts with this inscription, *Sardanapalus the son of Anacyndaraxes built the cities of Anchiale and Tarsus in one day*. *Tarsus* was at first the metropolis of all *Cilicia*, and after *Constantine's* division, of *Cilicia Prima*. The inhabitants enjoyed the privileges of *Roman* citizens, which *St. Paul* thought fit to make use of according to the *Portian* law⁶. The *Tarsians*, to ingratiate themselves with *Julius Cæsar*, exchanged the antient name of their city for that of *Julio-polis*; but the old name survived the new, that city being called to this day by the *Greeks* *Tersia* or *Terassa*; the *Turks*, as *Bellonius* and other more modern travellers inform us, call it *Hamsa*. *Anchiale*, built by *Sardanapalus*, as we hinted above, or, if we believe *Athenodorus*, by *Anchiale* the daughter of *Japhet*. *Anazarbum*, situated on the river *Pyramus*, and in the *Roman* times the metropolis of *Cilicia Secunda*. *Suidas* tells us, that it was first called *Cyinda*, and afterwards

² LAERT. in vitis Philosoph.

³ STRAB. l. xiv. p. 456.

⁴ Vid. PLUT. in vita Solon.

⁵ STRAB. l. xiv. p. 463.

⁶ ACTS

xvi. 37. and xxii. xxv. xxviii.

Anazarbum, from one *Anazarbus*, who was sent by the emperor *Nerva* to rebuild it after it had been quite ruined by an earthquake; but he is certainly mistaken, since *Pliny*, who died long before the reign of *Nerva*, calls the inhabitants of this city *Anazarbeni*; and *Stephanus* derives its name from mount *Anazarbus* at a small distance from the place where this city stood. *Anazarbum* was the birth-place of *Dioscorides*, and continued in a very flourishing condition to the division of the empire. *Epiphania*, which gave birth to *George* the famous *Arian* bishop of *Alexandria*. *Mopsuestia*, the see of *Theodorus Mopsuestenus*, a great patron of the *Nestorian* heresy in the time of *Chrysostom*. *Iffus* situated, on a gulph to which it gave name, and famous for the battle fought near it between *Alexander* and *Darius*; this town is now called *Ajazzo*, and the great gulph on which it stands the gulph of *Ajazzo*. *Alexandria* built by *Alexander the Great* between *Iffus* and the straits which lead from *Cilicia* into *Syria*. *Ptolemy* places this city in *Syria*, but *Strabo* more rightly on the bay of *Iffus*. As this city was situated in a place very convenient for trade, it soon became one of the most flourishing cities of the world. *Alexander* in building it employed *Democrates*, who had rebuilt the temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* burnt by *Erostratus*^c, and took care to people his new city with colonies from several other places, especially from *Judæa*^f, allowing the *Jews* the free exercise of their own religion, and the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions which he granted the *Macedonians*. As it was very convenient for such as traded on the *Mediterranean*, the *Red-sea*, and the *Nile*, it continued in a very flourishing condition, till trade took another course on the discovery of a way to the *Indies*, by the *Cape of Good Hope*, when it became by degrees a poor village. It is at present called by the *Turks* *Scanderoon*, by the *Italians* *Alexandretta*, remarkable for nothing else but some ruins, which shew what it was in better times. Several other cities are mentioned by the antients; but as they were no ways considerable, and are at present quite unknown, we shall not dwell any longer on this subject.

THE rivers of any note in *Cilicia* are, the *Pyramus*, which rises on the north side of mount *Taurus*, and empties itself into the *Mediterranean* between *Iffus* and *Magarsus*; the *Cyd-nus*, which springs from the *Antitaurus*, passes through *Tarsus*, and disembogues itself into the *Mediterranean* near the city of *Anchiale*; it is famous for the rapidity of its stream,

^c PLIN. l. v. c. 10.^f JOSEPH. contra Apion. l. ii.

and coldness of its water, which proved very dangerous to *Alexander*; the *Calycadnus*, the *Lamus*, the *Sarus*, the *Pinarus*, and several others of less note, water this province, and discharge themselves into that part of the *Mediterranean*, which the antients called the sea of *Cilicia*, and extended near two hundred and fifty miles from east to west.

Soil and
climate.

THAT part of *Cilicia*, which the antients called *Cilicia Campestris*, was, if we believe *Ammianus Marcellinus*, one of the most fruitful countries of all *Asia*; but the western part equally barren, though famous even to this day for an excellent breed of horses, of which 600 are yearly sent to *Constantinople* for the special use of the *Grand Signior*. The air in the inland cities is reckoned very wholesome, but equally dangerous on the coast, especially to such as are not accustomed to it.

Their ori-
gin.

THIS country, according to *Josephus*^s, was first peopled by *Tarshish* the son of *Javan* and his descendants, whence the whole country was called *Tarsis*, and not the territory alone adjoining to the city of *Tarsus*, as some have wrote. The antient inhabitants were in process of time driven out by a colony of *Phœnicians*, who under the conduct of *Cilix* first settled in the island of *Cyprus*, and from thence passed into the country which from their leader they called *Cilicia*. *Strabo*^h tells us, that this *Phœnician* colony passed from *Cyprus* into *Phrygia*, where they lived in subjection to the kings of *Troy*, and after the *Trojan* war possessed themselves of that country which was afterwards called *Cilicia*. In tract of time several colonies from other countries settled in this kingdom, namely from *Syria* and *Greece*, whence the *Cilicians* in some places used the *Greek* tongue, in others the *Syriac*, but the former greatly corrupted by the *Persian*, the predominant language of the country being a dialect of that tongue.

Their man-
ners, go-
vernment,
&c.

THE *Cilicians*, if we believe the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, were a rough race of people, unfair in their dealings, cruel, great liars (G), and in the *Roman* times entirely addicted to piracy. They first began together with the *Pamphylians* in

^s JOSEPH. Antiq. l. i. c. 7.

^h STRAB. l. xvii. p. 342.

(G) Which gave rise to the proverbs, *Cilix haud facile verum dicit*; *Cilicium exitium*; and to the saying of *Pherocrates*, *Dii semper nobis imponunt, more Cilicum*; that is, *A Cilician scarce ever speaks the truth*; *Cilician cruelty*; *The gods, like the Cilicians, always deceive us* (32).

(32) *Vide Gbiliad. Erasmi. Verbo Cilix.*

the time of the *Mithridatic* war to infest the neighbouring coasts, and being emboldened with success soon ventured as far as the coasts of *Greece* and *Italy* itself, where they took innumerable slaves, whom they sold to the *Cypriots*, and to the kings of *Egypt*, and *Syria*. *Publius Servilius* was first employed against them, who gave them a great overthrow in a sea engagement, took *Phaselis* and several other strong holds, whither they used to retire, and ravaged their whole country. But scarce was he withdrawn, when they broke out more violently than ever, filling all the ports and creeks of the *Ionian*, *Mediterranean*, and *Archipelago*, with their vessels, so as to entirely obstruct the navigation. Whereupon *Pompey* himself did not think it beneath his greatness to undertake a war against them, which he ended in the space of one month, having at the same time attacked them both by sea and land, with 500 ships and 130,000 men.

In antient times the *Cilicians*, before they settled in that country which we call *Cilicia*, were governed by their own kings, and divided into two petty kingdoms, viz. the *Theban* and the *Lyrnessian*; in the former ruled the family of *Eetion*, in the latter that of *Evenus*. These kingdoms did not extend beyond the territories of *Thebes* and *Lyrnessus*, two cities in the famous plain called the *plain of Thebes*, often mentioned both by the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, as having been the occasion of frequent disputes between the *Lydians* and *Mysians*, and in the *Roman* times between the neighbouring princes of *Asia Minor*. After the settling of the *Cilicians* in that country which from them was called *Cilicia*, we find no mention made of their kings till the time of *Cyrus*, to whom they voluntarily submitted, continuing subject to the *Persians* till the overthrow of that empire, but governed to the time of *Artaxerxes Mnemon* by kings of their own nation. *Herodotus* indeed counts *Cilicia* among the *Persian Satrapies*¹; but from other writers it is manifest, that the *Cilicians* were governed by kings of their own in the time of *Xerxes*^k and *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. After the downfall of the *Persian* empire *Cilicia* became a *Macedonian* province, and on the death of *Alexander* fell to the share of *Seleucus*, and continued under his descendants till it was by *Pompey* reduced to a *Roman* province. As a proconsular province it was first governed by *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, and after him by *Cicero*, who reduced several strong holds on mount *Amanus*, in which some *Cilicians* had fortified themselves and held out against his prede-

¹ HERODOT. I. iii.^k Vid. XENOPH. Cyropæd. I. vii.

DIONOR. I. xvi. CURT. I. ii.

cessor, for which he was saluted by the army with the title of *Imperator* or *General*. All *Cilicia* being thus brought under subjection, it was first divided into *Cilicia Campestris* and *Trachæa*; the former became a *Roman* province, but the latter was governed by kings appointed by the *Romans* till the reign of *Vespasian*, when the family of *Tracadementus* being extinct, this part too was made a province of the empire, and the whole divided into *Cilicia Prima*, *Cilicia Secunda*, and *Isauria*; the first took in all *Cilicia Campestris*, the second the coast of *Cilicia Trachæa*, and the last the inland parts of the same division; and in this state it continued till the division of the empire.

Their
kings.

As to the succession of the *Cilician* kings we are almost quite in the dark. Those we find mentioned by the antients, are *Eetion*, who reigned before their migration into *Cilicia* and assisted *Priam* against the *Greeks*. He was king of *Thebes* only, in the defence of which city he was with his seven sons killed, as we read in *Homer*¹, by *Achilles*. The famous *Andromache*, *Hector*'s wife, was his daughter. *Evenus* reigned in *Lyrnessus* during the *Trojan* war, and is likewise mentioned by *Homer*^m. He was succeeded in his petty kingdom by his sons *Mines* and *Epistropus*, who siding with the *Trojans* were both killed by *Achilles*. *Syennesis* I. who was cotemporary with *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*, *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, as we have hinted in the histories of *Media* and *Lydia*. *Horomedon* mentioned by *Herodotus*ⁿ. *Syennesis* II. who assisted *Xerxes* in his expedition against *Greece*^o, and is greatly commended by *Æschylus*. *Syennesis* III. who assisted, tho' much against his will, *Cyrus* the younger against his brother *Artaxerxes*. After his death we find no mention of kings, but only of governors of *Cilicia*, appointed by the kings of *Persia*; whence we conclude him to have been the last that reigned in *Cilicia* before the country was subdued by *Alexander*. Of the kings that reigned several ages after in *Cilicia Trachæa* we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Year of
the Flood,
2598.
Year be-
fore Christ
401.

¹ HOMER. *Iliad*. Z.
^o HERODOT. *ibid*.

^m Idem *Iliad*. B.

ⁿ HERODOT. l. vii.



ADRIATICI.

MARIS

PARS

MARE

IONIUM

GRÆCIA ANTIQUA
prout Primitus in Regna dein in
Respub; denique a Romanis in
Provincias in hoc & Seq. Vol. Divisa
legitur.

C H A P. XVII.

The fabulous and heroic times ; containing the history of the antient kingdoms of Sicyon, Argos, Attica, Bœotia, Arcadia, Theffaly, Corinth, of Sparta to Lycurgus, and some others of less note, to their severally becoming commonwealths.

S E C T. I.

An account of the fabulous and heroic times in general.

IT being the design of this chapter to open the way to the history of *Greece*, by tracing the several nations of it, as far as can be done with any probability, to their primitive, weak, rude, and obscure originals ; and by pointing out the various steps by which they raised themselves, from the lowest beginnings, to that flourishing state in which they came at length to excel all the world in learning, in arts and sciences, in politeness, in the excellency of their laws and government, and in the strength and valour of their armies ; we cannot reasonably expect, that our readers will rest satisfied with our bare endeavouring to give them the best account that can be had of this long and perplexed epocha, clear of all the monstrous fictions with which the extravagant fancies of the poets, and the vanity and ignorance of the *Grecian* writers have stuffed it. We shall therefore strive to make the best and shortest way we can through this long period of 900 years, whose antient monuments, though

*Original
of the
Greeks.*

disguised

disguised under the tales of the most unnatural actions of the gods, such as their adulteries, rapes, murders, and the like, and the incredible exploits of their heroic offspring (A); yet, when divested from the fable, afford at least so much light to those dark times, that an history of this country would be justly thought imperfect without some short account of them.

THE

(A) it will not be amiss to begin our notes on this fabulous epocha with offering some tolerable account for that heap of monstrous fables under which the history of it is couched; and it will, upon examination, appear to flow from some, if not all, of the following reasons:

1. From the genius of those languages in which these antient monuments were written, which was altogether figurative, and whose elegance consisted in the boldest and most sublime allusions and metaphors.

2. From the writers themselves, who, being all poets, and recording these transactions in short sonnets, to be learned by heart and sung upon proper occasions, did still inhance upon their native idiom in poetic pieces, and made choice of the most strained and surprizing allegories, that they might make the deeper and more lasting impression both on those who sang, and those who heard them.

3. From an ambitious affectation of antiquity, equal or superior to other cotemporary nations, or perhaps rather from a shame of their mean and low extraction, and of their rude, not to say brutish, ancestors, who like wild beasts did live by preying upon one another, having no law or rule, but that of the strongest arm. The consciousness of which made some of them fetch their original from certain great heroes begot by some lecherous god, either upon some kind goddess, or straggling nymph, whilst others contented themselves with pretending, that they sprang like mushrooms out of their own native soil.

4. This might be also another reason, why they transformed into fictitious monsters those real ones amongst them, whose cruel and infamous actions they could not either palliate or obliterate.

5. From the high esteem they had for those renowned heroes, who cleared the country of those pests of mankind. They could not, it seems, look upon the arduous, and yet successful labours of a *Minos*, a *Hercules*, or a *Theseus* in this so beneficial a province, without supposing them to have been more than mortal men, or at least without an ambition to make them pass in future ages for the offspring of some of the gods.

6. From an imitation of, or rather an emulation to outdo the antient *Hebrew* heroes, both in their extraction and in their wonderful exploits; thus we find a great part of the character of *Hercules* to be a mere compound of those of *Sampson*, *Gideon*, *Jephthah*,

THE limits of *Greece*, not as they were afterwards enlarged, either by continual sending out of colonies, or by conquests which still carried their name with them, which will be best seen in the next chapter, but only as they relate to our present epocha, extended from north to south, that is, from the long ridge of mountains, which divided it from *Macedonia*, and from the river *Strymon*, by which it was parted from *Thrace*, to the promontory of *Tenarus*, the utmost southern extent of *Peloponnesus*, about 6 deg. 20 min. or 380 miles. And from east to west, that is, from the *Ægean* to the *Ionian* sea, about 5 deg. 10 min. or 310. It contained the following kingdoms: In *Peloponnesus*, *Sicyon*, *Argos*, and *Messenia*, *Corinth*, *Achaia Propria*, *Arcadia*, and *Laconia*. Out of it, or in *Græcia Propria*, those of *Attica*, *Megara*, *Bœotia*, *Locris*, *Epichnemidia*, *Doris*, *Phocis*, *Locris*, *Ozolæa*, and *Ætolia*. In *Epirus*, the *Molossi*, *Amphilochi*, *Cassiopæi*, *Dræopes*, *Chaones*, *Thesprotii*, *Almenii*, and *Acarmania*. In *Thessaly*, it contained the countries of *Thessaliotis*, *Estiotis*, *Pelasgiotis*, *Magnesia*, and *Phthia*^a. All these have at one time or other been severally governed by kings of their own, whose names we only find occasionally mentioned in the history of the more considerable kingdoms of *Argos*, *Attica*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, of the *Argonautic* expedition, and of the *Trojan* war^b. The fuller description and history of those chief kingdoms will be seen in the following sections; the rest we must content ourselves with the bare mention, of because we know very little except their names.

For this reason it cannot be expected, that we should enter into a critical enquiry into the names and original of those various inhabitants of antient *Greece*. The general names by which they were known, and mentioned by old historians and geographers, were those of *Graici* and *Graicoi*^c (B).

These

^a De his Vid. PTOL. HERODOT. D. SICUL. MELA, CLUVER. & al. mult. ^b PAUSAN. APOLL. & al. ^c CALLIMACH. Hymn. in JOV. SOPHOC. & al.

Jephthah, and other Jewish worthies. The same may be said of several others (1).

(B) From *Græcus* the father, or, according to others, the son of *Thessalus*, who gave name to *Thessaly* (2). But by a modern critic

(1) Vid. Grot. de Verit. Huet. demonstr. Evang. & al. mult. (2) Euseb. Chronic. Isidor. Orig. l. xiv. c. 4. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. iv. c. 7. Suid. & Steph. Byzant. in Voc. Γραικός & Θυσσάλαι.

(3)

These they quickly changed for those of *Achæi* and *Hellenes* ^d, by which they are generally called in antient authors (C). Another name by which they were known in several parts of Greece was that of *Pelasgi*, which the *Arcadians*, who are generally reckoned the antientest people of it, do challenge from their pretended founder *Pelasgus*, who, we find, did get such footing in *Peloponnesus*, that the whole peninsula was from him called *Pelasgia* ^e. We find these *Pelasgians*, for whom some critics and antiquaries have found a much older original (D), spread in many other parts of Greece, as in *Attica*,

^d THUCYDID. l. i. ARISTOT. in Meteor. l. i. c. 14. STEPH. BYZANT. &c. ^e Id. sub voc. Πελοπόννησος.

(3) derived from *Ragau* the same with *Reu* the son of *Peleg* (4), by the transposition of a letter to soften the sound.

(C) The first supposed from *Achæus* the son of *Xuthus*, the son of *Hellen* and father of *Ion*; or, according to the fable, the son of *Jupiter* (5); the other from *Hellen* abovementioned, the son of *Deucalion* and father of *Dorus*, from whom came the *Dores*, afterwards a famous nation in Greece

Thucydides observes rightly, however, that the name of *Hellenes* did not universally obtain over Greece; since *Homer*, who wrote so long after the siege of *Troy*, doth only call them so who followed *Achilles* from *Phthiotis* (6).

(D) These (7) suppose, that the descendants of *Peleg*, the fourth in descent from *Shem* the son of *Noah*, whom they suppose to have been the father of the *Scythians*, were the first who peopled Greece; and that they only softened the name of *Peleg*, or according to the septuagint and vulgate *Phaleg*, their progenitor, and called themselves *Pelasgians*. The last of those authors confirms this opinion, drawn from the affinity between the *Hebrew* and antient *Greek*, from the various dialects and pronunciations of the latter, which in the *Doric* comes nearest to the eastern tongues; and from the remainder of those tongues, especially in those places where the *Pelasgians* have been, which *Bochart* thought of *Phœnician*, but our author will rather have of *Hebrew* extraction.

All this is further confirmed by a passage in *Epiphanius*, who says (8), that from the age of *Terah* downward, *Phaleg* and *Ragau* removed towards the clime of Europe to part of *Scythia*, and were joined to those nations from which the *Thracians* came.

This last passage, wherever *Epiphanius* got it, has been sufficient-

(3) *Salmas. de re Hellenist.* p. 2. c. 1 ap. *Hind. introd. in Hist. Græc.* (4) *1 Chron. i. 25. Gen. xi. 18, 19.* (5) *Vid. Byzant. sub voce "Ιωνία* (6) *Thucyd. l. i.* (7) *Grot. Salmas. & Stillingfleet. orig. Sac. l. iii. c. 4.* (8) *Epist. ad Acac. & Paul.*

tica, Thessaly, and Epirus; in which last they have been supposed by some ^f to have laid the foundation of the *Dedonean* oracle. But the most antient name of all is universally allowed to be that of *Iones*, which the *Greeks* themselves derive from *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*, or, as the fable hath it, of *Apollo* by *Creusa* the daughter of *Erichtheus*, and grandson to *Deucalion* ^g. But it is more probable, as *Josephus* affirms ^h, *Iones de-* that their original is of much older date, and that *Javan*, the ^{scended} son of *Japheth* and grandson of *Noah*, and his descendants ^{from Ja-} were the first who peopled these countries, as the learned *Bo-* *chart* seems to have proved by very strong arguments ⁱ (E).

It is true indeed, that among the *Greeks* themselves, only the original *Athenians* and such colonies as sprang from them were called *Iones*, but then it is plain beyond exception, that other nations called all the inhabitants of *Greece* by that name; witness the testimony of *Hesychius* ^k, and the scholiast on *Aris-*

^f Vid. STRAB. Geogr. l. v. Vid. & PAUSAN. in Attic. & BYZANT. sub voce Θησσιαλια. ^g Vid. HERODOT. l. viii. APOLLON. l. i. c. 7. PAUSAN. Achaic. ^h Ant. l. i. c. 7. ⁱ Phaleg. l. iii. c. 3. ^k Sub voce "Ιωννα.

ly confuted by *Bochart* (9), who shews, that both *Phaleg* and *Ragau*, and their descendants, continued still in the confines of *Media* and *Armenia*. And we have elsewhere shewn [†], that the *Scythians* were the descendants of *Magog*, and not of *Phaleg* or *Ragau*. They were the sons of *Japheth* and not of *Shem*, who divided the isles of the gentiles (10). We shall therefore leave the *Pelasgians* to their own founder, and find a much more likely one for the antient *Greeks* in the following note.

(E) First from the authority of *Josephus* above quoted. 2. From the name itself of the patriarch, יון without the points, sounding more properly *Jon* than *Javan*. 3. From the authority of *Moses* who says (11), that by these (the sons of *Japheth*) were the isles of the *Gentiles* divided; which, according to the genius of the *Hebrew*, means, not islands properly so called, but all maritime countries, at any distance from *Palestine*, especially those which are along the *Mediterranean*. 4. From that of the prophets (12), who call *Græcia* by the name of יון, *Jon*, or, as pointed, *Javan*. According to which the *Jews* have all along to this day called the *Greek* tongue יונית *Javanith*.

All this is further confirmed by our author from the clear remains of *Elisbah* *Javan's* eldest son (13), which were still to be found in that of *Elis*, one of the antient kingdoms of *Peloponnesus*.

(9) *Phaleg*. l. ii. c. 14. [†] See before p. 232. (10) See *Gen*. x. ver. 2. ad 5. (11) *Gen*. x. 5. (12) *Vid. int. al. Isai. cap. ult. ver. 19. Dan. viii. 21. x. 20.* (13) *Gen*. x. 4.

*tophanes*¹, and those passages of holy writ mentioned in the last note. We omit the names of several other people among the antient *Greeks*, which were supposed to have been the oldest of all, but which do not appear by far to have been the first peoplers of that country; such were the *Aones*, *Hyanthes*, *Leleges*, *Dryopi*, *Caucones*, *Jemmices*, and others mentioned by *Strabo*^m, but which may be better supposed to have been reliques of the old *Carians*, who, *Thucydides* tells us, made frequent incursions into *Greece*ⁿ.

The manners of the antient Greeks.

IF we look upon this infant state of *Greece* with respect to its inhabitants, it appears, even by the confession of their own writers, to have been one continued uncultivated desert, inhabited by savage creatures scarcely removed one degree from brutes; men living indifferently on every fruit, herb, or root, that came in their way, and lying either in the open fields, or at best sheltering themselves, from the inclemency of the weather, in dens, clefts, and hollow trees^o. The first improvement they made to their way of living was exchanging their old food for the more wholesome acorns, building themselves huts to sleep in, and covering their bodies with the skins of beasts. All this it seems they were beholding for to *Pelasgus* abovementioned^p, whose memory was highly revered among them upon that account. But this reformation in their way of living wrought none upon their manners. On the contrary, they, who had no occasion to fight for any thing but a hole to sleep in, began now to envy and rob one another of these new acquisitions. This in time put them under a necessity of joining themselves into companies under some head, that they might either more safely plunder their neighbours, or preserve what they had got. Laws they had none, except that of the strongest arm; so that they only lived safest and most quietly, who inhabited the most craggy and barren spots of ground, whilst those, who were more pleasantly or fruitfully seated, were continually liable to be dispossessed by new invaders. Hence it was, that *Greece* for a long time had no settled inhabitants, but was in a continual fluctuation, the weakest being always sure to be turned out by the strongest. Their gigantic size and strength, if we may believe *Plutarch*^q, added so much to their insolence and cruelty, that they seemed to glory in committing the greatest acts of violence and barbarity on those that unhappily fell into their hands.

THE case did not alter much for the better after they came

¹ Ap. HIND. *Introdūct. in hist. Græc* ^m *Geogr.* l. vii. ⁿ *lib.* i. ^o *Vid.* HORAT. *Satir.* & PAUSAN. in *Arcadic.* ^p *Id.* *ibid.* ^q in *Theseo.*

to form themselves into regular societies, and build themselves towns and cities for safety. *Attica* seems the only place that was free from those incursions, because it was destitute of every thing that could invite a plundering enemy; but those cities fared worst which were situate on the sea-coasts, because they were in continual danger of being plundered either by sea or land; for pirates did not less infest all those seas, than the robbers did the land. And this was one main cause why most of the antient cities of *Greece* were built at some distance from the shore; but even in these, as all their safety consisted in the resistance they could make against an invader, so their inhabitants were under a necessity of going constantly armed, and to be ever on their guard.

*Pirates
and rob-
bers.*

ANOTHER mischief arising from these continual piracies and robberies was, that the far greater part of their land did lie uncultivated, so that men only planted and sowed as much as was barely necessary for their present support; and where there was such an universal neglect of agriculture, there could be as little room for any discoveries in other useful arts and trades at land, as in commerce and navigation at sea. Hence it is also, that whilst other antient nations, as the *Jews*, the *Egyptians*, *Midianites*, and *Phœnicians*, had improved them to a very great degree, as we have seen in their several histories, the *Greeks* alone seem to have been the only strangers to them; inasmuch, that one may reasonably question, by *Homer's* making oxen the standard of the value of things, whether they knew the use of money even in his days. One art, however, one would have expected them to have been very expert in, that of war, and the only one indeed they seemed to have had a value for; but even here, the very reverse may be inferred from what the same poet tells us, of some of his heroes putting whole squadrons of them to flight.

*Neglect of
agriculture*

Trades.

*Art of
war.*

WE shall have occasion to shew in the sequel, that they had no letters till *Cadmus* brought them thither out of *Phœnicia*, whose alphabet, consisting only of sixteen letters, was not perfected into that of twenty four till many centuries after him. It was from him likewise, that they learned arithmetic, navigation, and commerce; as for other sciences, they continued much longer strangers to them; and it was not till some of their great men began to travel into *Egypt*, and other kingdoms, and the *Celts* made their frequent incursions into *Greece* †, that they began to have some knowledge and relish for them. We are indeed told, that *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, and some others, who went into the first of

*Arts and
sciences.*

† See before, p. 250.

those countries much earlier, did bring a great deal of the *Egyptian* divinity, and religious rites from thence^r. But as for astronomy, geometry, philosophy, and magic, they were fetched long after, the first from *Babylon*, the next from *Egypt*, and the last from *Persia*^r; so ignorant we find them of the first of these sciences, that they knew of no other way of dividing the day, than by dark and light, or time of sleeping and waking, nor the years, but by the time of sowing and reaping.

Their government.

THEIR government was still more rude and barbarous; every city, and almost every village or obscure town, was a petty tyranny, governed by a head, to whom nevertheless they gave the name of king. Hence that vast number of small inconsiderable kingdoms with which this country swarmed, and of the greatest part of which we know little else than their names, and that of one or sometimes two of their petty monarchs, which are occasionally mentioned in the history of those of more note, into which they were afterwards blended either by alliances or conquest. Laws, at least a written body of them, we do not find they had till the times of the *Athenian* archons; till then all depended on the will and the definitive sentence of their kings; only in dubious and important cases, it was usual for them to consult some oracle, of which they had variety; the two most famous were that of *Jupiter* at *Dodona* and that of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, situated on the hill *Parnassus*. (F).

THEIR

Laws.

^r HERODOT. l. i. D. SICUL. Bibl. Hist. l. i. ^r Vid. TATIAN. Orat. cont. Græc.

(F) It will doubtless be expected, that we should say at least so much of these oracles as may enable our readers to frame an idea of them, since they were esteemed of such concern, that scarce any public affairs were transacted (or hardly any private ones, if the persons were in circumstances to pay for it) without consulting some of them; but as a particular account of them all would carry us too far, we shall content ourselves with a short description of that of *Delphi*, as it was the most celebrated and frequented of any, either in *Greece* or in any other part of the world, not only on account of its antiquity, contending even with that of *Jupiter* at *Dodona*, but because *Apollo* was supposed more peculiarly to preside over, and to inspire men with, the knowledge of futurity. Upon this account also it was esteemed to outdo all others in the clearness and certainty of its answers; and by the great concourse of people who resorted to and enriched it with presents, it did likewise outshine all the rest in splendor and wealth.

Its foundation, origin, and magnificence, shall be seen in its pro-

per

THEIR religion was still worse than all the rest, being little else than a corruption, if we may be allowed that word, of Religion.

per place ; here we shall content ourselves with a short account of the manner in which it was wont to be consulted and delivered, and by way of specimen to the rest ; as for those of other countries, or other deities, the reader may, if he please, see them in our learned bishop *Potter's Grecian archæology*.

1st, Those who consulted the oracle were to offer some considerable present to the god. 2dly, They offered also some sacrifices to him, and according as these carried a good or bad omen, so the *Pythonefs* consented or refused to consult the deity. 3dly, The question to be asked was to be couched in as few words as possible. We omit some other circumstances of less moment, and which varied according to time and place, the quality of the persons consulting, and the nature of the question to be asked.

2. The time for consulting the oracle was only one month in the year, and that was in the spring ; the seventh day of that month was called *Appollo's* birth-day, because originally the *Pythonefs* gave no answers but on that day, so that they came so thick to her, that they were forced to lengthen the time ; in latter ages it came to be once a month (1).

3. The person who delivered the answer was to be a woman. They were originally to be virgins, but, one of them having been deflowered, they came at length to make choice of women above fifty years of age, that in case the same misfortune should happen to them, their shame might be out of danger of being discovered by pregnancy. Yet even these they obliged to go apparelled like virgins, but in a plain and homely dress, that they might give no temptation to their customers.

Pythia, the name that was given to the woman that delivered the oracle, is variously derived, by some, in memory of the serpent *Python* killed by *Apollo*, by others otherwise ; but most probably from *Pytho*, which was but another name for *Delphi*, the place where this oracle was given, as we shall see in the sequel of this history.

When all the previous ceremonies had been performed on the inquirer's part, this *Pythia*, having washed herself in the fountain *Castalis* at the foot of *Parnassus*, and shaken the laurel-tree that grew by it, she crowned herself with a garland of those leaves, and sometimes also did eat some of them ; and then ascended the celebrated *Tripod* or *Tripus*, and sitting down upon it waited for the impulse of the god (2).

What kind of machine this wonderful *Tripod* was is variously canvassed, and to as little purpose. Some take it to have been a brass pot filled with dust, through which a miraculous vapour was conveyed into the belly of the *Pythonefs*, and thence came out at her mouth ;

(1) *Plutarch. Græc. Quæst.* 9. (2) *Lyfistr. Scholiast. in Aristoph. ap. Potter Archæolog.* l. ii. c. 9.

of the *Egyptian* theology, brought thither at first by *Cecrops*, an *Egyptian* exile and founder of the *Attic* monarchy, who, according

others say, it was filled with pebbles, by the agitation of which she conceived the mind of the deity; others say, that it was large enough for her to plunge herself into; but the most probable opinion is, that it was a table or seat on which she either leaned or sat (3).

It was called *Tripod* because it had three feet, alluding, according to some, to the three great celestial circles, viz. the two tropics, and the equinoctial line; but more probably if they had any original meaning, from the three periods of time, past, present, and future. They had more than one of these *Tripods*. The most ancient of them was that which the people of that country caused to be set over the mouth of the miraculous cave, after they had found out its prophetic power. The next is said to have been wrought by *Vulcan*, and presented to *Apollo* by *Pelops* king of the *Eleans*; but the most famous one was that which the fishermen drew up with their nets, and, being adjudged by the oracle to the worthiest of the seven wise men who flourished then in *Greece*, and through modesty refused by him, was dedicated to this *Delphic Apollo*. The two first appear to have been of brass, and the last was of gold; some think also, there were likewise more than one *Pythia* at the same time, but without any good foundation (4); however, when she, who officiated as such, had received the divine afflatus in her belly, from whence she was called *εγαστριμυθος* and *σερομαρτις* she began sometimes to swell, foam at the mouth, tear her hair and flesh, like one in the strongest phrensy, at other times her spirit moved her more gently. Sometimes the paroxysm has been so terrible, that it hath scared away the priests as well as the consulters, and one of them is said to have died by the violence of it (5). Some add, that a dragon or serpent has been seen to return the answer from under the *Tripod*, and that the *Pythia* was once killed by him.

The answer was returned *viva voce*, and in hexameter or heroic verse. *Pausanias* attributes this form of answering to the famed *Phæmonoe* the first *Delphic Pythia*. But the hymn of *Beou*, a *Delphic* lady, attributes it to *Olen*, who with his *Hyperboreans* instituted this oracle, and changed their rustic prose into the smooth and heroic verse.

But though this oracle was the most famed for the clearness and truth of its answers, insomuch, that it was often applied to, to explain the more intricate ones of other places, yet was it not without its ambiguities, so as to be easily applicable to the event, let it fall which way it would. *Herodotus* gives us some instances of this kind of amphibolious answers given to *Cræsus*, of which that unfortunate

(3) *Cæf. Rhodig. lect. antiq. l. viii. c. 15. ap. eund.* (4) *Vener. de divinat.* (5) *Vid. Plutarch. de defect. Orac.*

according to *Pausanias*, did first introduce the worship of *Jupiter* in his new kingdom. *Orpheus*, *Dædalus*, and *Melampus*, went and fetched new supplies of *Egyptic* idolatry and superstition; and *Greece* was soon after furnished with a number of deities, suited to the taste of their brutal votaries, and with a sanction and precedent for every unsocial and unnatural vice. To this desperate and universal degeneracy of the *Grecian* nation it is, that we have ventured in a former note to ascribe in some measure all the fabulous accounts, which the poets have given us concerning the birth, extraction, and extravagant exploits of those famous heroes, who bestowed so much pains and time to reform and abolish it. Of this number were *Minos*, *Hercules*, *Theseus*, and many more, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, some of whom cleared the seas, others the land, of that pestilent race, and others, lastly, by wholesome laws, by the introduction of commerce, arts, and sciences, laid the happy foundations for that politeness and grandeur, for which they were so justly famed in after-ages.

king, a munificent votary to the *Delphic* god, justly complains, as having more than once or twice misled him to his ruin (6).

The reader may see a number of other instances of the same nature in *Pausanias* (7), besides those which we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel, and which, though fulfilled contrary to the meaning and expectation of the consulters, yet seemed to be directed by some foreseeing being, because they still answered the prediction, though in a different sense. Of this nature was that which forewarned *Epaminondas* to beware of what the *Greeks* called the *Pelagos*; by which he understanding it to mean the sea which they called *πῆλαγος*, forbore to go into any ship or gally, whereas it was the *Mantinean* wood of that name, of which the oracle bid him beware. Much after the same nature is the *Carthaginian* general said to have been deceived, when he was told by another oracle that he should be buried in *Libya*; from which he concluded, that after having beaten the *Romans* he should return and die in his own country, whereas the oracle meant the town of *Libyssa* in *Bithynia* but according to our author called by the *Nicomedians* *Libya*, in which he died.

It was for this reason, that these predictions, attributed by the *Heathens* to some godhead, were by the primitive fathers ascribed to the devil, who, though incapable to dive into futurity, yet could give a greater guess into it than any mortal; but we leave the disquisition of such questions to divines, as well as the times and causes of these oracles ceasing in the heathen world, though this last we may perhaps touch upon, when we come to resume the sequel of the *Jewish* history.

(6) *lib. i.* (7) *In Arcad. Vid. & eund. in Phoc. & Potter ubi supra.*

The chrono-
logy of
this epoch.
Year of
the Flood,
910 *.
Year be-
fore Christ
2089.



THIS fabulous epoch, as it includes all that the poets have sung and historians recorded, concerning the foundation of all the ancient *Grecian* monarchies, the exploits of the *Grecian* heroes, their wars and other transactions from the end of the *Trojan* war and upwards, to the foundation of the *Sicyonian* kingdom the most ancient of all, amounts to 905 years, that is from *A. M.* 1915. when *Ægialeus* is said to have laid the foundation of his kingdom, to the destruction of *Troy*, *A. M.* 2820. (G)^r. But as under this period are contained the histories of the several following monarchies; 1st, That of *Sicyon* abovementioned: 2. Of *Argos* and *Mycenæ*: 3. *Attica*: 4. *Bœotia*: 5. *Arcadia*: 6. *Thessaly*: 7. *Corinth*: 8. *Sparta*, and some others, from their foundation to their either becoming incorporate with others, or to their severally resolving themselves into commonwealths; this last circumstance will

* Vid. *USSER. Ann. sub utroque an. ex Castor. ap Euseb. Chronic.*

(G) We need not tell our readers, that this chronology is far enough from being unquestionable; those who have read *Sir Isaac Newton* on this subject will easily agree with him, that the reigns of the several kings of *Sicyon*, *Argos*, &c. are spun out to an unnatural length, they amounting one with another to thirty five and forty years apiece, which is almost double the time that those of *Judah* and *Israel* reigned.

It is also not unlikely, that the foundation of the *Sicyonian* kingdom is vastly antedated, and that the eleven or twelve kings whom they pretend to have reigned between *Apis* and *Epaphus* or *Epopeus*, which our author thinks to have been two names for the same person, were only feigned, and interlarded here to add the greater antiquity to that kingdom. We are told, that it began 232 years before the time of *Inachus*, or 1313 years before the first *Olympiad* (8); but what certainty can there be in a tradition of such a length?

The same fault may be supposed to run through the whole chronology of the other kingdoms belonging to this epoch, since their foundation is likewise previous to the *Olympiads*, before which all computation of time is dark, precarious, and, in many instances, notoriously false.

* It may be observed, that if the kingdom of *Sicyon* were founded in *A. M.* 1915, as some chronologers suppose, and we allow 1307 years to have elapsed from the creation to the flood, according to the *Samaritan* account, there will remain but 608 for the year of the flood; it is proper therefore to acquaint the reader, that in the margin, the authors have placed the foundation of it according to their own computation, which makes its dissolution coincide with the year in which they have placed the destruction of *Troy*.

(8) *Castor ap. Euseb. Chron. Vid. Newt. Chronol.*

oblige

oblige us both to extend it beyond what is properly called the fabulous and heroic epocha down to the times of their respective change of government, and to give a fuller chronology of each kingdom under each distinct head.

OTHER material transactions under this period are chiefly those that follow, the *Ogygian* and *Deucalion* floods; the murder committed by the daughters of *Danaus* on their husbands; the labours of *Hercules*; the unfortunate adventures of *OEdipus*; the *Argonautic* expedition; the wars of *Minos* and *Theseus*; the exploits and adventures of *Prometheus*, *Epimetheus*, and *Atlas*; those of *Perseus* and *Bellerophon*; the rapes of *Io*, *Europa*, and *Helena*; the war of the *Epigoni* or seven champions against *Thebes*; the *Trojan* war, spoken of in a former chapter; the fatal end of the greatest part of the *Grecian* chiefs; the infamous exploits of the gods; and in a word, all the heroic deeds of their pretended offspring, in suppressing robbers and pirates, pulling down tyrants, protecting the oppressed, and forming the *Greek* nation by degrees from anarchy, cruelty, and barbarism, into a polite, warlike, and glorious people.

S E C T. II.

The history of the antient kingdom of SICYON.

SICYON has the first place in this dark province of antiquity, both as being older than all the rest, and because it boasts a succession of twenty six kings, whose several reigns make up an epoch of nine hundred and sixty years and upwards. Its original name was *Ægialea*, given to it by *Ægialeus*, the supposed founder and first monarch of it. Whether the whole kingdom, or only its metropolis, were called by that name, is not certain; but it exchanged it afterwards for that of *Apia*, from *Apis* the fourth king from *Ægialeus*, and in process of time it had that of *Sicyon* given to it, which was that of their 19th monarch, who reigned about 740 years after its supposed foundation, and from that time, not only the kingdom, but the whole peninsula of *Peloponnesus*, was called *Sicyonia*, until its dissolution, and even beyond it ^a.

Names.

THIS little kingdom was situate on the north part of *Peloponnesus*, since called the bay of *Corinth*. It had the province of *Achaia* on the west, and the isthmus which joins the pen-

Situation.

^a STEPHAN. de Urb. STRAB.

insula to the continent of *Greece* on the east. What its extent was cannot be known. The capital of it is supposed to have been situate upon the river *Asopus* in about thirty eight degrees and a half of north latitude, and twenty three degrees and a half of east longitude, having the bay of *Corinth* on the north, the rest of the *Peleponnesus* on the other three points ^b.

Natural
and artifi-
cial rari-
ties.

Chrono-
logy.

Its territory was rich, abounding with corn, vines, olive-trees, and other commodities, besides some iron mines. It was in process of time very much adorned, by *Sicyon* and his successors, with temples, altars, monuments, and statues of all their gods and antient monarchs. It would be justly esteemed the antientest monarchy in the world, not excepting even those of *Egypt* and *Assyria*, were it true, that its founder lived about 150 years after the flood, that is about 200 years before *Noah's* death, as some have computed it from *Eusebius*, who affirms this monarchy to have been founded 1313 years before the first olympiad ^c. But that mistake has been rectified by other chronologers, who make him contemporary with *Terah Abraham's* father, and to have begun his reign about the year of the world 1915, or even later about *A. M.* 2236 ^d, which brings it somewhat lower than the year of the flood 900; besides it is not improbable, as *Sir Isaac Newton* observes, that chronologers have split *Apis Epaphus* (the 4th in descent from *Ægialeus*) into two kings, and between them have inserted eleven or twelve feigned names of kings who did nothing, and thereby have made its founder *Ægialeus* 300 years older than his brother *Phoroneus* ^e, the son of *Inachus* and founder of *Phoronicum*, since called *Argos*. The truth is, we know nothing of those princes, but their names and the years they are affirmed to have reigned. The same indeed may be said of the greatest part of their successors. We meet with no memorable action or conquest performed by any of them during the long space of 962 years; though this epocha, dark and remote as it is, is so fruitful of the most surprizing exploits in most other contemporary kingdoms. However, we shall here subjoin a list of those twenty six monarchs with the length of their reigns, as we find it transmitted to us.

^b STRAB. MELA, & al.

^c HEYL. ex EUSEB. Chronic.

^d USSER, RAWLEIGH & al.
p. 6.

^e NEWT. Chronol. introd.

Kings of Sicyon :

Reigned Years.		Reigned Years.	
1	<i>Ægialeus</i> 52	13	<i>Marathon</i> 30
2	<i>Europs</i> 45	14	<i>Marathus</i> 30
3	<i>Telchin</i> or <i>Selchin</i> } 20	15	<i>Æchyræus</i> 55
4	<i>Apis</i> 25	16	<i>Corax</i> 30
5	<i>Thelxion</i> or <i>Thelasion</i> } 52	17	<i>Epopeus</i> 35
6	<i>Ægirus</i> 34	18	<i>Laomedon</i> 40
7	<i>Eurymachus</i> or <i>Thurimachus</i> } 45	19	<i>Sicyon</i> 45
8	<i>Leucippus</i> 53	20	<i>Polybus</i> 40
9	<i>Mossapius</i> 47	21	<i>Inachus</i> or <i>Ianischus</i> } 42
10	<i>Peratus</i> 46	22	<i>Phæstus</i> 8
11	<i>Plemneus</i> 48	23	<i>Adrastus</i> 4
12	<i>Orthopelis</i> 63	24	<i>Polyphides</i> 31
		25	<i>Pelasgus</i> 20
		26	<i>Zeuxippus</i> 32

In all years 962

THERE is little else to be found in history worth notice concerning these monarchs, besides what we hinted above. Those that are the most remarkable in the list are, 1. *Ægialeus* the founder; 2. *Apis*, from whom the country was called *Apia*; 3. *Ægirus*, the supposed founder of the antient city of *Ægira*, situate on a high and almost inaccessible hill; once the capital of *Achaia* properly so called, and now supposed to be the small village of *Hylocastro*; 4. *Marathon*, of whom the famous fields of *Marathon* had probably their name; 5. *Epopeus*, who built a stately temple to *Minerva* and adorned it with his own trophies; 6. *Sicyon* from whom the whole country and peninsula took the name of *Sicyonia*. He is likewise supposed to have either built, or at least enlarged, the metropolis of the kingdom, and to have called it by his own name.

AFTER the death of *Zeuxippus* the last king in the list, that state is said to have been governed by the priests of *Apollo Carneus*, five of whom held the sovereignty only during one year each; after which *Amphictyon* held it nine years successively, and *Charidemus* the last of them continued in it eighteen years. After this hierarchy had lasted thirty two years the *Heraclidae*, who were by that time returned into *Peloponnesus*, became masters of it, or, according to *Pausanias*, the kingdom was incorporated with the *Dores*, and became subject to that of *Argos*^g, the next antient kingdom to that of *Sicyon*.

f EUSEB. Chron.

g In Corinth.

K k k 2

S E C T.

S E C T. III.

The History of the antient kingdom of ARGOS.

WE have already hinted in the last section, that not the kingdom only of *Sicyon*, but the whole *Peloponnesus*, was called *Ægialea* and *Apia* from the first and fourth kings of it. There were likewise two kings of the same name in *Argos*; the one the younger son of *Inachus* the founder of the kingdom, and the other the son of *Phoroneus* the elder brother of *Ægialeus*^a. Hence these two have been confounded with those of *Sicyon*, and their kingdom thought to have been of as antient, if not of older, date than the *Sicyonian*, and the country to have received its name not from the *Sicyonian*, but from the *Argivic* monarch. In so dark a dispute we can only say, that the *Argivic* *Ægialeus* being only a younger brother, and it not appearing that he reigned at all there, seeing his brother *Phoroneus* left the kingdom to his own son, it is not so likely, that the country should receive its name from him as from that of *Sicyon*. However, the kingdom soon changed its name for that of *Argolis* from *Argos*, the son of *Jupiter* by *Niobe*, who was sister to *Apis*, upon whom the kingdom devolved, because *Apis* died without issue. It was also called *Hippium* and *Hippoboton* from the neighbouring pastures, in which *Neptune* is said to have fed his horses^b, or rather from an excellent breed of horses which that country was famed for.

*Situation
and extent.*

THIS kingdom is situate on the north-east side of *Peloponnesus*, surrounded on the east by the two bays of *Saron*, now *Golfo de Neapoli*, and of *Argos*, and has the kingdom of *Sicyon* or *Achaia Propria* and *Arcadia* on the north and west, and that of *Laconia* on the south. What its antient limits were is hard to say; but it was very much enlarged by some of its monarchs, so that it extended itself from east to west from 23 deg. 40 min. to 24 deg. 50 min. east longitude, or about seventy miles, and north and south from 37 deg. and a half to 38 deg. 20 min. north latitude, or about fifty miles.

*Natural
and artifi-
cial vari-
ties.*

ITS chief river is the *Inachus*, so called from the founder of this kingdom. It empties itself into the bay of *Argos*, now called *Golfo de Engia*, near the port *Asine*. On this river

^a APOLLONOR. l. ii. c. i. Vid. HIND. hist. Greec.
SAN. in Corinth.

^b PAU-

was situate the metropolis, called also *Inachus* from its founder and fourth monarch, and famous among other things for the death of *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, who, having forced an entrance into it, 'was knocked on the head with a tile flung by an old woman from the top of a house. Here was also the brazen tower, in which *Danae*, being confined by her father, was deflowered by *Jupiter*. It was likewise much enriched by its trade, and particularly that of a fine breed of horses bred about its territory, from which the name of *Hippium* was given to it. 2. Next to *Argos* was *Mycenæ*, which became in process of time the seat of the kingdom, and is celebrated by *Horace* for her riches, as her rival *Argos* was for her horses. 3. *Træzen*, once the royal seat of *Pittheus* the grandfather of *Theseus*. 4. *Nemea*, famous for the *Nemean* games, supposed to have been instituted there in memory of *Hercules's* killing a lion which infested that neighbourhood; or, as others will have it, in memory of the son of *Lycurgus* king of the country about *Nemea*, who had been killed by a serpent, whilst his nurse *Hypsipyle* went to shew the *Argives* to a spring of water. We shall have occasion to speak more fully of this adventure in the sequel. 5. *Epidaurus*, in which stood the so famed temple of *Æsculapius*, resorted to from most parts of *Europe* and *Asia* for the cure of all distempers. 6. *Nauplia*, so called from its founder *Nauplius* king of *Ebena*, and for its excellent situation and harbour, whence it had the name of *Nauplia Navale*, now *Neapolis*, from which the gulf on which it is situate hath its modern name^d.

THE government of *Argos*, and afterwards of *Mycenæ*, continued altogether monarchical from its first foundation to its establishing itself into a downright democracy. *Pausanias* indeed observes, that the *Argives* were extremely jealous of their liberties, and were ever endeavouring to encroach upon the royal prerogative. However, they did not wholly clip it till after a long succession of princes; the *Heraclidae*, who were of the family of *Perseus*, recovered the kingdom from that of *Pelops*, about eighty years after the taking of *Troy*, or about forty years before its becoming a commonwealth; for it was during that space that they gained so much ground upon their kings, that they left them little else than the bare name; but by what laws they were antiently governed, or by whom they were enacted, and how far these mo-

narchs were tied by them, is what we will not venture to say.

Year of
the Flood,
1143.
Year be-
fore
Christ
1856.

The chro-
nology of
Argos.

THIS kingdom, *Eusebius* tells us out of *Castor*^c, was founded 1080 years before the first olympiad, that is, according to *Usher*, in the year of the world 2148, so that *Inachus* the founder of it was cotemporary with *Abraham*, and with *Thurimachus* the 7th king of *Sicyon*. It continued under the name of the *Argolic* kingdom till the reign of *Acrisius* the 14th king of it, who transferred the seat of it to *Mycenæ* a city of his own founding, about the year of the world 2700 and about the year 550 of its foundation, from which time that part of it continued to be called the kingdom of *Mycenæ* till the dissolution, which happened about the year 2920, when the *Heraclidæ* made themselves masters again both of this and of the whole peninsula, after it had stood upwards of 770 years, and under the government of twenty one monarchs. The *Argolic* kingdom, properly so called, retained likewise its own kings after this division until the *Heraclidæ*, whose family had been set aside by that of *Eurystheus*, the implacable enemy of *Hercules* and all his race, above an age before. These dividing the peninsula into three kingdoms, that of *Argos* had not continued above forty years, before *Meltas* their last king, having made a push to recover the royal prerogative, which was dwindled by that time to the lowest pitch, lost both his kingdom and life, after which the *Argivic* government was changed into a democracy.

^c Chronic.

A LIST

A LIST of the kings of *Argos* before its Translation to *Mycenæ*.

1 <i>Inachus</i>	
2 <i>Phoroneus</i>	Kings of <i>Mycenæ</i> .
3 <i>Apis</i>	
4 <i>Argus</i>	1 <i>Perseus</i>
5 <i>Pirafus, al. Criasus</i>	2 <i>Eurystheus</i>
6 <i>Phorbas</i>	3 <i>Atreus and Thyestes</i>
7 <i>Triopas</i>	4 <i>Agamemnon</i>
8 <i>Crotopus</i>	5 <i>Ægisthus</i>
9 <i>Sthenelus</i>	6 <i>Orestes</i>
10 <i>Danaus</i>	7 <i>Tisamenus, al. Penthilus</i>
11 <i>Lynceus</i>	
12 <i>Abas</i>	Kings of the <i>Heraclidæ</i> at
13 <i>Prætus</i>	<i>Argos</i> , after they had
14 <i>Acrisius</i>	recovered <i>Peloponnesus</i> ,
15 <i>Perseus</i>	and divided it into three
	kingdoms.
Founder of the kingdom	
of <i>Mycenæ</i> .	1 <i>Temenus</i>
	2 <i>Cifus</i>
16 <i>Talaon</i>	3 <i>Lacidaus</i>
17 <i>Adrastus</i>	4 <i>Meltas</i>
18 <i>Ægialeus</i>	
19 <i>Diomedes</i>	

1. *Inachus*, the supposed son of *Oceanus* and *Tethys* (A), *Inachus*. is affirmed to have been the founder of this kingdom. He married his sister *Melissa*, by whom he had two sons, *Phoroneus* and *Ægialeus*: he is supposed to be the father of *Io*, and therefore the *Greeks* are sometimes called from him *Inachi*.

(A) Or rather because he came thither by sea. We have had occasion in a former chapter to take notice of this extravagant vanity in the descendants of those first founders of kingdoms of raising them such fabulous genealogies, in order to disguise the obscurity of their origin, by ascribing it to some god, to the sea, rivers, nymphs, and such like extraordinary progenitors. We shall refer our readers to the caution we gave them there concerning these miraculous offsprings †.

† See before, p. 319. *sub fin.* note (M).

Phoroneus.

2. *Phoroneus* succeeded his father, enlarged his territories, and gathered the people who were before dispersed about the country into one city, which was called from him *Phoroneum* ^f; he is said to have had a son, by the nymph *Laodice*, named *Apis*; and a daughter named *Niobe*, who became the first paramour of the lustful god *Jupiter*, by whom she had a son named *Argos*. From *Phoroneus*, his supposed sister *Io*, is sometimes called *Phoronis* by the poets ^g.

Apis.

3. *Apis* succeeded his father, but governing too tyrannically, a faction was formed against him, which was upheld by *Thelasion* or *Thelxion* king of *Sicyon* (B), to whose treachery he was sacrificed. Some affirm that he fled into *Egypt*, where he taught that people the manuring of land, upon which account he was worshipped under the title of *Serapis* and in the form of an ox. We have already observed in the history of that kingdom [†], that *Serapis* was worshipped under a human form, bearing a bushel on its head. As for their *Apis*, though he was indeed worshipped under the form of an ox, yet it doth not appear that he was of *Argolic* extraction. We meet with several of the name, one in *Sicyon*, one in *Argos*, and this in *Egypt*; all of them so confounded by *Mythologists*, that we can gather nothing certain concerning them.

Argos.

4. *Argos*, the son of *Jupiter* and *Niobe*, succeeded him; he is supposed to have been the founder of the capital city, and to have called it and the whole kingdom by his name ^h. He is said to have been a promoter of agriculture, altogether neglected by the *Grecians* before his reign, who came from that time to be called *Argivi* from him.

Criasus.

5. *Criasus*, by others called *Pirasus*, the son of *Argos*.

Phorbas.

6. *Phorbas* the son of *Criasus*, supposed to have been contemporary with *Atlas* and *Prometheus*.

Triopas.

7. *Triopas* the son of *Phorbas*, whose brother, named also *Phorbas*, settled himself in the island of *Rhodes*.

Crotopus.

8. *Crotopus*, in whose times the *Argives* felt the dire effects of *Apollo's* anger on the following occasion: that god

^f PAUSAN. in Corinth.
P. 447.

^g HORAT. & al.

[†] See Vol. I.

^h APOLLOD. l. ii. c. 1.

(B) This shews how little dependance there is on the writings of this epocha, since even this last reigned, according to *Eusebius's* chronology, near 100 years before *Inachus* the founder of the *Argolic* kingdom, unless they have mistook him for *Peratus*, who flourished about the latter end of *Apis's* reign.

had

†

had had a private amour with *Psamathe* the king's daughter; and she to conceal the fruit of it from her father, went and hid it among the rushes, where it was devoured by the king's hounds. *Apollo*, to punish the *Argives* for this crime, sent the monster, or fury, *Pene*, who snatched their children from their mother's bosoms, and destroyed them. This monster being killed at length by *Cærebus*, *Apollo* sent them a grievous pestilence. *Cærebus*, having consulted the oracle how his anger might be appeased, was forbid to return to *Argos*, and directed to take a tripod in his hand, and to build a temple to that god wherever it chanced to drop from him, which he accordingly did.

9. *Sthenelus*, son of *Crotopus*, reigned sixteen years, after *Sthenelus*. which he, or as others think, his son *Geleanor*, was outed the kingdom by *Danaus* an *Egyptian*.

10. *Danaus* had been driven out of *Egypt* by his brother *Ægyptus*, for refusing to marry his fifty daughters to the fifty sons of his brother. His pretence for refusing the marriage was, that he had been forewarned by the oracle, that he should be killed by a son-in-law. Being therefore expelled *Egypt*, he came to *Argos*, where he laid claim to that kingdom, as being descended from *Epaphus* the son of *Io*, who, as was hinted above, was the daughter of *Inachus*. Both he and *Sthenelus* agreed to have their title decided by the people, and upon the second meeting of the assembly, a wolf came and killed a bull, who was grazing among a herd of cows, under the very walls of the city. The people who beheld it, took it for a fatal omen against the present possessor. *Sthenelus* was supposed to be meant by the bull, and *Danaus* by the wolf, because he was a stranger. Upon this he was immediately proclaimed king¹.

As soon as *Ægyptus* heard of this election, he resolved to prevent his marrying his fifty daughters to neighbouring princes, and strengthening himself by so many alliances against him. He raised a powerful army, and sent it with his fifty sons at the head of it against the new king of *Argos*; and these reduced him to such extremity, that he was forced to grant them his daughters in marriage. But he had taken care to make them promise to stab their husbands on the very first night of their nuptials, which they all punctually performed, except one named *Hypermnestra*, who privately conveyed her bridegroom *Lynceus* to *Lyræa*, a town not far from the metropolis. *Danaus* was no sooner apprised of her disobedience, than he would have put her to death for it; but she was honourably acquitted by the more humane *Ar-*

PANSEAN. ubi supra.

gives, was again received into favour, and *Lynceus* declared his heir and successor. As for his other forty nine daughters, they are feigned to have been condemned to an endless punishment in hell for their inhuman treachery, being forced to draw out water with buckets, bored with innumerable holes, and never to be filled (C).

Lynceus. 11. *Lynceus*, the son of *Ægyptus*, expelled his father-in-law out of his kingdom, and reigned in his stead. In commemoration of his wife's having saved his life, and of the *Argives* having acquitted her, they dedicated a statue to *Venus*, and the *Argives* instituted a feast in memory of the signal *Hypermnestra* had given to her husband of his being out of danger, and called it *the feast of Flambeaus*.

Abas. 12. *Abas* was the son of *Lynceus* and *Hypermnestra*, and father of *Prætus* and *Acrisius*, by *Ocalea* the daughter of *Mantineus*. These two sons, who were twins, are said to have struggled together in their mother's womb, a sure preface of that more fatal struggle they had for the kingdom when they came to manhood. They are reported to have been the two first who made use of targets in the battles they fought against each other*.

Prætus. 13. *Prætus* found means to step first upon the throne, and held it about seventeen years. It was in some part of this time, that *Bellerophon* king of *Corinth*, having committed manslaughter, came to *Argos* to be expiated by *Prætus*, whose queen *Sthenobæa*, being charmed with the beauty of that prince, solicited him often in vain to an unlawful commerce; and at length, to be revenged of his continency, did privately accuse him to her husband of having attempted her chastity. *Prætus*, not suspecting the truth of the accusation, sent immediately the young *Corinthian* prince to his father-in-law *Jobates*, with letters, in which he desired him to make away with the innocent stranger. *Jobates* sent him upon several dangerous expeditions, from which, notwithstanding, *Bellerophon* came off victorious, as we shall see

* PAUSAN. in Argolic. APOLLOD. l. ii. c. 2:

(C) This fable some mythologists interpret of their being doomed to fill the cisterns of the citadel, which *Danaus* built at *Argos*, with water, and probably also those of the city, which, according to the description an antient geographer gives us of it (1), seems to have wanted a considerable supply of that element. For though it be built upon the river *Inachus*, yet by reason of its nearness to the gulph, it is more than probable, that the waters of it were too brackish to be drank.

(1) *Strab. Geogr. l. viii.*

when

when we come to speak of the kings of *Corinth*¹. In the mean time *Prætus* met with something to turn his thoughts another way; his kingdom was invaded by his brother *Acrisius*, who, proving too strong for him, forced him to fly to his father-in-law *Jobates* king of *Lycia*. These two soon returned into *Argos* with an army, took the city of *Tyrins*, and obliged *Acrisius* to agree to a treaty, by which *Prætus* had *Tyrins* and other maritime, and *Acrisius* *Argos*, and the inland towns^m. *Prætus* had forty three daughters by his wife *Sthenobæa*, or, as she is called by *Homer*, *Antæa*; and they, with the rest of the women of that country, were seized with a distemper which they called *the fury of Bacchus*; but were cured by an excellent physician and soothsayer, who had one of the daughters given him in marriage, with a third part of the kingdom, as a reward for his skill. *Melampus*, that was the physician's name, obtained another daughter, and another third of the kingdom for his brother *Bias*; but *Prætus* had soon after this partition a son named *Megapenthes*, who succeeded him in the other third called *Tyrins*; but it is likely, that these three were again reunited, and made a new kingdom of *Argos* after the death of those philosophers, as we shall see after we have ended the history of the kings of *Mycenæ*, whose part from that time makes the most considerable figure.

14. *Acrisius*, on the other hand, had a daughter by his wife *Euridice* called *Danae*, and had been forewarned by the oracle, that she would have a son by whom he should be killed. To prevent therefore that young princess having any conversation with mankind, he caused her to be close confined in a strong brazen tower, and under such strict watch, that she might in all likelihood have been out of danger of fulfilling the oracle, had not *Jupiter* melted himself, as the poets feign, into a golden shower, which, sliding through the tiles into her lap, eluded all her father's caution (D)ⁿ.

THE fruit of these stolen embraces was *Perseus*, who was no sooner born, than *Acrisius* ordered him and his mother to be put into a chest, and thrown into the sea; but

¹ Idem, ibid. OVID. *Metam.* &c. ^m PAUSAN. ubi supra.
 APOLLOD. ubi supra. ⁿ APOLLOD. ib. c. 4.

(D) This golden shower seems to have been only some considerable bribe to those who guarded the tower. Some think, that it was her uncle *Prætus* who found means to corrupt them, and to get admittance to her.

Jupiter took care to convey them safe to *Seriphus*, where *Dictys*, the brother of *Polydectes* king of that island, brought *Perseus* up as his own son. By that time he was grown up, the king was fallen in love with his mother, and would have offered violence to her, had not her son prevented it. The king, highly provoked at this opposition, and resolved to be at once revenged and rid of him, sent him into *Africa* to fetch the famous *Gorgon*, *Medusa's* head, not doubting but the attempt would cost him his life. But to his surprize he saw the young prince return with the *Gorgon* (E), and crowned with a two-fold success, having in that expedition saved *Andromeda*, the daughter of *Cepheus* king of *Joppe* a maritime town in *Phœnicia*, from being devoured by a whale (F); in recompence of which service she was given to him in marriage.

AT his return into *Seriphus*, he thought on nothing but how to be revenged on the lustful and inhospitable king. Here he found, that his mother and *Dictys* had been forced to run into a sanctuary to screen themselves from his brutish violence, and, as the fable goes on, having turned him and all his accomplices into stones at the sight of the *Gorgon*, set up *Dictys* upon the throne. From thence he went, with his mother *Danae* and his wife *Andromeda*, into *Argos*; but *Acrisius*, frightened at the news of his being alive and having performed such noble exploits, had retired into *Larissa*, a city of *Pelafgia* situate on the river *Peneus*, whose king *Tantalus* having soon after caused some funeral games to be celebrated in honour of his deceased father, *Perseus* came thither among a great concourse of *Grecian* princes, and by an unfortunate

(E) It is not improbable, that, according to the account an ancient writer gives us (2) of this expedition, *Medusa* had succeeded her father *Phorcus* in his kingdom, which was situate along the lake *Tritonis*, and that she was a *Virago*, who, for want of other employment, was much used to hunting and to fight with her *African* subjects; and that *Perseus*, coming upon her in the dead of the night with the choicest forces of *Peloponnesus*, surprised and beheaded her, and carried her head away into *Greece*, to be admired for its extraordinary beauty (3). The reader may see what has been said of it by the judicious author last quoted.

(F) This whale is supposed to have been nothing else than a ship so called, into which *Phœnix* had seduced her in order to carry her away (4).

(2) *Vid. Paus. in Argol. Apollod. l. ii. pass. Diodor. Sicul. Bibl. l. iv. & al.*

(3) *Pausan. ubi supra, & Corinth. ch. xxi.*

(4) *Conon. Narrat. 40. Ross. Mystag. Poetic. Hind. Hist. Grec.*

cast of the disk (G) which fell upon *Acrisius's* foot, who was there present, killed him, and unwittingly fulfilled the oracle upon him^o.

15. *Perseus*, though next heir to the kingdom of *Argos* in right of *Danae* his mother, yet chose to exchange it with his cousin *Megapenthes* for that small one of *Tyrins* which had been left to him by his father *Prætus*, rather than to return to *Argos* after this unhappy death of his grandfather. Some affirm, that *Perseus* restored his grandfather to his throne, after he had been driven out of it by his brother; but that is inconsistent with their dividing the kingdom by treaty. However, after this exchange with *Megapenthes*, *Perseus* went and built the city of *Mycenæ*, and made it the seat of the kingdom. That [of *Argos* was therefore said to have been translated thither, because this new metropolis became in a short time more populous and opulent than the other. After *Acrisius's* death, the kingdom being thus divided into several pieces and among different families, *Perseus*, having reigned about eighteen years in that of *Tiryns*, left it to his son *Alcæus*, and he to *Amphitryon*, by whose wife *Alcmena*, *Jupiter* is said to have begot *Hercules*, and to have lengthened that amorous night as long as three to add the more strength to the child^p. In the mean time *Amphitryon*, having unawares killed *Electryon*, who was both his uncle and father-in-law, was forced to fly to *Thebes*. Here the child *Hercules* began to give such early proofs of his courage, extraordinary strength, and fierceness, that he was sent to be brought up among some shepherds, where he killed a lion before he was eighteen years of age (H)^q.

16. Eu-

^o PAUSAN. ubi supra. APOLLOD. ubi supra. ^p Id. ibid.
Diodor. Biblioth. hist. l. iv. ^q APOLLOD. ibid.

(G) The disk was a round piece of iron, lead, brass, or stone, with a hole in the middle, with which the gamblers used to exercise their strength and skill. He who could throw it farthest won the prize (5).

(H) We have already observed, that there were many fabulous heroes of this name. *Diodorus* and *Eusebius* mention three: *Diodorus* ascribes all these fabulous actions to the youngest who was the son of *Alcmena* (6). *Servius* speaks of four, and *Varro* of forty four; but the most remarkable of these are the six mentioned by *Tully*; as follows (7):

(5) *Potter. Archæolog. Vol. 1. cb 21. p. 443.* (6) *Hist.*
l. iv. (7) *De Natur. Deor. lib. iii.*

The

Euryf-
theus.

16. *Eurystheus* the son of *Sthenelus*, who was come to the crown of *Mycenæ*, or, as others have it, succeeded his father, began to look upon that young hero with a jealous eye. His title to the crown, as being the reputed son of *Amphitryon* his cousin-german, made him fear, lest he should in time find means to dispossess him of it. His fear and hatred of him soon grew to such a height, that he left no way untried to be rid of him. *Hercules*, who was not insensible of it, because he was ever engaging him upon some desperate expedition, went to consult the oracle; and being answered, that it was the pleasure of the gods that he should serve *Eurystheus* twelve years, was cast into so deep a melancholy, that it turned at length into a furious madness, during which, among other desperate deeds, he put away his wife *Megara*, and murdered all the children he had by her, which are supposed to have been twelve, because the king imposed the same number of labours upon him as an expiation for their murder, after he had recovered his senses^r. These labours being for the most part fabulous, and some of them, as we have observed more than once, being probably stolen from the history of *Samson* and other *Hebrew* worthies, we shall give them in the margin, that they may not interrupt the thread of our history of this kingdom, with which but few of them have an immediate connexion (I).

17. *Atreus*

^r DIOLOR. APOLLODOR. ubi supra.

The first, begot by the most antient *Jupiter* and *Lyfio*, who contended with *Apollo* for the tripod.

The second, the son of *Nile* and an *Egyptian*, was the inventor of the *Phrygian* characters.

The third was a native of *Crete* (and the son of the *Celtic Jupiter*): He was one of the *Idæi Daſtyli*, or *Curetes* of mount *Ida*.

The fourth was the son of the second *Jupiter* and *Asteria* sister to *Latona*, and father of *Carthago*; he was worshipped by the *Tyrians*.

The fifth was the *Indian Belus*. And

The sixth was this *Hercules* the supposed son of *Amphitryon*, but begot by the third *Jupiter* upon *Alcmena*.

(I) The first labour imposed upon him was the killing of a lion in *Nemea* a wood of *Acbaia*; whose hide was proof against any weapon, so that he was forced to seize him by the throat and strangle him; in memory of which he afterwards wore his skin about his shoulders.

In the second he killed the *Hydra*, a monster with two heads, one of which was no sooner cut off, than two sprang up in its room.

In

17. *Atreus* the son of *Pelops*, and grandson of *Tantalus* *Atreus*. king of *Lydia*, ascended the throne of *Mycenæ*, after the death

In the third he brought the *Erymanthian* boar alive upon his shoulders, at the sight of which the king is said to have been so frightened, that he ran and hid himself in a brazen hoghead. It was likewise in this expedition that he overcame the famous centaurs (8).

In his fourth he caught a hart with golden horns and of prodigious swiftness.

In his fifth labour he was commanded to cleanse *Augeas's* stable in one day, which he did by turning the river *Alpheus* into it.

In the sixth he chased away the mischievous birds of the lake *Stymphalis*, who are feigned to have lived upon human flesh, and to have been at length destroyed by *Hercules's* arrows, or, according to others, to have been only scared away from thence (9).

His seventh was to fetch a famous bull from the isle of *Crete*, with which *Pasiphae* the wife of *Minos* is said to have fallen in love. In this expedition, having helped *Jupiter* to overcome the *Titanic* giants, he reconciled *Prometheus* to him, and loosed him from mount *Caucasus*.

The eighth was to fetch the mares of *Diomedes* out of *Thrace*, which were tied with iron chains to brazen mangers, and were fed with the flesh of the strangers that passed by that way. *Hercules* first threw their inhuman master to be devoured by them, and then brought the mares to *Eurystheus*, who dedicated them to *Juno*. Their breed is said to have continued till *Alexander's* time. Betwixt this and his next task he is supposed to have gone upon the *Argonautic* expedition, of which we shall speak in due time.

In his ninth he fetched away the girdle of the queen of the *Amazons*; and

In the tenth the oxen of *Geryon* out of *Iberia* or *Spain*, in the farthest parts of which he erected his two pillars, as the utmost limits of the then known world. These ten labours he atchieved, as the fable says, in a little above eight years. In this expedition he is likewise affirmed to have killed *Antæus*, a famous giant of a monstrous size, who, when weary with wrestling or labour, was immediately refreshed by touching the earth. *Pliny* makes him the founder of *Tangier*. *Hercules* overcame him in wrestling, and slew him; and after him the tyrant *Busiris* in his way through *Egypt*. This bloody man used to sacrifice all his guests and strangers upon his altars, and designing to have done the same by *Hercules*, was slain by him together with all his attendants.

His two last tasks were fetching *Cerberus* out of hell, and the *Hesperian* golden apples kept by a dragon; which last is interpreted

(8) *Vid. Pausan. in Arcadic. c. 22. Sicul. l. iv.*

(9) *Apollod. l. ii. Diod.*

death of *Eurystheus* who left no issue. As for the line of *Pérséus* it only subsisted in *Hercules*. *Atreus* is always joined with his brother *Thyestes* as partner of the kingdom. These two are justly branded, the one for his incest, and the other for his horrid murders. *Thyestes* for defiling his brother's wife; and *Atreus* for murdering his brother's sons and feasting him with their flesh (K).

It was in his reign that the *Heraclidæ*, for so were called the sons and descendants of *Hercules*, came under the conduct of their champion *Hyllus* the son of *Hercules*, and claimed the kingdom of *Mycenæ*, from which they had been driven by *Eurystheus*. The controversy was to be decided by single combat and under these conditions, that if *Hyllus* killed *Eurystheus*, who had undertook to be champion for *Atreus*, then this last should relinquish his kingdom to the *Heraclidæ*; and if *Hyllus* was killed, they were to depart immediately, and not return into *Peloponnesus* till fifty years were expired. It happened, that *Hyllus* was killed by his antagonist, so that *Atreus* obliged them to leave the kingdom. Some of the *Heraclidæ* went to *Tricorinthus*, and others to *Dorus*, to whose father *Hercules* had left the region of *Hestiaeotis* in trust for them, and demanded it of him, upon which they were incorporated with the *Dores*. Their grandmother *Alcmena*, disappearing about this time, as she was returning to *Thebes*, had divine honours instituted and paid to her^c. *Atreus* was soon after their departure killed by *Ægisthus*, and succeeded by his own son.

Agamemnon.

18. *Agamemnon*, who was reckoned at that time the wealthiest and most powerful potentate in all *Greece*. His dominion extended not only through a considerable part of *Peloponnesus*, but also to several neighbouring islands. So that having a larger fleet, and a greater number of sea-ports, his commerce and revenue exceeded that of his cotemporary kings. This was the main reason of his being chosen general of the

^c PAUSAN. APOLLOD. ubi supra, & al.

to have been some fine herd of cattle kept by some stout man, and brought out of *Africa* to the king. As to his other exploits they will be mentioned in their proper place.

(K) The poets feign, that the sun went back at the sight of this horrid feast. As for *Thyestes*, he went to consult *Apollo* how he might be revenged on his brother, and was answered, that if he would lie with his own daughter *Pelopea*, he would beget a son that should murder both *Atreus* and his son *Agamemnon*. He did so, and *Ægisthus*, the fruit of this second incest, fulfilled the prophecy.

Trojan

Trojan expedition for the recovery of *Helena*, his brother *Menelaus*'s wife.

THE success of that expedition, the sacrifice of *Iphigenia*, and other circumstances relating to this prince, have been seen in a former chapter †. After taking of that city, besides several other jars which happened between the allied monarchs, about the parting of the booty, the disposition of their forces, and the like, a fatal quarrel arose between *Agamemnon* and his brother. The latter was for sailing homewards out of hand, and the other for staying to sacrifice to *Minerva*. The consequence was, that they parted in great anger. *Agamemnon* having weathered several storms, which the goddess *Pallas*, as the poets feign, had sent both to him and his confederates during their return homewards, arrived at last at *Mycenæ*, where he was murdered by his cousin-german *Ægisthus* and his wife *Clytemnestra*, who during his absence had contracted an unlawful amour together.

19. *Ægisthus* was the son of *Thyestes*, begot on his daughter *Pelopea* by the advice of the oracle mentioned in the last note. His mother, to conceal the foulness of her pregnancy, exposed him in the woods, where a shepherd finding him, nursed him with goats milk, from which he was called *Ægisthus*. The unlawful commerce he had afterwards with *Clytemnestra*, during *Agamemnon*'s absence, made them both fear lest they should fall a sacrifice to the resentment of that prince; and the oracle had pronounced him the murderer of both him and his father. The two guilty lovers were therefore soon determined to the fact, and having murdered *Agamemnon* seized upon the kingdom and held it about ten years, but both he and his paramour were at length murdered by *Orestes* *Agamemnon*'s son.

20. *Orestes*, who was but a child when his father was killed, had been privately conveyed to *Strophius* in *Phocis* by *Electra* his father's sister; but as soon as he was come to riper years, he returned to *Mycenæ*, and, having murdered the usurper and his own mother, took possession of the kingdom, and of that of *Argos*, whose throne was become in a manner vacant by the flight of *Diomedes* into *Italy*, after his return from the siege of *Troy*. The occasion of this flight we shall see in the sequel of the remaining kings of *Argos*, after its being parted from that of *Mycenæ*. *Orestes* ran raving mad soon after at the guilt of his parricide, or, as the poets feigned, was tormented for it by the furies. Being again restored to his senses, and vexed to find, that *Hermione*, his uncle *Menelaus*'s daughter,

† See p. 383. & seq.

M m m

whom

whom her grandfather *Tyndareus* had promised to him in marriage, had been espoused to *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles*, he went and killed him in the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, and married *Hermione*, by whom he got also the kingdom of *Sparta* *.

WITH *Orestes* we may mention here his faithful and constant friend *Pylades* the son of *Strophius*, with whom he had been brought up. These two are famed for having been so like each other in face, shape, temper, and affection, that they seemed to have had but one soul, and were not to be distinguished from one another. Insomuch, that when *Thoas* king of *Taurica* would have put *Orestes* to death, they both affirming to be the same person, and both ready to die each for his friend, the king could not possibly find out which was the right person, but admired their extraordinary friendship, which was indeed such, that it passed into a proverb.

Penthilus.

21. *Penthilus*, or according to others *Tisamenus*, succeeded his father *Orestes* in both kingdoms; but in less than three years he was killed in a battle which he fought against the *Achæi*, whom he had driven from *Argos* and *Mycenæ*, and had reduced to the necessity of driving the *Ionians* out of *Ægialea* into *Attica*. After his death the *Heraclidæ*, who had already got the greatest part of *Peloponnesus*, made themselves masters of these two kingdoms also, which they held until the conquest of that peninsula by the *Macedonians* †.

Adrastus
in Argos.

AFTER the parting of the kingdoms of *Mycenæ* and *Argos*, and of the latter into three parts, as we have seen above; we find *Adrastus* the son of *Talaon* and *Eurynome* reigning in *Argos*, and descended from *Perseus*. This valiant prince married his two daughters, the one to *Polynices* prince of *Thebes*, and the other to *Tydeus*, upon the following accident. These two princes were come to *Argos*, the former to beg the king's assistance against his brother *Eteocles*, who had deprived him of his yearly share in the government, and the latter was fled thither from *Calydonia* for man-slaughter. These two happened to have a squabble in some of the out-buildings of the palace, which alarmed *Adrastus*, and forced him to come and enquire the occasion of the disturbance. He had formerly been advised by the oracle to give his two daughters, the one to a lion, and the other to a boar, and had been doubtless very much puzzled to find out the meaning of it; but at his coming out he found, to his joy and surprize, an agreeable solution of it. *Polynices* bore a lion, and *Tydeus* a boar upon his shield, upon which he immediately gave his daughters

* APOLLOD. † PAUSAN. ubi supra.

to them, *Argia* to the former, and *Deipyle* to the latter, whose son succeeded him afterwards in the kingdom.

SOON after this, being resolved to assist *Polynices*, he raised a good army, and procured the best commanders he could to accompany him. Among these was one *Amphiaraus*, a good officer and great soothsayer, whom he had in vain attempted to gain, till *Polynices* bethought himself of the following stratagem. They offered to make his wife *Eriphyle* umpire whether he should go or not, and having bribed her beforehand with a costly bracelet, she decided in the affirmative; upon which *Amphiaraus*, who foresaw that none of the chief officers would escape except the king, and thinking on nothing but how to be revenged on his faithless wife, left strict charge with his two sons before he departed, that, as soon as they were come of age, they should kill her, and make war against the king of *Thebes* ^u.

Adrastus, marching with his army through the wood of *Nemea*, met with a woman carrying a child in her arms. This was the unfortunate daughter of *Thoas* king of *Lemnos*, whom she had saved, when the rest of the *Lemnian* women had killed by one consent all the males of that island with an intent to turn *Amazons*. For this her filial piety, they had sold her to pirates, who brought her to *Lycurgus* king of the country about *Nemea*, whose son *Archemorus*, or, as others call him, *Opheltes*, she was nursing, and had then in her arms. The *Argives* desired her to direct them to some water, and she laying down the boy went to shew them a fountain. At her return, finding that the child had been killed by a serpent, she went and hid herself for fear of her master's anger, and *Amphiaraus* sent her sons word soon after where their mother was. The *Argives* killed the serpent, and in memory of the dead child, they are said to have instituted the games called *Nemean*, in which *Adrastus* won the race by the swiftness of his horse *Arion*. *Tydeus* got the prize at whorlbats, *Polynices* at wrestling, *Amphiaraus* at running and quoits, *Parthenopæus* at shooting, and *Laodiceus* at darting ^w.

FROM the *Nemean* woods they went and encamped at the foot of *Cithæron*, a famed hill among the poets, among other things for the infamous revels which the priestesses of *Bacchus*, to whom the hill was consecrated, used to keep there. Here they sent *Tydeus* to *Thebes*, to demand of *Eteocles* the performance of the contract between *Polynices* and him. Upon his refusal, *Tydeus*, desirous partly to shew his own courage, and partly to try that of the *Thebans*, gave several challenges

^u *Diodor.* Bibl. l. iv. *APOLLOD.* l. iii. c. 5.

^w *Id.* *ibid.*

to their most noted champions, in which he still came off conqueror. The *Thebans*, envious of his success, sent fifty of their choicest men to way-lay him in his return to *Cithæron*, who were all killed except one, whom he sent back to *Thebes* to acquaint *Eteocles* with his courage and success. The *Argives* on the other hand hearing what had passed, resolved upon the siege of the city; the ill success of which we shall see in its proper place. All that needs be said here is, that *Adrastus* owed his escape to the swiftness of his horse, and *Amphiaraus* is said to have been swallowed up alive by the earth, together with his chariot and horses, near the river *Ismene*, or perhaps drowned altogether in that river. The other five generals did likewise lose their lives, so that it proved even as *Amphiaraus* had foreseen, that *Adrastus* alone should survive that expedition; and even he was forced to take refuge at the altar of mercy of the *Athenians*, and to beg their assistance, that the *Argives* might at least be enabled to recover the dead bodies of his soldiers and subjects, which the *Thebans* refused to deliver up. The *Athenians* readily granted his request, and forced the *Thebans* into a compliance with it, after which we hear no more of him.

Ægialeus. He was succeeded by his son *Ægialeus*, who, about ten years after the defeat before *Thebes*, entered into a confederacy with *Diomedes*, the son of his brother-in-law *Tydeus*, and with the five sons of the other generals who had lost their lives in that expedition to revenge their deaths upon the *Thebans*, and if possible to level that city with the ground. Thence these seven captains were called *Epigoni*. The oracle being consulted promised them success, provided they chose *Alcæon* the son of *Amphiaraus* their general. They did so, and came off victorious accordingly, as we shall see in the next section.

Diomedes AFTER this *Diomedes*, the son of *Tydeus* the son-in-law of *Adrastus*, who was also king of *Ætolia*, came to the crown of *Argos* in right of his wife, and was the last king of it. After his successful enterprise against *Thebes*, he listed himself in that against *Troj*, and was one of that small number of princes which returned safe home. Upon his arrival at *Argos*, he found that his wife *Ægiale*, whom *Venus* had plagued with a *furor uteri*, in revenge of the wound which he had given her at the siege of *Troy*, had entertained a criminal familiarity with *Cometes* the son of *Sthenelus*, one of the heroes that went to the siege of *Troy*. When she found that her husband had discovered her intrigue, she attempted to kill him, but he first retired to the temple of *Juno*, and thence into *Apulia*, then a small kingdom in *Italy*. Here he found
Daunus

Daunus the king of it straitly besieged, who promised him part of his kingdom if he could beat his enemies. *Diomedes* did it with success, and built a city there, which he called *Argos Hippium*, whence in process of time it changed its name into *Argyrippa*. He was afterwards killed by *Daunus*, and, according to the poetic fiction, his companions, who greatly lamented his death, were turned into swans, or birds very much like them.

IN the mean time the *Heraclidæ*, since their first expulsion out of *Peloponnesus* by *Eurystheus* king of *Argos*, had made several fruitless attempts to regain it. The first, as we have seen, was in *Atreus's* time under *Hyllus*; another under his son *Glæodeus*; a third under his grandson *Aristomachus*. This last prince left three sons, *Temenus*, *Cresphontes*, and *Aristodemus*, who, when they came of age, consulted the oracle concerning the success of a new invasion, and received this ambiguous answer, that it would succeed if they went by the way of *Stenygrus*; but they thinking the narrow passage of the isthmus to be meant by it, invaded it by that way, and *Aristomachus* lost the battle and his life in the attempt *.

THE *Pythones*, being upbraided with it by his sons, made answer, that their ancestors had brought their misfortunes upon themselves by mistaking her words. Thus when *Hyllus* was bid to wait for the third fruit, the oracle meant the third generation, and not, as he mistook it, the third crop; and that now by *Stenygrus* was not meant the neck of land, but the deep sea on the right hand of the peninsula. Upon this answer they went to build a navy at *Ætolia*, since called upon that account *Naupæus*. During their stay here, *Aristodemus* the youngest of the three was killed by lightning, and left two twins, *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*. Soon after this a more severe misfortune befel them, for their fleet was destroyed, and their army laboured under a grievous famine. The oracle was applied to afresh, and answered, that *Apollo* had sent those plagues upon them, because they had murdered his prophet *Carnus*. There had indeed been such a man among them whom *Hippotes* killed, because he took him to be some magician who came to delude the army; to expiate which crime, he was ordered by the oracle to be banished ten years.

THE *Heraclidæ* were also promised better success, provided they put themselves under the command of a general

* APOLLOD. l. iii. c. 5. & seq. PAUSAN. in Bœotic.

that

that had three eyes, but where to find such a one was the difficulty ; at length they met an *Ætolian* named *Oxylus*, who was returning from *Peloponnesus* into his own country, which he had been forced to fly a year before for the unfortunate murder of his brother. This man and the horse, or mule, he rode upon, having but three eyes between them, was immediately supposed to be the person pointed at by the oracle, upon which they chose him for their general, and promised him the country of *Elis* as a recompence ^y. They then gave out, that they were going to enter the peninsula at the isthmus, which drew all the *Peloponnesian* forces thither, and sailing up the *Stenygrus*, as the oracle had directed them, landed their forces at *Ætolycrion* without any opposition.

THREE of the kingdoms of *Peloponnesus* they challenged as their undoubted right, namely *Argos*, *Mycenæ*, and *Lacedemon* (L). The first of these they got with some difficulty, and *Tisamenus* the king of it was either killed ^z, or escaped by flight ^a. *Mycenæ* they conquered with the sword, and expelled all the *Nestorian* family, who went and settled at *Athens*, where *Alcmæon* and *Pæon* became the heads of two considerable families in that city [†]. As for *Lacedemon*, *Sparta* being betrayed to them by one *Philononius* ^b, they entered it with the sound of the flute, which instrument became much in vogue, as it was thought both to inspire the soldiers with courage, and to keep them in their ranks ^c. They also kept their promise with their three-eyed general, who being descended from *Ætolus* had a right to the country of *Elis*, from which the latter had been banished by *Salmonæus* king of the *Ephæi*, who were now in possession of it. These agreed with the *Heraclidæ*, that the pretensions of *Oxylus* should be decided by single combat, according to the *Grecian* custom, and the *Ephæan* champion being killed, *Elis* was restored to its right owner. After these successes the three brothers, having raised three altars to *Jupiter Patrius*, resolved to divide their conquest by lot. *Cressphontes* is supposed by some juggle to have made the kingdom of *Mycenæ*, the richest and

^y APOLLOD. ubi supra. c. viii. ^z PAUSAN. Eliac. STRAB. Geogr. lib. x. ^a APOLLOD ubi supra. [†] PAUSAN. Argol.
 ^b PAUSAN. ubi supra. STRAB. lib. x. ^c Id. l. viii.

(L.) The first of these was their right, as being the descendants of *Perseus* ; whereas the then king *Tisamenus*, who was of the race of *Pelops*, had no right to the crown. *Mycenæ* and *Lacedemon* they claimed in right of *Hercules*, who, having conquered them, had left the first to *Nestor*, and the last to *Tyndareus*, in trust for his own children.

most

most fruitful of the three, to fall to his share. *Temenus* had *Argos*, and *Lacedemon* was divided between *Eurysthenes* and *Procles* the sons of *Aristodemus*^a, as shall be seen in its place.

Temenus now fixed in *Argos*, betrayed such an extraordinary fondness for his son-in-law *Deiphontes*, who was descended from *Ctesiphus* the son of *Hercules* by *Dejanira*, that his other sons, who had reason to fear he would appoint him his successor, hired the *Titans* to murder their father. *Temenus* being dead, some authors tell us, the army, abhorring the parricides, set the crown upon *Deiphontes* and his wife^c; but *Pausanias* tells us, that it fell to his eldest son *Cisus*^{*}.

HOWEVER that be, from this time the royal prerogative began to lose ground very fast, as we observed before. To *Cisus* succeeded *Lacidamus*, who had little else than the title of a king. His son *Meltas*, impatient of such restraint, endeavoured, when it was too late, to restore it to its antient dignity, but the people were by that time grown so powerful and headstrong, that as soon as they found out his design, they put an effectual stop to it, and a final end to the kingly power, reducing the government into a downright democracy, and condemning their unhappy prince to death^c.

THE kingdom of *Mycenæ*, or *Messenia*, was not much longer lived. For though these two did outvie that of *Sparta* by far at first, yet the latter soon grew to such a height of power and splendor, as both to eclipse and overpower them in the wars which they had afterwards with them. To avoid repetitions we shall defer the further account of them till we come to speak of *Sparta*. All that need be added here is, that *Cresphontes*, who, as we observed before, had juggled himself into *Mycenæ*, soon lost his new-gotten kingdom and his life, being murdered by the nobles with two of his sons, for his extraordinary largesses to the people. His third son *Ægyptus*, or rather *Æpius*, fled to *Cypselus* king of *Arcadia*, who was his grandfather by the mother's side, and when of age obtained his assistance to regain his kingdom, killed the usurper of it, and by wisely dividing his favours and largesses between the nobles and the people gained the affections of both to such a degree, that the kings, who had till then been called *Heraclidæ*, were from thenceforth called *Æpytidæ* in honour of him^e. But this popular liberality, though now

^a POLYÆN. Stratagem. Vid. HIND. hist. Græc. lib. ii.

^c POLYÆN. ubi supra. APOLL. ubi supra. * PAUSAN. in Messenic.

^f APOLLON. ubi supra. ^e Vid. PAUSAN. in Messenic.

so successful, proved fatal to the regal dignity ; the subjects grew daily more and more encroaching, and the kings more tenacious of their prerogative, till it ended in the excision of monarchy and a total change of government.

S E C T. IV.

The History of the antient kingdom of ATTICA.

Geography: *ATTICA* was situate along the north coast of the gulph of *Saron*, bounded on the west by *Megara* and part of *Bœotia*, on the north by the *Euripic* gulph, now *Stretto de negro ponte*, and on the east by the *Ægean* sea. It reached in length from north-west to south-east, about sixty miles, that is from 24 deg. 40 min. to 25 deg. 41 min. east longitude. Its breadth from north to south, where it was broadest, was about fifty six miles, and decreasing as it came nearer to the sea ^a.

Natural and artificial rarities. THE soil is naturally barren and craggy, and made fertile chiefly by the indefatigable industry of the people ; hence it was, that it often enjoyed a profound quietness, when other more fruitful countries were exposed to frequent incursions. So that having above all others preserved its antient inhabitants gave rise to their extravagant notion, that they, like other insects, were the spontaneous product of the soil, and as a badge of it, *Thucylides* tells us, they wore a golden grasshopper in the curls of their hair. However, they were much more advantageously situated for commerce, having several good ports, the chief of which was that of *Pyræus*, whose haven, distant from *Athens* the metropolis of *Attica* about two miles, had a communication with it by a channel, guarded on each side with two strong walls, reaching from the one to the other, for the security of the merchandise that went up to that capital. It had moreover a wide harbour capable of containing above 100 ships ^b. There were some other ports and cities of note in this kingdom, the chief of which next to *Athens* was *Eleusis*, on the same gulph, and near the coasts of *Megara*, upon which account it had been once so strongly fortified that it was reckoned impregnable (A).

2. *Rhamnus*,

^a *MELA, CLUVER. BYZANT. & al.*

^b *THUCYD. l. ii.*

(A) This city is said to have been built by one *Eleusius*, who having entertained *Ceres* there, when she went in search of her daughter, she taught him agriculture as an acknowledgment for
his

2. *Rhamnus*, famed for the temple of *Amphiaraus*, and the statue of *Nemesis* (B). But the largest and most opulent was the metropolis, called at first *Cecropia* from *Cecrops* the founder of it ; but afterwards *Athens* from the goddess *Minerva* (C), whom the *Greeks* called *Athene*, and to whom that city Athens. was dedicated, and in whose honour were instituted the yearly games called *Panathenæa*. It was chiefly famed, besides its strength, beauty, and opulence ; 1. For the inviolable faith of its citizens, whence *Fides Attica* became a common proverb ; 2. For being the nursery of the best scholars and orators, choicest wits, and greatest philosophers ; and, 3. For having produced the greatest number of brave generals of any city in the world, *Rome* not excepted, upon all which accounts it was justly esteemed one of the eyes of *Greece* ^c.

^c JUSTIN. lib. ii. c. 6. PAUSAN. in Attic.

his hospitality. Hence that goddess is sometimes called *Eleufina* by the poets (1).

(B) The goddess of justice, called also *Rhamnasia* from this town where her temple stood (2).

(C) The occasion of it, as the story goes, is, that *Cecrops* not knowing what name to give to his new-built city, an olive-tree and a fountain of water, or, as others have it, a horse appeared. The oracle being consulted, answered, that *Neptune* and *Minerva* were contending for the honour of naming it, that the olive was the gift of *Minerva*, and the fountain (or horse) that of *Neptune* ; and that that which they esteemed the most beneficial to mankind should adjudge the prize to the giver. The men and the women being assembled to give their judgment, the former gave it for the god, but the women, who were more in number, gave it for the goddess, and the city was called from her *Athene*. *Neptune*, in revenge of the affront, drowned their territories about it ; and the men, to appease his anger past three votes against the women, the one, that they should not be called *Athenians*, but *Atticans* ; the second, that they should have no vote in public matters ; and lastly, that no children should thenceforth bear their mother's name. The poets have embellished this story after their way, by pretending, that those deities did visibly contend for those places, as they did also for several others, and that either *Jupiter*, or themselves, left the arbitration of the dispute to some proper judges. We shall meet with some further instances of this kind of contention in the sequel (3).

(1) Vid. Steph. de urb. in æc. (2) Id. Plutarch. &c. (3) Apollod. ubi supra. Pausan. in Attica.

THE chief river in this kingdom is the *Asopus*, flowing from the lake *Copais*, through *Bæotia* and *Attica*, and splitting itself into two streams, which divide the famous plains of *Marathon*, empties itself into the *Ægean* sea.

*Govern-
ment.*

THE government from its first foundation to the *Archontes*, continued altogether monarchical, under a succession of seventeen kings. What is most remarkable of all is, that they did not reduce it, like other kingdoms, into a commonwealth, and out of a dislike to the regal dignity, but rather changed only the name of it, out of a deep respect to the last monarch, who bore the title of king. For this glorious prince, having generously sacrificed his life to the safety of his subjects, the grateful *Athenians* resolved, that no man from thenceforth should bear the title of king, and gave that of *Archon* to his son and successor^d, which continued during ten successions. So that the only difference between the kingly and the *Archontic* government was, that the former descended by inheritance, and the latter by election, and that these were accountable to the people whenever it was required.

Riches.

THE riches of this kingdom, occasioned by its great commerce and frugality, are said to have amounted to 1200 (*Attic*) talents a year^d; this vast income gave them a considerable superiority over all their neighbours, not only as it enabled them to keep a greater army and navy than they, but also as they could make use of it to gain any other estates to their side; and as their coin was commonly stamped with the figure of an ox, hence was the phrase so frequent among the *Greeks*, of a thing being worth ten or a hundred oxen†. Hence also came the common proverb, *Bovem habet in lingua*, when a man was thought bribed to speak contrary to his own sentiments.

Coin.

*Chrono-
logy.*

THIS kingdom is generally allowed to have been founded by *Cecrops* an *Egyptian*, who brought hither a colony of *Saïts*^e, a people who lived upon one of the mouths of the *Nile* called *Saiticum*, about the year of the world 2448, and of the flood 1443, or, according to *Eusebius's* chronology, 780 years before the first olympiad (D). It continued under its

^d THUCYDID. ubi supra.
Thes.

† Vid. PLUTARCH. in vit.

^e DIODOR. SIC. lib. 1.

(D) Some authors, who make *Ogyges* to have been king of *Attica* at that time in which it was destroyed by the deluge which bears his
his

its monarchs 487 years, according to the same chronology, during which time it doth not appear that the *Athenians* felt any grievances, that could induce them to exchange that form of government for any other. The *Archontic* government which followed, though made elective by their law, yet continued in the family of their last king 312 years longer, that is till the year of the world 3252, and of the flood 2247, from this time to that of receiving the government into a commonwealth, *A. M.* 3412. there elapsed 160 years. The whole duration then of this government from *Cecrops* to *Solon* amounts to 960 years.

its name (4), place the foundation of this kingdom still farther off, namely 200 years earlier. Who this *Ogyges* was, is not easy to guess: Some make him an *Egyptian*, and some an *Arcadian*: Some think he reigned in *Attica*, and others at *Thebes*. Under this uncertainty we choose to date the foundation of the kingdom from *Cecrops*, who, if *Ogyges* had really reigned there, may at least be reckoned the restorer of it, and the person from whom the succession of *Attic* princes is derived.

We must own, however, that according to this supposition of his being the first founder of the kingdom, those of *Thebes* and *Sparta* will stand foremost in point of antiquity, though in no other respect; but this is not worth inverting the order we gave them at first in our plan of this work.

This *Cecrops* is feigned by the poets to have been partly man and partly serpent or dragon, that is, according to *Justin* (5), because he was the first that coupled male and female in matrimony, or, according to *Demosthenes* and the rest of the vain *Grecians*, because he had the wisdom of a man and the strength of a dragon, or came a dragon or barbarian out of *Egypt*, and polished himself into a man in *Greece*; but more probably, either as he was the first institutor of marriage, or because he understood the *Egyptian* and *Greek* tongues. Some authors have, though without any foundation, affirmed him to have been drowned in the *Red sea* with *Pharaoh's* host, in whose time he lived (6).

(4) *De hoc vid. Hellenic. Castor. Thal. Polybist. Euseb. & al. Apollod. l. ii.* (5) *lib ii. c. i.* (6) *Euseb. Chron. vid. Polybist. Raleigh Heyl. & al.*

The antient kings of *Athens* :

1 <i>Cecrops</i>	7 <i>Cecrops II.</i>	13 <i>Oxyntes</i>
2 <i>Cranaus</i>	8 <i>Pandion II.</i>	14 <i>Amphydas</i>
3 <i>Amphietyon</i>	9 <i>Ægeus</i>	15 <i>Thymetæes al.</i>
4 <i>Eriethonius</i>	10 <i>Theseus</i>	<i>Thymedes</i>
5 <i>Pandion</i>	11 <i>Mnestheus</i>	16 <i>Melanthus</i>
6 <i>Eretheus</i>	12 <i>Demophon</i>	17 <i>Codrus</i>

The Names of the thirteen *Archons* who succeeded these kings were,

1 <i>Medon</i>	the son of	<i>Codrus.</i>
2 <i>Accestus</i>		<i>Medon.</i>
3 <i>Archippus</i>		<i>Acastus.</i>
4 <i>Thersippus</i>		<i>Archyppus.</i>
5 <i>Phorbas</i>		<i>Thersippus.</i>
6 <i>Megacles</i>		<i>Phorbas.</i>
7 <i>Diagnetus</i>		<i>Megacles.</i>
8 <i>Pherculus</i>		<i>Diagnetus.</i>
9 <i>Auritthon</i>		<i>Pherculus.</i>
10 <i>Thespiæus</i>		<i>Auritthon.</i>
11 <i>Agamestor</i>		<i>Thespiæus.</i>
12 <i>Æschylus</i>		<i>Agamestor.</i>
13 <i>Alcmæon</i>		<i>Æschylus.</i>

1. *Cecrops* built the city of *Athens*, as we said before, married the daughter of *Ætæus*, supposed to have been king of *Attica* before him, and in right of her laid the foundation of a new monarchy. He is said to have been the first who deified *Jupiter*, and ordained sacrifices to be offered to him[†], as the supreme deity. He is likewise affirmed to have been the first who set up altars and idols, offered sacrifices, and instituted marriage among the *Grecians*, who before his time, it seems, lived promiscuously, and coupled as their fancy led them. *Pausanias* tells us, that he forbade sacrificing any living creatures to the gods, or any sort of offerings, except a kind of forked or horned cakes, called by the *Athenians* *Pelanos*, and in *Greek* *Βουε*, which signifies likewise an ox. This led *Eusebius* into the mistake which we find in the first book of his chronicle, where he affirms, that *Cecrops* was the first who sacrificed an ox to *Jupiter*; whereas that creature,

[†] PAUSAN. in Attic.

so esteemed by the *Athenians* on account of its serviceableness in agriculture, was not sacrificed by them till the time of *Ereätheus*, who offered one to *Jupiter Polieus*, or *protector of the city*; and then, *Pausanias* tells us, that the priest who knocked it down, being seized with horror at the fact, flung his hatchet down and fled out of *Attica*. From *Cecrops* the *Athenians* affected to call themselves *Cecropidæ* during the five following reigns, after which they changed it for that of *Ereäthydæ*, in honour of *Ereätheus* their sixth monarch. *Cecrops* reigned fifty years, according to *Eusebius* and St. *Jerom*, and left only three daughters, viz. *Herse*, *Aglauros*, and *Pandrosos*, of whom we shall speak in a following note. As for his son *Erysichthon*, he died before his father. So that after *Cecrops*'s death, *Cranaus*, one of the wealthiest citizens of *Athens* and in the greatest credit, found means to ascend the *Attic* throne, probably by the marriage of one of his daughters.

2. *Cranaus* enjoyed the kingdom about ten years, during which time having unfortunately married one of his daughters named *Attis* to *Amphictyon* the son of *Deucalion*, he was by him dethroned and forced to retire into the city of *Lamprea*, where he led a private life to the last, and where the *Lampreans* shewed his tomb. From his daughter *Attis* the country, till then called *Aëtæa*, took the name of *Attica*.

3. *Amphictyon* (E), after he had reigned about ten, or, according to the last quoted authors, twelve years, was himself deposed, and outed by

4. *Erichthonius*, who was the reputed son of *Vulcan* and *Tethys* (F). He is said to have been the first inventor of coaches, being lame of his feet: He reigned fifty years.

5. *Pandion*, the son of *Erichthonius*, and father of *Progne* and *Philomela*; whose hard fate, so famous among the poets,

⁸ APOLLON. l. iii. c. 3.

(E) Not that *Amphictyon* who was the first institutor of the court of the *Amphictyons* or common council of *Greece*, but his uncle.

(F) He is feigned by the poets to have sprung *ex spermate Vulcani in terram delapso*, by the assistance of *Minerva* who also brought him up. The fable adds, that she having one day laid the child in a covered coffer, gave it in charge to *Cecrops*'s three daughters, with express orders not to open it upon any account. *Pandrosos* obeyed the goddess; but her two sisters, more curious than she, having ventured to open it, were immediately taken with such a phrensy, or, according to the fabulous phrase, so tormented with furies, that they flung themselves down the steepest place of the citadel, and ended their lives.

is

is supposed to have broke his heart after he had reigned about forty years.

Erectheus.

6. *Erectheus*, *Pandion's* son, was reckoned the most powerful prince of his time; wherefore *Boreas* king of *Thrace*, who sought his alliance, demanded his daughter *Orythia* in marriage, and being denyed carried her away by force. *Erectheus*, after he had reigned fifty years, was unfortunately killed in a battle against the *Eleusians*. He left several sons, who equally contended for the kingdom, and at length agreed to refer the decision to their brother-in-law *Xuthus*, who adjudged the kingdom to *Cecrops* who was the eldest. For this the other two brothers bore *Xuthus* such ill-will, that they forced him to fly their country, whither he had taken refuge when driven from *Theffaly* by his brethern.

Cecrops II

7. *Cecrops II.* the eldest son of *Erectheus*: this prince is generally allowed to have been the first who gathered the people into twelve towns, who had till then lived in houses and cottages, scattered here and there without order or regular distance; but he was, after forty years reign, outed the kingdom by his two discontented brethren *Metion* and *Pandorus*, and forced to fly into *Ægialea*, and died there.

Pandion II.

8. *Pandion II.* the son of *Cecrops II.* was likewise driven out of *Athens* by the sons of his uncle *Metion* who took the administration for some time. *Pandion* fled into *Megara*, where *Pylas* then reigning gave him his daughter *Pelia*, and afterwards made him his successor. During his abode there he had four sons, with whom he came into *Athens* (G), whence he expelled the sons of *Metion*, and, after he had reigned a short time, either left the kingdom among his four sons, or they agreed to divide it among themselves after his death; notwithstanding which the royal dignity did in effect remain with the eldest ^h *Ægeus*.

9. *Ægeus*, when he came to the crown, finding himself

^h PAUSAN. APOLLOD. ubi supra.

(G) It is indeed much more likely, that he never returned into *Athens*, but that after his sons were grown up, he sent them to recover that kingdom from the *Metionides*, so that having all shared alike the danger, they thought it reasonable to share alike in the conquest.

The space therefore of twenty five years, allowed by chronologists (7) to their father's reign, seems rather designed to mark the interval of the interregnum or usurpation, from *Cecrops's* expulsion to his grandson *Ægeus's* reign.

(7) Pausan. Apoll. ubi supra. Plutarch. in vit. These.

disputed

despised by his subjects, because he could get no children by his wives, and sometimes insulted by his brother *Pallas*, who by that time had got no less than fifty sons besides daughters, went to consult the *Delphic* oracle, and was answered, that he must forbear the use of women till his return into *Athens*¹. This puzzling answer forced him to apply himself to *Pittheus* king of *Træzen*, who was then famed for his extraordinary wisdom and skill in expounding oracles, where this prince easily prevailed with him to lie with his daughter *Æthra* whom he got with child. As none but these three were privy to the secret, *Ægeus*, before his return to *Athens*, hid a sword and a pair of shoes under a stone long enough to cover them, and left orders with the princess, that if the child proved a boy, she should send him to *Athens* with those tokens, as soon as he was able to lift up the stone. He charged her moreover to use all imaginable secrecy, lest the sons of his brother *Pallas*, getting knowledge of it, should way-lay and murder him in his way to *Athens*.

Æthra being soon after delivered of a son, *Pittheus* gave out, that *Neptune* was the father of it; and when he was sixteen years old, she brought him to the stone, which she saw him lift up with ease, upon which she discovered to him the whole secret of his parentage, bid him take up the sword and shoes, and prepare himself to go to his father. Both she and *Pittheus*, however, advised him to go by sea, alledging, that since *Hercules*'s departure, who had been the great scourge of robbers and banditti, the roads were again so infested with them, that it was extremely hazardous to travel by land. *Theseus*, this was the young prince's name, who had by that time shewed uncommon marks of courage and strength, no sooner heard *Hercules* named upon such an occasion, than he was fired with a desire to imitate so noble a pattern; so that all their intreaties could not dissuade him from taking his journey by land. The exploits which he performed in his way to *Athens*, having no connection with either his father's reign or his own, may be best seen in the margin (H).

WHILST

¹ PLUTARCH. in vit. These.

(H) His first encounter after he left *Træzen* was with *Periphetes* the son of *Vulcan*, surnamed also *Corynetes*, or *Club bearer*, from the club he used to fight with, whom he slew in single combat, and afterwards carried his club with him. The next he overcame was *Sinnis* the son of *Polyphemus*, surnamed *Pityocametes*, from his bending the heads of two tall pines and tying passengers between the opposite

WHILST *Theseus* was still at *Træzen*, his father laboured under no small perplexities from his subjects and his haughty brother ; and an accident happened which had almost driven him to despair. *Androgeus*, the son of *Minos* king of *Crete*, who was come to *Athens* to be present at one of their feasts, had unhappily contracted such an intimacy with the fifty sons of *Pallas*, that the jealous old king, fearing some fatal consequence from it, had caused that prince to be privately murdered. Others say, that the young prince, having undertaken to encounter the *Marathonian* bull, was killed by it. However that be, *Minos*, having received the news of his son's death and made several vain attempts to revenge it on the *Athenians*, prayed to the gods to do it for him ; upon which the *Athenians* were punished with pestilence, famine, and several other plagues ; and were told by the oracle, that they must expect no relief, till they were reconciled to the *Cretan* king. *Minos*, resolved to make them pay dear for their deliverance, imposed a yearly tribute upon them of seven young men and seven young virgins, whom he condemned to be devoured by the *Minotaur* (I), during the space of seven ^k, or, according to

^k DIODOR. ubi supra.

site branches, which, by their sudden return, did tear them in pieces : him *Theseus* put to the same death.

His next exploit was killing the fierce *Cromyonian* sow, called *Phæa*, which others take to have been a female robber of that name, infamous for her thefts, murders, and lewdness.

Sciron a famous robber, who used to throw passengers down a steep rock after he had made them wash his feet, fell the next victim to his valour. Having next signalized himself in the *Eleusian* games by killing *Cercyon* a famous *Arcadian* wrestler, he went to *Termione*, where he killed *Damastes*, otherwise called *Procrustes*, by distending his limbs to the length of his bed, as he used to do to those who unhappily fell into his hands.

Lastly, He went and fetched the famed bull of *Marathon* and brought him alive to *Athens*, where he sacrificed him to *Apollo* (8).

(I) Feigned by the poets to have been half man and half bull, and begot by a bull upon *Pasiphaë* *Mino's* queen ; and who as soon as born was by the king's order thrown into the labyrinth and fed with human flesh ; but more reasonably supposed to have been a man of great strength and ferocity, and upon that account to have been surnamed *Taurus* or *Bull*. He seems also to have been in great power at the *Cretan* court, either for his constant victories at the games which *Minos* had instituted in memory of his son, or for some other exploits, or perhaps rather for his fierce and cruel nature ; upon which account it may be reasonably supposed, that all

(8) *Philochor. ap. Hind. Hist. Græc. lib. i.*

to others, nine years¹, these unhappy victims were to be drawn by lot, and what heightned the people's murmurs was, that *Ægeus*, the cause of these misfortunes, being childless, was the only person who was exempt from the punishment.

It was now the third time that *Minos* had sent his bloody messengers to exact the tribute, when *Theseus*, having performed all those glorious exploits abovementioned, was arrived at his father's capital. The unfortunate king, who had received some years before into his court the famous enchantress *Medea*, in her flight from *Corinth*, and had been deluded with hopes, that she would renew his age, and make him capable of getting children, had by that time been also prevailed upon to marry her. *Theseus*, whose birth was a secret to every one there, was soon discovered by *Medea*, who conceived such jealousy of him, by reason of his noble exploits, that she easily filled her weak husband with fears, and persuaded him to invite the young stranger, and to poison him in a glass of wine. As soon as they were sat at table, *Theseus*, willing to give his father an agreeable surprise, did happily draw his sword, as if he designed to help himself with it, which the old king no sooner saw, than he hastened to throw down the poisoned draught, and embracing his son, owned him for such before all the court. This declaration, and the known valour of *Theseus*, did so quash the sanguine hopes of *Pallas* and his sons, that they broke out in open rebellion, but were soon after discomfited by him.

AFTER this *Theseus*, who resolved at any rate to deliver his father's country from the bloody *Cretan* tribute, having encouraged his old father with hopes of killing the *Minotaur*, went and willingly offered himself to be one of the unhappy victims, and embarking with them in one ship, he gave the pilot two sails, the one black, to sail by, and the other white, to be hoisted up at their return in case he came off victorious. At their arrival at *Crete* he offered himself to *Minos*, and demanded the liberty to fight the *Minotaur*, or rather his

¹ PLUTARCH, ubi supra.

the *Athenian* captives in particular were given to him by that exasperated prince, to be used with uncommon severity. For we are told (9), that he was grown to such a height of insolence and cruelty, that he was by this time become odious to the whole kingdom, and not unlikely to the king also, upon his being suspected to have too great a familiarity with the queen.

(9) *Plutarch. ubi supra.*

champion *Taurus*, in single combat, which the king did the more readily grant, because he had some just reason to suspect, that his queen, a woman of no singular chastity, had some criminal commerce with him. *Theseus* after this had all the success he could wish : He killed his enemy, released all the *Athenian* captives, prevailed upon *Minos* to remit the tribute, and obtained his daughter *Ariadne* in marriage, not indeed with her father's consent ; but she, having been an eye-witness of his valour and address in the late fight, conceived such a passion for him, that she resolved to run away with him. He left her however in the isle of *Naxos* : and some add, that, after the conquest of the *Minotaur*, *Minos* fell in love with *Peribea*, one of the seven virgins which *Theseus* had brought with him, and would have detained her. *Theseus* strenuously opposed it, which so exasperated the *Cretan* king, that, among other ill language which he gave him, he told him, that he was not the son of *Neptune*, unless he would fetch his ring which he then flung into the sea. *Theseus* immediately plunged after it, and brought up with the ring a golden crown which *Amphitrite* had put upon his head. *Minos*, however, would not be pacified without *Peribea*, and *Theseus*, still persisting in his denial, was by his order cast into the labyrinth, in which the *Minotaur* used to be kept ; but he stayed not long there, before *Ariadne* furnished him with a clue, by the help of which he extricated himself out of it, and setting out with his fleet for *Athens*, left *Ariadne* behind at the island above-mentioned, where *Bacchus* fell in love with her and carried her off, whilst *Theseus* sailed homewards towards *Athens*. Unfortunately for them and for *Ægeus*, their extraordinary joy for their late success made them forget to display the white flag in token of victory, as had been agreed ; and the old king, who went from time to time to espy them from a high rock, observing the ship afar off still hanging out its sable colours, doubted not, but that his son had like the rest fallen a victim to the *Minotaur* ; and, in a fit of sudden despair, threw himself into the sea, which from him was since called the *Ægean* sea ; so that when *Theseus* landed at *Athens*, he found the city divided between grief for *Ægeus*'s death, and joy, for the safe return of his valiant son and successor. *Ægeus* reigned forty years.

10. *Theseus* was of too active and warlike a temper, and too fond of imitating the great *Hercules*, to spend his time in the civil affairs of his kingdom ; so that he began, upon his first accession to it, to think how to divest himself of that care, that he might the better indulge his military genius. To this end he began with gathering all the people of *Attica* into
the

the old and new town, which he incorporated into one city. After this he divested himself of all his regal power, excepting only the title of king, the command of the army, and the guardianship of their laws. The rest he committed to proper magistrates, chosen out of three different orders of the people, which he divided into nobles, husbandmen, and artificers. The first he invested with the power of interpreting and executing the laws, and regulating all things that related to religion. The other two chose their inferior magistrates from among themselves, to take care of whatever related to their separate orders : so that the kingdom was in some measure reduced to a commonwealth, in which the king had the greatest post ; the nobles were next to him in honour and authority ; the husbandmen had the greatest profit ; and the artists excelled them in number. He instituted two annual festivals, the *Panathenæa*, in memory of the *Athenians* being now united into one, and that called the *Metœcia*, besides the famous *Isthmian* games in honour of *Neptune*, which we have mentioned formerly, and were so called from the *Isthmus* in which they were celebrated. All these were chiefly designed to draw a concourse of strangers thither, and, as a further encouragement for them to come and settle there, he endowed them with the privilege of natives. He likewise abolished all their distinct courts of judicature, and built one common council-hall called *Prytaneum*, a sumptuous building which stood for many ages ^m. We observed before, that the *Athenian* money was stamped with an ox ; this coin was supposed to have had that figure, either in memory of *Theseus's* killing the bull of *Marathon*, or the *Minotaur*, or perhaps to recommend agriculture to the people, to which the ox was most subservient.

AFTER he had thus new-modelled the government, his next care was to join the kingdom of *Megara* to his own, in right of his grandfather *Pandion* the second, who had succeeded *Pylus* his father-in-law, as we have seen above. It was then, that *Theseus* erected that famous pillar in the *Isthmus*, which shewed the limits of the two countries which met there, and which had this inscription on the one side, *This is not Peloponnesus but Ionia*, and on the other, *This is Peloponnesus not Ionia*. What we read concerning his two expeditions against the *Amazons*, is so blended with fable, so differently related ⁿ, and so uncertain, that we shall give it

^m PLUTARCH. ubi supra. Vid. & THUCYDID. l. ii. ⁿ Conf. HERODOT. PLUTARCH. & MEURS. in Thes. JUSTIN. l. ii. c. 4. in

in a short note, because they do not appear upon the whole to have an immediate relation to the kingdom of *Athens* (K).

SOMETIME after these expeditions, *Theseus* contracted an intimacy with *Pirithous* the son of *Ixion*, and, being invited to his nuptials, helped him to kill a great number of *Centaurs*, or rather *Thessalian* horsemen, as we shall see in the sequel, who in their cups had offered violence to their female guests ; and drove the rest out of the country. These two went from thence to *Sparta*, and stole away the famed *Helen* out of the temple of *Diana Ortia*, where she happened to be dancing °. This princess was the reputed daughter of *Jupiter* by *Leda*, the wife of *Tyndarus* king of *OEBALIA* in *Peloponnesus* ; and, though then but nine years old, was already famed for the greatest beauty in the world ; insomuch, that *Theseus* though then, as is reckoned, above fifty years old, yet could not his virtue be proof against her charms. However the time, and place, and circumstances of this rape are variously reported ; we have here followed *Plutarch's* account of it as the most allowed. According to him the two ravishers were pursued as far as *Tegea* ; but they happily made their escape out of *Peloponnesus*, and thinking themselves now secure of their prey, they agreed to cast lots for her, upon condition, that he to whose lot she fell should help the other in getting some other celebrated beauty in lieu of her ; and fortune having declared for *Theseus*, he assisted his companion in the like attempt upon *Proserpina*, daughter of *Aidonius*

• PLUTARCH. ubi supra. APOLLOD. PAUSAN. in Attic.

(K) The first expedition was only undertaken in favour of *Hercules*, whose companion in all such exploits *Theseus* always affected to be. As a reward therefore for his assistance, that victorious hero gave him *Antiope* one of the *Amazonian* queens whom he had taken prisoner. *Justin* says, *Hippolyte* the other queen, and that *Hercules* kept *Antiope* for himself.

However, this gave occasion to a second expedition, in which some affirm, that the *Amazons* made a descent into *Attica* to recover their lost queen, having with them besides their own forces obtained a powerful supply of horsemen from *Sagillus* king of *Scythia*, with his son *Panasagorus* at their head, who did afterwards upon some misunderstanding withdraw his troops and left them in the lurch. Others say, that *Theseus* went and attacked them near the *Caspian* sea : however, they all agree, that he gained the victory over them, and that in one of these two expeditions he took the queen *Hippolyte*, whom he afterwards married. After this the *Amazons* were forced to clap up a peace with the *Athenians*, and these, either in memory of this or of their late victory, erected a pillar near the temple of *Tellus Olympia*.

king

king of the *Molossi* in *Epirus*, who being the next beauty to *Helena* was guarded by the dog *Cerberus*, and was not to be won but by the death of that monster. However, when the king understood that they designed to steal her away, he threw *Pirithous* to be torn in pieces by *Cerberus*, and *Theseus* into prison, from which he was afterwards released at the intercession of *Hercules*.

DURING his absence *Mnestheus*, the son of *Peteus* grandchild of *Eretheus*, had taken care to ingratiate himself so far with the nobles and commons, that when he returned, he found them very cold towards him. Soon after this, the war, which *Castor* and *Pollux* waged against him for the recovery of their sister *Helena*, raised a more powerful faction against him: And as soon as the two brothers were got to the gates of the city, *Mnestheus* harangued the citizens, and told them, that, since their quarrel was only against *Theseus*, their safest way was to open their gates to them, and *Theseus*, finding it impossible to resist the torrent, conveyed himself and family away privately, after he had pronounced a solemn curse against his faithless subjects, which did not go unheard (L). His design was to have sailed into *Crete*, and to have obtained either a succour or sanctuary there from *Deucalion* the son of *Minos*, and his now brother-in-law (M); but he

was

(L) The ungrateful *Athenians*, who expressed more joy for their new king, than grief for their old one, were in process of time made so sensible of the effects of his curse, that to appease his ghost they appointed solemn sacrifices and divine honours to be paid to him. The place where he pronounced his dire imprecation against them was from thenceforth called *Aratherion*, or the place of cursing (10).

(M) *Theseus* had a son by the *Amazonian* queen named *Hippolytus*, and having soon after married *Phædra* the sister of *Deucalion* the son and successor of *Minos*, by whom he had two sons, he sent *Hippolytus* to be brought up by his own mother *Æthra* queen of *Træzen*; but he coming afterwards to be present at some *Athenian* games, *Phædra* fell in love with him, and having solicited him in vain to a compliance, in a fit of resentment accused him to *Theseus* of having made an attempt upon her. The fable says, that *Theseus* prayed to *Neptune* to punish him by some violent death, and that as *Hippolytus* was riding along the sea-shore, *Neptune* sent two sea calves who frightened the horses, overturned the chariot, and tore him in pieces. The poets add, that the lustful queen hanged herself for grief; but as for *Hippolytus*, *Diana*, being taken with his chastity, and pitying the sad fate it had brought upon him,

was unfortunately cast by a tempest upon the island of *Scyros*. Here he was at first kindly received by king *Lycomedes*, but was soon after killed by a fall from a high mountain, in the 40th year of his reign. Some say, that he was decoyed thither by that king, who, either out of fear of him, or, as is most likely, at the instigation of his *Athenian* rival, threw him headlong down that precipice, though others say, that, that place being his usual walk after supper, his foot unfortunately slipped in the dark. We omit for brevity's sake many other famous exploits of this renowned hero, which the reader may more fully find in *Plutarch's* life of him. All we shall add here is, that the *Athenians* did sometime after dedicate a temple to him, and that *Cimon*, the famous son of *Miltiades*, did raze the whole island of *Scyros* in revenge of his death, and carried his bones to *Athens*, after he had, by the advice of the oracle, been at a great deal of pains to find them out.

11. *Mnestheus* or *Menestheus* was the son of *Peteus*, and great grandson of *Eretheus* the sixth king of *Athens*, and consequently had a better right to the crown than *Theseus*, whose father was uncertain, and who was at best but the son of *Ægeus*, and this but the adopted son of *Pandion*, as we have seen above. Whilst therefore *Theseus* was either pursuing his amours, or was imprisoned for the rape of *Proserpine*, it was easy for his rival to persuade the *Athenians* to raise him to the throne. What gave him another lift to it was, that *Castor* and *Pollux*, taking the advantage of *Theseus's* confinement, came and besieged *Aphidne* a town in *Attica*, where he had sent his mother and his wife *Helena*; and these two heroes having taken and rescued their sister, out of revenge to her ravisher, helped his competitor to mount the throne.

Menestheus, being thus chosen, was in no great care about the sons of *Theseus*, but dreaded his known valour, in case he should ever get into his dominions again. To prevent which, he prevailed so far upon the *Athenians*, what with gifts and caresses, that they would not suffer him to come into *Attica*. And as soon as he heard, that he was retired into the island of *Scyros*, he prevailed on *Lycomedes* to dispatch him by the stratagem we lately mentioned. *Menestheus* reigned twenty four years, and was one of the chiefs that went to the siege of *Troy*, where having lost his life, the kingdom of *Athens* returned again to the *Thesean* line.

prevailed upon *Æsculapius* to restore him to life, to be a companion of her diversions.

12. *Demophon*,

12. *Demophon*, one of the sons of *Theseus* by *Phædra*, succeeded him both in the kingdom and in the command of the *Athenian* forces that were before *Troy*. He was one of those that came back safe from that siege: In his return he landed in *Thrace*, where *Phyllis*, king *Lycurgus's* daughter, entertained him for some time both at bed and board. Upon his departure he promised to return to her, but broke his word and her heart. In his reign was erected the famous court of the *Ephetæ*, consisting originally of fifty *Athenians* and as many *Argivi*, for trying of wilful murders, and lying in wait to kill. The occasion of erecting this court, and of the *Argives* being admitted to sit as judges in it, was as follows: *Agamemnon*, others say *Diomedes*, returning with his forces from *Troy*, was driven one night into an *Athenian* port called *Phalerus*, and thinking themselves in an enemy's country, began their usual trade of ravaging and plundering, upon which the surpris'd *Athenians* fell upon them and killed a considerable number of them. On the morrow they found the palladium upon the ground among the slain, by which they knew that they were their friends the *Argives*. The oracle, having been consulted, ordered them to give the slain an honourable burial in the place where they fell, to build a temple upon it, and dedicate it to *Minerva*, and to set up the palladium in it. Immediately after this it was ordered, that this court should be erected to try all cases of murder, manslaughter, and chance-medly. It consisted of fifty members, who were to be above fifty years old, men of sense and known probity, and had power of life and death. Upon its first setting up, *Agamemnon* insisting that there should be an equal number of *Athenians* and *Argives* to sit in it, the *Athenians* readily granted it. *Demophon* submitted himself afterwards to be tried by this court, for having unfortunately killed one of his subjects by the turn of his horse, as he was coming from *Troy*. It subsisted a considerable time in the same form; but *Draco*, one of their *Archons*, new-modelled it, excluded the *Argives* out of it, and made it consist of fifty one *Athenians*, who were all to be turned of fifty years of age^p. *Demophon* reigned thirty three years, and was succeeded by his son, or, according to others, his brother

13. *Oxyntes*, who reigned twelve years, and left the crown to his son

14. *Aphydas*, who was murdered by *Thymætes* in the first year of his reign.

^p EUSEB. Chron. lib. i.

15. *Thymætes*,

15. *Thymætes*, the bastard-son of *Oxyntes*, betrayed his base nature in many things besides the murder of *Aphydas*, by which he got the crown. We shall only mention the last instance of it which justly bereaved him of it. He had reigned about eight years, when *Xanthus* king of *Bæotia* had a contest with him about one of their frontier towns. *Xanthus* offered to decide the matter in single combat, and *Thymætes* as cowardly declined it. It happened, that *Melanthus*, a noble *Messenian* who had been driven out of his country by the *Heraclidæ*, was come to *Athens* about this time, and offered to answer the cartel. Upon their very first onset *Melanthus* called to his adversary, and asked him why he brought a second along with him contrary to their articles, and whilst *Xanthus* turned about to see who followed him, he ran him through with his lance^a. This victory, though it was more owing to his cunning than bravery, did so please the *Athenians*, that they not only deposed their pusillanimous king, who was the last of the line of *Ereätheus*, and set their *Messenian* champion upon the throne; but instituted a feast in memory of this action, and called it *Apatheria* from the stratagem that gave occasion to it^r.

16. *Melanthus*, as soon as he had mounted the throne, persuaded the *Athenians* to receive the banished *Messenians* and *Nestoridæ*, and after a reign of thirty seven years left the kingdom to his worthy son *Codrus*^c.

17. *Codrus* reigned about twenty one years, during which time the *Dores* and *Heraclidæ* had regained all *Peloponnesus*, and were entering into *Attica*. *Codrus* was informed that the oracle had promised them victory, provided they did not kill the king of the *Athenians*, and that they had taken all proper precautions against it; but he, who had resolved to sacrifice his life to the safety of his kingdom, took this method to elude them. He disguised himself like a peasant, went into their camp, fell a quarelling with some of the *Dorian* soldiers, from thence they went to blows, and he ceased not fighting till he was killed. On the morrow when they found who he was, they were so terrified, that they decamped without striking a blow^t.

WITH *Codrus* ended the regal succession and title of kings of *Athens*. His subjects conceived such veneration for that magnanimous prince, that they esteemed none worthy to bear the royal title after him, and therefore committed the

^a Vid. FRONTIN Stratag. lib. ii. c. 5.

Stratag. l. i. c. 9.

Trog. l. ii. c. 6.

^r PAUSAN. Achaic.

^r POLYÆN.

^t JUST. ex

management of the estates to elective magistrates, to whom they gave the title of *Archons*, and chose *Medon* the eldest son of *Codrus* to that new dignity. His election, however, was opposed by his brother *Nileus*, who pretended he could not submit to *Medon's* authority, because he was lame of one foot; but the oracle having confirmed it^u, all the *Archons* that succeeded him were from him surnamed *Medontidæ*, because they were all chosen by succession: so that the *Athenian* government continued in the family of *Codrus* under thirteen perpetual *Archontes*, somewhat above the space of two hundred years.

THEIR names need not be repeated here, having added them to the list of the *Athenian* kings: neither shall we dwell upon the transactions which happened under each several archonship; this epocha having proved very unactive and barren, except that the people, always fond of a change, did shew from time to time their dislike to that dignity being made perpetual, as having too near a resemblance to monarchy, and giving its possessor too great a handle to tyrannize over them. They began to give some marks of their discontent under their first *Archon*. *Attica* had enjoyed so much quiet during a long season, that it swarmed with exiles and foreigners, who flocked thither from other parts which were more harrassed with wars, so that they were forced to discharge them in great multitudes upon the maritime coasts of *Lesser Asia*. Upon the very first of these expeditions *Nileus* and the rest of *Codrus's* sons, who could not brook to be under their brother *Medon*, drew a great number of *Athenians* to them, joined with the *Ionians* and *Thebans*, and left *Athens* for *Lesser Asia*, where they dispersed themselves in different parts, and founded the twelve following cities, viz. *Ephesus*, *Miletum*, *Priene*, *Colophon*, *Myos*, *Teos*, *Lebedes*, *Clazomenæ*, *Erithræ*, *Phoea*, *Cbios* in the isle of that name, and *Samos*. These were at first each under a petty prince, but being forced at length to join together, became afterwards very famous, as will be seen in due time.

THIS perpetual archonship, however, upheld itself so long, in spite of the people's dislike to it, that it passed through thirteen hands, from *Medon* the son of *Codrus* to *Alcmacon* the last who bore that dignity; but the people at length, impatient to put an end to it, took the advantage of his short reign, which lasted but two years, to clip the power of it, and to reduce its duration to ten years: so that *Charops* the

^u CASTOR, ap. EUSEB. ubi supra.

Year of
the Flood
2247.
Before
Christ
752

son of *Eschylus*, was forced to accept of it upon those terms or none. This change happened about the beginning of the seventh olympiad, and in the year of the world 3252, the year in which *Hezekiah* king of *Judah* was born. This new decennial dignity had scarce passed through four hands, before they began again to call for a fresh reduction of it; for *Hippomenes* the last of *Codrus's* line, in whose archonship this tumult happened, had scarce enjoyed it half its time, when his cruelties to the people, and more particularly to his son and daughter (N), caused him to be deposed. However, they did not then gain their point; it continued still through three different hands, till at length *Eryxias* the last of them, either dying, or being deposed in the last year of his archonship, the *Athenians* appointed new archontes to be chosen from among the most considerable citizens for birth, wealth and interest, and voted that dignity annual from thenceforth. From that time their government dwindled into a downright democracy, which *Solon* did afterwards new model and confirm, as we shall see in the next chapter.

S E C T. V.

The history of the antient kingdoms of Bœotia and Thebes.

Antient
names.

WE find two antient kingdoms called by the name of *Bœotia*; the one, and by far the more antient and considerable of the two, founded, or rather restored, by *Cadmus*, and named by him *Bœotia* from *the ox* which is said to have directed him to the place where he built the capital of his new kingdom, better known afterwards by the name of *Thebes*. The other was in *Thessaly*, and is said to have been founded by *Bœotus*, the son of *Neptune*, and brother of *Aëolus*, by *Arne* the daughter of *Æolus* king of *Æolis*. This last having sent his daughter to *Metapontium* a city of *Italy*, she was there delivered of those two sons, the eldest of whom she called after her father's name *Æolus*; and he possessed himself of the islands in the *Tyrrhe-*

(N) He caused his son to be torn in pieces by horses for adultery, and his daughter he shut up with a horse without food, to be devoured alive, for having suffered herself to be debauched by a citizen. In memory of this barbarous punishment, *Suidas* (11) tells us, there was a place in the city called ἵππο-καί-κυρης, *Hippo-kai-Kyres*, in memory of the horse and the young lady.

(11) *Sub voc. ἵπποκρυς.*

henian, now *Tuscan Sea*, and built the city of *Lipara*. *Bœotus* the younger son went to his grandfather and succeeded him in his kingdom, and called it by his own name, and the capital city *Arne* from his mother. All that we know of these is, that they held this settlement upwards of two hundred years, and that the *Theſſalians* did expel them from it, and forced them to seek for a new one ; upon which they came and possessed themselves of that country which had been till then called *Cadmeis*, and gave it the name of *Bœotia*. *Diodorus* and *Homer* tell us, that these *Bœotians* did signalize themselves at the *Trojan* war ; and the latter adds, that five of *Bœotus*'s grandsons, *Peneleus*, *Leitus*, *Prothoenor*, *Arceſilaus*, and *Glonius*, were the five chiefs who led their *Bœotian* troops thither.

ACCORDING therefore to *Diodorus* *, this last country, though founded into a kingdom, at least ever since the time of *Cadmus*, was not called *Bœotia* till the banished sons of *Bœotus* gave it that name, about three hundred years after the building of *Thebes* ; but the most current account, especially among the poets, is, that this name had been given to it by *Cadmus* himself in memory of the ox, by whom he had been directed thither according to the command of the oracle (A). However, it is owned, that it had had several other names, according to those of its supposed founders ; those who ascribed it to *Ogyges* called both it and its capital *Ogygia* ; others called it *Cadmeis* from *Cadmus*, *Aonia* from *Aon* the son of *Neptune*, and *Hyanthis* from *Ityas* the son of *Atlas* ; but the far greater part say, it was originally called *Calydna* from *Calydnus*, the first founder of the capital and kingdom ; that province is now called *Stramulippa*, and *Thebes* its ancient capital *Stibes* or *Stives*.

It bordered on the east to *Attica*, and was in time joined *Geography.* to it, as we have seen in the last article, and was parted from it by the mountain *Cithæron*. On the north by the strait *Euripus*, now called the *Negroponte*, said to flow seven times

* Bibl. lib. iv.

(A) The fable goes, that *Cadmus*, tired with going in search of his sister *Europa*, whom *Jupiter* in the shape of a bull, or, as is supposed, in a ship, which had a bull painted on the deck, had carried into *Crete*, was advised by the oracle of *Delphi* to follow the track of the first ox he saw, and where he rested himself to build there the city of *Thebes*, which he did accordingly (1).

(1) *Pausan. in Bœot. & al.*

Natural
rarities.

in twenty four hours, or rather, according to *Livy*, supposed to do so, because its tides are boisterous and uncertain. On the west it had the kingdom of *Phocis*, and on the south the gulph of *Corinth*. Its utmost extent from east to west was 1 deg. 10 min. and near the same length from north to south; but coming near to a point eastward^a. Here is the large lake *Copais* about fourteen miles in length, and eight in breadth, out of which flow two considerable rivers, which water the far greater part of the country eastward. These are the *Asopus*, which divided the territories of *Thebes* from those of the *Plateans*, and running through those of *Attica* falls into the *Ægean* sea; and the *Ismenus*, which empties itself into the *Euripus* abovementioned. The country is partly hilly, especially *Aonia* properly so called; the rest is low and flat, abounding with excellent pasturage; but whose air is so thick and foggy, that *Horace* thought it the occasion of the inhabitants being such famous dunces.

Places of
note.

PLACES of note in *Bœotia* were; 1. the *Trophonian* cave (B), and the oracle, said to have been there given by *Jupiter*, whence he was surnamed *Trophonius*. 2. *Thespia*, a town situate on the river of that name, and shadowed on the north by the famous *Helicon*, whence the muses, to whom these were dedicated, were called *Thespiades*. 3. *Aulis*, a sea-port on the *Negropont*, famous for being the place where the *Grecian* chiefs swore the destruction of *Troy*. 4. The famed streights of the mountain *Oeta*, not above twenty-five feet in breadth, and commonly called the streights of *Thermophylæ* from the hot waters in that neighbourhood; but the most famed place was the city of *Thebes*, situate near the river *Ismenus*, and surnamed *Heptapylus* from its seven gates. It is generally allowed to have been founded by *Cadmus*, as we observed before, and to have been made by him the capital of the *Bœotian* kingdom, from which his successors, who did adorn it with many stately temples, palaces, and other sumptuous buildings, some of whom we shall have occasion to mention by and by, were also called kings of *Thebes*^b.

Laws and
Customs.

This government was altogether monarchical like those we have seen already, but perhaps more despotic here than in

^a STRAB MEL. & al.

^b PAUSAN. in Bœot.

(B) So called from an old soothsayer, who inhabited it, and used to be consulted as an oracle. No man was admitted into it, till after many washings, anointings, and the like superstitious preparations. It is added that those who had once been in it, were never seen to laugh afterwards. Hence came the proverb, when a man was over melancholy, *he has been in the Trophonian den*.

the

the rest, and having no other laws than the king's will; some of whom governed more like tyrants than natural monarchs. We have nothing left of their antient customs, except what *Plutarch* tells us in his morals of their manner of introducing their new-married women into their new habitation. They were brought thither in a kind of chariot or cart, the axle-tree of which was immediately burnt, to give the bride to understand, that she was fixed with her husband for life, and must not expect to return to her parents. The foundation of this antient kingdom we shall only date from the building or rebuilding of its metropolis by *Cadmus*, to avoid all the fables and uncertainties which preceded that period, and concerning which, whether we make *Ogyges* or any other hero to have reigned in *Bœotia*, we cannot gather any light, from even what we have left, out of the fable-writers. Even the times which elapsed between *Cadmus* and the celebrated war between the two contending sons of *Œdipus*, and which is the most antient piece of history that we have of all *Greece*, are so stuffed with the vilest and most absurd fables of gods turned into satyrs and devils, and of men turned into monsters of cruelty and lust, that we hope we shall be excused for skipping over all that has not some affinity with the history itself. The time in which chronologists place the rape of *Europa* being about the year of the world 2550 ^ε, the Flood, and of the flood 1545, the rebuilding of *Thebes* may be supposed to have been within a very few years after. From thence to the time of its being totally destroyed by the *Epigoni* it had stood above 230 years, under the government of eleven kings, two whereof were not of the *Cadmean* race, but usurpers. After this there reigned in *Thebes* two kings more of the race of *Œdipus*, and three of the race of *Penclæus* the great grandson of *Barotus*. Besides these we find *Homer* mentioning *Eetion* as king of *Thebes*. We have spoken of him in another place †, and shall omit him here in our list, because it doth not appear that he was of the *Cadmean* race, nor is he mentioned by *Pausanias* among the *Theban* kings, though he may have signalized himself in the defence of that city.

Chronology

Year of
the Flood,
1545.
Year be-
fore Christ
1454.

ε Vid. *HIND. Hist. Græc.* † See before, p. 428.

The LIST of the Kings of *Thebes*, according to our Author, is as follows :

1 <i>Cadmus</i>	10 <i>Laodamas</i> the son of <i>Eteocles</i>
2 <i>Polydorus</i>	
3 <i>Labdacus</i>	11 <i>Thersander</i> son of <i>Polynices</i>
4 <i>Lajus</i>	
5 <i>Amphion</i> an usurper	12 <i>Tisamenes</i>
6 <i>Zethus</i> his brother	13 <i>Autesion</i>
<i>Lajus</i> restored	14 <i>Damasichthon</i>
7 <i>OEdipus</i>	15 <i>Ptolomeos</i>
8 <i>Eteocles</i> and	16 <i>Xuthus</i>
9 <i>Polynices</i>	

After this last the *Thebans*, grown weary of kingly government, resolved themselves into a commonwealth, as shall be seen in the next chapter.

Cadmus, according to the *Greeks*, was the son of *Agenor* king of *Sidon*, or, according to others, of *Tyre*; but according to the *Sidonians* his countrymen he was no more than the king's cook: these add, that his wife *Hermione* was likewise a mere minstrel at court, with whom he ran away into *Greece* †. The former tell us, that his father, sending him and his two brothers in quest of *Europa*, had forbid them to return without her. *Cadmus* therefore, having sought her far and long in vain, and despairing of success, came into *Boeotia*, where, as we have seen above, he rebuilt this city, and laid the foundation of this new kingdom. He was at first opposed by the *Hyantes* and *Abones*, who were then in possession of that territory: the former he overcame in fight and forced them to retire into *Locris*; but the latter he admitted, upon their submitting themselves to him, to continue there, and to be incorporated with his own people (C). Here he built

† Vid. *ARTHUR*. l. xiv. c. 22.

(C) Who and whence those people were, whom *Cadmus* brought hither, is variously conjectured: some think, that he and they came from *Thebais* in *Egypt* (2), and that he therefore gave that name to his new metropolis. Others believe them to have been a colony of *Phœnicians*; but we think *Bochart's* conjecture (3) the most reasonable, that they were *Canaanites*, driven out of their land by

(2) Vid. *Usser. an. sub. A. M.* 2549.
See *Vol. II. p.* 304, & *Note (A)*.

(3) *Canaan. l. i. c.* 19.

built the city of *Thebes*, and a citadel, which he called by his own name *Cadmea*^d, which name it retained many ages after.

THE fable adds, that when *Cadmus* married his wife *Hermione*, whom the poets make the daughter of *Mars* and *Venus*, the gods came to *Cadmus* and assisted at his wedding; and that he had by her one son named *Polydorus* and four daughters, *Semele* the mother of *Bacchus* by *Jupiter* (D), *Ino*, *Autonoe*, and *Agave*. After this the *Encheleæ*, who were at war with the *Illyrians*, being commanded by the oracle to choose him their general, he left *Thebes* to his son *Polydorus*, and headed them; and here it was, that he and

^d PAUSAN. ubi supra.

Josbua, whose time falls in with *Cadmus* exactly. Hence it is far from improbable, that this latter was of the family of the *Cadmonites* mentioned by *Moses* (4), who were the same with the *Hivites*, and were called *Cadmonim* or *Easterlings*, because they inhabited mount *Hermon* the most eastern part of *Canaan*, from which the same author supposes *Cadmus's* wife to have been called *Hermione* or *Harmonia*.

The fable of these two being turned into serpents, he thinks to have sprung from their retaining their common name of *Hivites*, which in the *Syriac* signifies *a serpent*.

These conjectures are further confirmed by the name of his capital *Thebes*; for the above quoted book mentions a city of the same name in the land of *Canaan* (5) and written in the plural *Θεβæ* by *Josephus* (6): this is therefore a much more probable etymon, than that of those who derive it from *Theba* the daughter of *Prometheus* (7).

(D) The reason why the poets make *Cadmus* grandfather to *Bacchus*, is generally thought to have been his bringing the extravagant rites of that god into *Greece*: for it is intirely contrary to the chronology of those who make *Bacchus* to be the same with *Nimrod*, and of those who make him the son of *Jupiter Ammon*, since in either opinion he must have been vastly more antient (8).

However, *Bacchus* is feigned to have been the first who found out the use of wine, to have gone upon a three-years expedition, at the head of an army of men and women into *India*, even to the utmost parts of it, and to have reduced and civilized the *Barbarian* inhabitants of those parts: and lastly, to have returned in triumph upon an elephant (9).

(4) *Gen.* xv. 19. (5) *c.* ix. 50. (6) *Ant.* l. v. c. 5.

(7) *Vid.* *Steph. Byzant.* sub *Thebæ*. (8) *Vid.* *Bochart.* ubi supra.

Ch. xviii. (9) *Vid.* *Diodor. Sicul.* lib. iv.

his wife are feigned to have been turned into serpents (E), or, as some interpret it, to have degenerated from their primitive civility into barbarians. In this place he begat another son, whom he either called *Illyrius* from the name of the *Illyrians*, his new-conquered subjects, or else that people took their name from him.

Brings letters into Greece.

Cadmus is universally allowed to have introduced the use of letters into *Greece* from *Phœnicia*. The alphabet at first had but sixteen letters, and was not compleated till a long time after. He also was the first that set up schools there: he taught them moreover trade and navigation, and brags had the name of *Cadmean* given it in memory of his being the inventor of it, or rather of his introducing the use of it into those parts *.

Cadmus being retired into *Illyrium*, as we have seen, left the *Theban* government to his son *Polydorus*, in whose reign his great favourite and nephew, *Pentheus* the son of *Echion* by *Agave*, having had the insolence to prophane the rites of *Bacchus*, was torn in pieces by his mother and sisters. *Polydorus*, whose son *Labdacus* was yet under age, when he found himself dying, committed the care of him and of the kingdom to *Nyctæus*, whose daughter *Antiope* (F), the greatest beauty then in all *Greece*, being soon after carried off by *Epopeus* king of *Sicyon*, he was forced to leave the government and the young prince to his brother *Lycus*, whilst he undertook a war against the ravisher of his daughter. He went soon after him at the head of his *Theban* troops, and a bloody fight ensued, in which *Nyctæus* received a mortal wound and lost the battle, upon which he caused himself to be brought back to *Thebes*, where he left once more his brother

* Vid. HERODOT. l. v.

(E) Another fable of him is, that having killed a great serpent, he strewed the teeth of it upon the ground, which immediately became living men, and fell a fighting against each other till they were all killed except five: hence a dear-gotten victory came to be called *Victoria Cadmea*.

(F) This young princess who was married to *Zethus*, is supposed to have been carried off by her own consent, because her dying father gave him orders to punish her, if ever he got her into his hands. But when he had got her, and found that she was pregnant, he contented himself at first with divorcing her, though he was afterwards persuaded by his next wife to clap her into a prison, out of which she was afterwards released by her two sons (10).

(10) *Pausan.* in *Corinth.* c. v.

ther guardian of the king and kingdom, and gave him in charge to revenge his death on *Epopeus*, and to rescue his daughter *Antiope*. In the mean time *Epopeus*, flushed with his victory (G), neglected a slight wound which he had received, and which gave him his death some time after, and put an end to the war. *Lycus* recovered his niece, and as she was coming back to *Thebes*, she fell in labour, and was delivered of two sons, *Amphion* and *Zethus* (H), of whom we shall have occasion to speak by-and-by.

3. *Labdacus*, when of age, finding that *Laomedon*, who had succeeded *Epopeus* in *Sicyon*, was attacked by two powerful enemies, *Archandes* and *Architeles*, the sons of *Achæus*, thought it a proper time to demand his aunt *Antiope* to be restored; and *Laomedon*, though then assisted by *Sicyon*, whom he had invited from *Athens* (I), yet chose rather to deliver up that princess, than to exasperate the *Theban* king by a refusal *. We have seen what reception she met with in a late note. *Labdacus*, dying soon after, left his son *Lajus* and the government to the care of *Lycus*.

4. *Lajus* being then very young, *Amphion* and his brother *Zethus*, taking the advantage of his minority, invaded the country at the head of a powerful army. *Lycus*, having made

* PAUSAN. in Corinth. ch. vi.

(G) He is said to have built a temple to *Minerva*, as an acknowledgment for his late success, and that when it was finished, he prayed to the goddess, that if she accepted of it, she would shew some particular token of it, upon which they add, that an olive-tree grew up immediately before the gate of the temple (11).

(H) These twins, *Homer* says (12), were begot, not by *Epopeus*, but by *Jupiter*, who fell in love with *Antiope*. Their first exploit was to murder *Lycus* and his wife, and to rescue their mother out of her confinement. After this they seized on the government, and performed wonders in the building of the walls of that metropolis, as we shall see in due time.

Antiope is also called *Nycteis* from her father *Nycteus*, and the ancient *Samotic* poet celebrates her in verses to this purpose; *That she had Asopus for her father; Epopeus and Jupiter for her gallants; and Amphion and Zethus for her sons* (13).

(I) Who, the *Sicyonians* say, was not the son of *Marathon*, the son of *Epopeus*, but of *Metion* the son of *Erectheus* (14). *Hesiod* makes him the son of *Erectheus*, and another of *Pelops* (15). We are all in the dark about it; the reader may see what we said of him in the second section of this chapter.

(11) *Id. ibid.* (12) *Odyss. l. ii.* (13) *Asius ap. Pausan. ubi supra.* (14) *Id. ibid.* (15) *Ibyc. ap. eund.*

it his first care to secure the person of the young prince, the only surviving one of the *Cadmean* race, went and gave battle to the invaders, and lost the day: *Amphion* seized the *Theban* crown, and called its metropolis, or at least the lower city, *Thebes*, in honour of *Thebe* their aunt by the mother's side (K), whilst the upper city or citadel retained its antient name of *Cadmea*. It is to these two heroes that *Homer* attributes the inclosing and fortifying the former with a famous strong wall, with seven gates, and a number of stately towers at a convenient space from each other, without which their valour could never have held that city long against the *Theban* forces (L). A grievous plague raged soon after which destroyed great multitudes. and among the rest *Amphion* and his family. His brother *Zethus*, who succeeded him, fell under other misfortunes, his only son was killed by his own mother, the grief of which shortened his days, and gave the *Thebans* an opportunity of setting *Lajus* again upon his throne.

Lajus having married *Jocasta*, or, as she is called by others, *Epicastè*, the daughter of *Creon*, was forewarned by *Apolla's* oracle, that if he had a son by her, he should be killed by him. *OEdipus* was the unhappy fruit of this marriage, whom *Lajus* therefore gave to a shepherd to be slain (M); but he, moved with compassion, left him exposed in a place, where he was soon after taken up by the herdsman of, and presented to, *Polybus* king of *Corinth*, who healed his feet, and, from the swelling which the boring and anguish had left in them, called

(K) Some pretend, that she was one of the three daughters of the river *Asopus*, or rather of *Asopus* the *Phliasian*, from whom that river had its name: but the *Bæotians* affirm, that she was the daughter of *Asopus* the *Bæotian*, probably the same which was also called *Nyctæus* the father of their mother *Antiope*, whom *Asius* above quoted calls *Asopus*.

(L) What the fable adds, concerning the miraculous effects of *Amphion's* lyre in the building of those walls, is so well known, that we need not say any thing further about it, than that *Amphion* had first brought music into *Greece*, from *Lydia*, where he had learned it (16), and that it was so admired for its novelty and excellence, that he easily captivated the people to carry on that work, whilst he diverted them with the music of his harp; and probably also by his eloquence, which he was no less a master of, persuaded that as yet barbarous and wild people to live sociably and in community.

(M) Or according to others to have his feet bored, and to be hung up by them to a tree, and to be devoured by the wild beasts.

(16) *Vid. Plin. lib. vii. Ch. lvi. Pausan. in Bæotic. &c.*

him *OEdipus*, and brought him up as his own ^f. When he came of age, and understood that he was not the son of the *Corinthian* king, he went to the oracle of *Delphi* to enquire after his parents, and at the same time *Lajus* led by his fate went likewise to enquire what was become of his son. They met at *Phocis*, and, some scuffle happening between them, *OEdipus* unwittingly killed his father and went to *Thebes*, where he married his mother *Jocasta*, and obtained the kingdom by expounding the *Sphinx's* riddle (N). *Eteocles* and *Polynices* were the unhappy fruit of their incestuous embraces (O). Some add, that he had also two daughters by her, but others say they were by another woman.

As soon as *OEdipus* was apprised, by a fatal train of calamities, of his parricide and incest, the horror of his guilt threw him into such a fit of distraction, that he tore his own eyes out, and, having cursed his unhappy posterity, was led by his daughter *Antigone* to *Attica*, where he took sanctuary in *Eumenides's* grove, and soon after ended his miserable

^f Conf. PLUTARCH. in Theb. DIODOR. SICUL. l. iv. PAUSAN. ubi supra. APOLLON. l. iii. c. 5. & al.

(N) This was a mischievous monster which infested the neighbourhood of *Thebes*; it had a face and body like a dog, and destroyed all the passengers that could not expound her riddle. *Creon* the father of *Jocasta* ruled then at *Thebes*, and having consulted the oracle, was answered, that there would be no end of this mischief till somebody gave her a solution; whereupon he caused it to be proclaimed through *Greece*, that the man that expounded it should have *Jocasta* to wife; and *OEdipus* proved the person who gained the fatal prize, and from that incestuous marriage had the two sons who were the occasion of this bloody war.

(O) This is at least the account which all the antient poets, except *Homer*, have left us of it, probably to inhance the horror of that marriage, and to raise the greater compassion for that unhappy couple and their progeny; but *Homer*, on the contrary, who introduces *Ulysses* saying, that he had seen in hell the fair *Epicaeste*, who through imprudence had married her own son, who became at once the unhappy murderer of his father and husband of his mother, makes him add, that the gods, by hastening this prince's death, prevented the sad effects of that incestuous marriage. For, as *Pausanias* justly observes (17) how could they be said to stop the course of that incest, if *OEdipus* had had four children by his mother?

He adds upon the authority of a poem, intitled, *OEdipiad*, or the adventures of *OEdipus*, that he had those children by *Euriganæa* the daughter of *Hyperbas*.

(17) In *Bœotic. cap. vi.*

life. As for *Jocasta*, she hanged herself for grief even before he left the kingdom.

HIS two sons, after his departure, agreed, that each of them should reign alternately one year, and then yield the government to the other : But *Eteocles* having refused to resign after he had reigned his year, *Polynices* went to *Argos*, where having married *Adrastus*'s daughter, as we have seen in a former section, he engaged that prince to assist him in the recovery of his right : these two came soon after with a powerful army, and besieged *Eteocles* at the seven gates of his capital. *Eteocles* at the same time put himself in the best posture of defence, and went and consulted an old blind *Theban* soothsayer about the success of the war ; and was answered, that victory would infallibly fall on his side, if *Menecæus* the son of *Creon* and the last of the *Cadmean* race, would voluntarily sacrifice himself to the god of war. The brave prince being informed of it, made no delay, but went to the gates of the city and sacrificed his life to the safety of his country⁶. This did not however, prevent hostilities being carried on with the utmost fury, and with such terrible slaughter on both sides, that it was at length agreed, that the contending princes should decide the contest by single combat, which they did with such desperate fury, that both fell by each other's sword. The *Argives* ventured to give the *Thebans* a second battle, wherein both sides lost several of their brave commanders, and such a number of men, that though the latter got the victory, yet they were almost ruined by it. A treaty was then expostulated by the *Argivic* king for burying of their dead ; but *Creon*, who had then taken the government upon him, was so exasperated against them, that he not only absolutely refused it, but caused the princess *Antigone* to be buried alive, because she had caused the body of her brother *Polynices* to be decently interred. For this cruel deed he was soon after killed by *Theseus*, who came with an army against him, and obliged the *Thebans* to permit the *Argives* to bury their slain, as we have seen elsewhere.

IN the mean time the sons of those seven generals, who fell before *Thebes*, resolving to revenge themselves on that city for the ill success of the last expedition, entered into a confederacy, from which they were called *Epigoni*, and renewed the siege afresh. *Laodamas* the son of *Eteocles*, who by this time came to age, and had taken the government upon him, gave them a warm reception, and with his own hand killed *Ægyleus* one of their chiefs. But being himself soon after

⁶ Id. ibid. Vid. & Cicer. STAT. & al.

killed,

killed, or forced to fly into *Illyrium*^h, the *Thebans* began to sue for a treaty, and whilst that was transacting, conveyed themselves away with their families and effects by night, and went and built the town of *Hestizea*, leaving *Thebes* to the mercy of the *Epigoni*. Some say, that these, being apprised of their flight, plundered the city, and quite erased her walls. Others affirm, that *Thersander Polynices*'s son dissuaded them from it, recalled the fugitive citizens, and reigned over them; soon after which he led them to the *Trojan* war, and in the way signalized himself at *Myfia*, and was killed by *Telephus*. His son *Tisamenes*, being then too young to command the *Theban* forces, *Peneleus* was chosen their chief, and was also killed there by *Eurypylus* the son of *Telephus*. After his death *Tisamenes* took the government upon him, and reigned peaceably enough; but the fates, which pursued the unfortunate offspring of *OEdipus*, did not prove so favourable to his son *Autefion*, who, we are told, was seized with such a dreadful phrensy, or, according to the poetic phrase, was persecuted by the furies to such a degree, that he was forced by the oracle's advice to retire among the *Dorians*.

AFTER his departure the *Thebans* raised *Damasichton*, the grandson of *Peneleus*, to the throne, who left it to his son *Ptolomeos*, and he was succeeded by *Xanthus*, who was the last who enjoyed the regal dignity in *Thebes*, and was treacherously killed by *Melanthus* in single combat, as we have seen in the history of *Athens*. After his death the *Thebans*, weary of a kingly government, resolved to put it into many hands, and to settle themselves into a commonwealthⁱ, as we shall see in the next chapter.

S E C T. VI.

The History of the antient kingdom of ARCADIA.

ARCADIA, so called from *Arcas* the son of *Jupiter* and *Calisto*, was antiently called *Pelasgia*, being inhabited Names. by the antient *Pelasgi*, who boasted themselves to be descended from *Pelasgus* their pretended founder, of whom we have spoken in a former section of this chapter †, as having been supposed by a late author to be the same with *Peleg* the son of *Eber* in scripture. The *Pelasgians* did also surname him *Autochthon*^a, which was a name the *Grecians* gave to those

^h Conf. PAUSAN. Boeot. & APOLLOD. l. iii. c. 7. ⁱ PAUSAN. ubi supra. † See before, p. 432, & note (D). ^a XENOPH. SYTAB. MEL. & al.

whose original was not known. It is true, we find the *Pelægiæ* in several other parts of *Greece*, as was there observed ; but their chief and primitive seat is generally supposed to have been this of *Arcadia*, whose inhabitants are universally allowed the antientest people in *Greece*, and boasted themselves to be older than the moon.

Geography.

THIS country was situate in the heart of *Peloponnesus* (A), having *Elis* on the west, *Argolis* on the east, *Laconia* and *Messenia* on the south, and *Sicyon* and *Corinth* on the north ^b. Its ground, which afforded excellent pasturage, made it famous for the vast number of herds it bred ; for the tuneful strains of its shepherds, who excelled all others in their pastoral performances, and the sweetness of their vocal and instrumental music ; and for the extraordinary worship that was paid here to their god *Pan*. Here was also a famous temple of that deity in the city of *Tegæa*, and another dedicated to *Minerva* in the city of *Stymphalus*, situate at the foot of a ridge of hills of that name. Here also bred upon the lake *Stymphalis* a kind of fowl, called from it the *Stymphalian* birds, which grew to such a size and number, that they darkened the sun-beams at noon-day, and terribly infested this territory, till they were all either killed or driven hence by *Hercules*, as we have seen elsewhere.

Natural rarities.

Here was also the famed lake *Pheneus*, from which springs the river *Styx*, famous for the coldness of its water which chills them to death that drink it ; it is also of such corrosive nature that it will eat iron and brass ^c. The poets feign it to be the river of hell, whose name is so sacred among the gods, that if any of them broke his oath after he had sworn by it, he was deprived of his deity, and of the use of *Nectar* for a hundred years.

THE *Arcadians* were at first a rude wild people, living in the woods and fields, and feeding indifferently on the product of the ground, till taught by *Pelægus* to build huts, live sociably, to exchange their common food for nuts, acorns, or

^b STRAB. D. SICUL. PAUSAN. MELA, & al. ^c Id. ibid.

(A) The *Arcadians* were consequently at a distance from the sea, and accordingly *Homer* tells us, that they had neither ships, nor any knowledge of sailing (1) ; so that when they are said to have embarked for the siege of *Troy*, we must understand it of *Agamemnon's* fleet, which transported them thither.

(1) *Iliad. lib. ii.*

beech-mast (B), and to cloath themselves with the skins of wild beasts. They began afterwards to give themselves up to feed cattle, invited to it by the fertility of their soil. But as this country abounded with excellent pasture grounds, so it was exposed to continual incursions from those, who were either forced out of their own country, or were discontented with it. And this put them upon the necessity of exchanging the crook for the sword, and to inure themselves to some warlike discipline in their own defence, who would otherwise in all likelihood have preferred a pastoral life to any other. Hence it was, that they, especially the highlanders, became such excellent soldiers, that their alliance was very much courted in all the wars between the other estates. They commonly used to come to the wars clad with the skins of wolves and bears, and carried either a little bundle of javelins, or a lance in their hands, which they used with a peculiar dexterity. Their very women became at length such expert warriors, especially in a defensive war, that they have sometimes proved the means of gaining a victory, when it was in all appearance wholly leaning on the other side, witness that famous expedition of the *Lacedemonians* against *Tegea*, when, flushed by a dubious oracle, with hopes that they should take that city, they brought with them chains to bind their future captives, but were in the heat of the battle discomfited by a party of women who had lain in ambush, and their king *Charilaus* with a great number of his men bound with those very chains they had brought with them*. Having therefore such brave females to defend their country in case of invasion, they used to be hired as mercenaries by all their neighbouring states, in the same manner as the *Switzers* are now; and this made them some amends for their want of commerce occasioned by their distance from the sea.

* HERODOT. l. i. & PAUSAN. in Arcad.

(B) Which kind of food, *Pausanias* tells, they continued to live upon a long time after the death of their founder, insomuch, that the *Lacedemonians* consulting the oracle about a war which they were going to wage against them, received this answer from the pythones, that though *Jupiter* and the gods were on their side, yet could they expect no success against a warlike people, whose chiefest dainties were the fruit of the beech (2).

(2) *In Arcad. c. i.*

THIS

THIS extraordinary change in so rude a nation was as quick as it was surprising. *Lycaon* the son of their founder, of whom we shall speak more fully in the following note, improved what his father had done towards civilizing his subjects, by introducing the worship of *Jupiter* among them, though not with the same prudence that *Cecrops* had done among his *Athenians* (C) ; his sons, of whom he had a considerable number, set themselves on building each of them a city which they called by their own names^d, and which we shall mention in their proper places. In these they gathered the people into bodies, and brought them still nearer to a social life ; and in the next reign they began to sow corn, make bread, spin wool, and to make themselves garments of it^e. Another author adds^f, that they learned the use of bees, honey, and milk, of rennet for making cheese, of oil, and some other conveniencies of life (D). Thus in four generations,

^d In *Arcad.* ch. iii. ^e *Id.* *ibid.* ^f *JUSTIN.* ex *Trog.* l. xiii. c. 7.

(C) *Cecrops*, as we have seen in a former section, forbade the sacrificing of any living creature, whereas *Lycaon* is reported to have sacrificed a youth to him, for which the angry god changed him into a wolf.

The poets have improved this fable, which perhaps took its rise only from the savage nature of that prince implied in his name, *λύκος*, signifying *a wolf* : the account which *Ovid* gives of him is as follows :

Jupiter, desirous to know whether the wickedness of men answered the report he heard of it, in his travels came one night to *Lycaon's* palace, where having made himself known, the people were going to sacrifice to him. *Lycaon*, not believing his guest to be what he gave out, attempted to murder him in the night, in order to undeceive the people. But having missed his blow, he killed and dressed a *Molossian* youth, whom he kept as a hostage, and set him before his guest to eat, for which the exasperated god overthrew his palace with thunder and lightning, and turned his inhuman host into a wolf.

(D) This last author says, that *Aristæus*, who taught the *Arcadians* all these things, was the son of *Jupiter* by *Cyrene*, a beautiful *Thessalian* princess whom that lustful god carried off to the top of mount *Pelion*, and of whom he got four sons, the three first of which settled in *Thessaly*, and the other, *viz.* *Aristæus*, came and reigned in *Arcadia*. This story, however, is contradicted by *Pindar* and *Siculus*, who affirm, that she had but one son by *Jupiter*, namely *Monius*, who was also surnamed *Agrius*, as being a lover of hunting and feeding of cattle ; and *Pausanias* says, that this *Aristæus* instructed *Arcas* the 4th king of the country, without taking any

†

notice

nerations, the *Arcadians*, from being but one remove from *Arts³ and* wild beasts, became civilized, industrious, inured to society, *husbandry.* husbandry, and a regular government. To all these we may add, that these advantages, which exposed them to frequent invasions from abroad, put them likewise upon the necessity of cultivating the martial arts, first in their own defence, and afterwards for interest and gain, whence they became such brave soldiers and expert warriors, as we observed they were. Hence it was, that most of the *Grecian* princes courted their alliance above that of any other nation ; but especially the *Messenians*, with whom they seem to have maintained an inviolable friendship. But *Hercules*, of all the antient heroes, had the greatest confidence in them, insomuch, that we seldom find him engaged in any extraordinary exploit without having some *Arcadian* forces to assist him. While they thus improved their martial genius, they did not forget to cultivate their pastoral life, for which they have been so highly celebrated by the poets above all other *Grecians*⁵.

THEIR government, like that of all their neighbours, was at first altogether monarchical and arbitrary, yet by degrees the subjects began to claim something like a negative power, especially in matters of great moment, so that their kings could not well undertake any great affairs, such as a war, alliances, or foreign expeditions, without their consent. This may perhaps be one main reason why they continued longer under a monarchy than any other estate of *Greece* ; but this will be best seen in the next chapter. We shall confine ourselves here within our epoch, and to that series of kings which that nation pretended to be descended from *Pelasgus* their first founder, and which *Pausanias* has given us from their tradition and records. And herein if he differs sometimes from *Apollodorus*, *Justin*, and other antient writers, we may suppose he had his reasons for so doing ; and, if we except the remotest times which were wrapped up in inextricable darkness, the standing monuments of each country to direct and confirm his judgment. However, they were not always united under one king ; for it sometimes happened, that the kingdom was divided by the father between his sons, and continued so, till want of issue, alliances, or some other circumstance united it again. Besides this, the several cities, built by the sons of

*Govern-
ment.*

⁵ APOLLOD. D. SICUL. PAUSAN. &c.

notice of his reigning there. We shall have occasion to say something more of this *Cyrene* when we come to speak of *Thessaly*.

Lycaon, seem to have been divided into cantons under their several chiefs; but whether always under one sovereign or not, is not sure. Hence it is, that we read of these cantons, as of separate people, who made alliances, not only among themselves, but with foreign states, and signalized themselves during several centuries under their respective names, such as *Tegeans*, *Trapezans*, *Mantineans*, *Peretheans*, and many more, which we shall give our readers in its proper place, to prevent their being mistaken in the sequel of the *Grecian* history for so many distinct people from the *Arcadians*.

THE succession of the kings of *Arcadia*, who reigned from their founder to *Aristocrates*, who was murdered by his subjects for his treachery to the *Messenians*^b, is as follows.

1 <i>Pelasgus</i>	8 <i>Aleus</i>	14 <i>Cypselus</i>	20 <i>Æginetes</i>
2 <i>Lycaon</i>	9 <i>Lycurgus</i>	15 <i>Lajus</i>	21 <i>Polymestor</i>
3 <i>Nyctimus</i>	10 <i>Echemus</i>	16 <i>Bucolion</i>	22 <i>Echmis</i>
4 <i>Arcas</i>	11 <i>Agapenor</i>	17 <i>Phialius</i>	23 <i>Aristocrates I.</i>
5 <i>Clitor</i>	12 <i>Hyppothous</i>	18 <i>Simus</i>	24 <i>Hicetas</i>
6 <i>Azan</i>	13 <i>Epytus II.</i>	19 <i>Pompus</i>	25 <i>Aristocrates II.</i>
7 <i>Epytus I.</i>			

It were in vain to expect an exact chronology of this kingdom, considering the uncertainty of its beginning. If *Pelasgus*, the supposed founder of this monarchy, were the same with *Phaleg* or *Peleg* the son of *Eber*, in whose days the earth is said to have been divided¹; it must have begun at least as early as *Terah's* time; but we hope we have sufficiently confuted this opinion heretofore[†], as well as the other conjecture of the same learned man, that *Peleg* was the father of the *Scythians*^{*}. Those who place the foundation of it about *Moses's* time seem still to have antedated it^k; neither would we venture to place it before the expulsion of the *Canaanites* out of their native land, at which time they were obliged to go in search of some more peaceful habitations. But whether in *Joshua's* time, or after it, were hard to determine. Sir *Isaac Newton* is of opinion, that *Pelasgus* was cotemporary with *Inachus*, *Cecrops I.* *Lelex*, and other chiefs, who brought their colonies out of *Egypt*; according to him this was about 1120 years before Christ, but according to our chronology in the year of the flood 1443, or before Christ, 1556, at which time we

^b PAUSAN. ubi supra. ch. ii. & seq. ¹ Gen. x. 25. vid. &
[†] See Vol. I. p. 374. ^{*} See
 before, p. 233, & 432. note D. ^k Vid. int. al. RAWL. hist. of
 the world, l. ii. c. 6. sect. 4.

have placed the foundation of *Athens* by *Cecrops*. And it can hardly be supposed, that *Pelasgus* could be of recenter date than he, if we consider the rude beginnings of either kingdom, or the successions of their kings; and that *Pausanias* thinks, that *Lycaon* was cotemporary with the *Athenian* founder¹. Upon this supposition therefore, that they began near about the same time, it will follow, that this of *Arcadia* lasted in the line of *Pelasgus* about 880 years, that is till the year of the flood 2351, and first of the 28th olympiad, in which *Aristocrates* II. and the last of the race was stoned to death. This is the utmost we dare venture to advance concerning an epocha, whose beginning is so dark and remote. We shall in the next place subjoin what we find most material concerning these monarchs.

WE have already said all we know concerning *Pelasgus* and his son *Lycaon*, except that this last built a city on the mountain *Lycæus*, and called it *Lycosura*, caused *Jupiter* to be worshipped there under the name of *Jupiter Lycæus*, and instituted the *Lycæan* games in honour of him. As for the cities which were built and peopled by his numerous issue, the reader may see them in the margin (E). Among so many sons *Lycaon* had but one daughter named *Calisto*, with whom *Jupiter* having had an intrigue, *Juno* turned her into a she-bear,

¹ ARCAD. C. i.

(E) These cities were *Pallantium* built by *Pallas*, *Oresthasium*, by *Orestheus*, *Phigalia* by *Phigaleus*, afterwards called *Phialia* from *Phialus* the son of *Bucolion*, *Trapezonte* from *Trapezeus*, and so of the rest which were built by his other sons *Daceates*, *Macareus*, *Hellisson*, *Acacus*, (from whom this last tribe pretends *Mercury* has that surname in *Homer* which signifies *without evil*, implying, that the good he doth is without any mixture of ill) and *Thocbnus*. *Hypsius* built *Hypsantes*, *Menelea*, and *Thyrea*, *Menalus*, *Tegeates*, and *Mantineus*, the three cities of their name. The rest of those cantons, bearing their founders names, are the *Cromians*, *Charisians*, *Tricolones*, *Peretheans*, *Aseatians*, *Lyceatians*, *Sumatians*, *Hereans*, and *Alipholians*. *Orchomenos* the father of the *Orchomenians*, the richest canton of all in cattle, was the only one who did not call the city of his building by his own name, but by that of *Methrydion*†. The youngest of *Lycaon*'s sons called *OEnotrius*, instead of following the example of the rest, obtained a sum of money and forces from his brother *Nyctimus*, who succeeded *Lycaon*, sailed into *Italy*, and settled there, and was the first who brought a colony from *Greece* thither (3). Hence that of *Virgil*:

† De his Vid. St. Byzant sub. voc. & Pausan. ubi supra. (3) Pausan. in Arcad. ch. iii.

bear, and *Diana*, to please that jealous goddess, shot her to death (F). *Lycaon* was succeeded by his eldest son

3. *Nyctimus*, and he dying, we suppose childless, left the kingdom to

4. *Arcas*, the son of *Calisto* by *Jupiter*, who gave his name to the kingdom ; he it was whom we mentioned above for having introduced and improved husbandry. He had three sons, not by a mortal woman, if we believe the poets, but by a nymph called *Erato* (G), besides a natural son he had before he married the nymph, and at his death divided his kingdom between them. *Azan* the eldest called his portion by his name *Azania*. *Aphydas* had the canton of *Tegea*, and *Elatus* had mount *Cyllene* (H), from which he went afterwards and settled in *Phocis*, and built a city which he called by his name.

5. *Azan* was succeeded by his only son

6. *Clitor*, who instituted funeral games in honour of his father, built a city which he called by his name, and was the powerfulest prince of his time, but died childless ; so that his share of the *Arcadian* kingdom fell to

7. *Epytus*, eldest son of his Brother *Elatus*, who was bit to death by a venomous serpent as he was hunting, and left the kingdom to his cousin

8. *Aleus*, the son of *Aphydas*. This prince made *Tegea* his metropolis, and built in it a temple to *Minerva Alea*. He had three sons, *Lycurgus*, *Amphidamus*, and *Cepheus* ; and a daughter named *Auge*, whom he condemned to be drowned

*Est locus Hesperiam Graii Cognomine dicunt,
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebæ (4),
O Enotrii coluere viri.*

(F) The fable adds, that *Mercury*, out of compassion to the young princess, and by *Jupiter's* order, saved the infant she was pregnant with, and placed the unhappy mother in heaven, where she became a constellation, or, if you please, that constellation was called by her name in honour of her.

(G) Not the muse of that name who presides over matters of love ; but a wood-nymph, such as they called *Dryades*. Those who inhabited the mountains were called *Oreades* ; those of the water *Nercides* ; and those of springs and rivers *Naiades* (5).

(H) Which name it did not receive till afterwards from *Cyllen* the son of *Elatus*. This is the same mountain on which *Jupiter* is said to have begot *Mercury* on *Maia* the daughter of *Atlas* †

(4) *Vid. Gedoyn. Not. in eund. cb. iii. in Virg. Pausan. ubi supra. c. iv.* (5) *Vid. Serv. Comm. † See before, p. 272.*



for her criminal converse with *Hercules*, during his abode at *Tegea* (I). He was succeeded by his eldest son

9. *Lycurgus*, whose two sons dying before him (K), he left the kingdom to *Echemus*, the great grandson of *Aleus*.

10. *Echemus* assisted *Atreus* the son of *Pelops* against the *Heraclidæ*, who first entered *Peloponnesus* with a powerful army, and with *Hyllus* the son of *Hercules* at their head. We have spoken of this expedition in a former section, and of the success of *Echemus* against that champion whom he killed in single combat, he left his kingdom to a son of *Ancæus* the son of *Lycurgus*, named

11. *Agapenor*, who commanded the *Arcadian* troops at the siege of *Troy* (L), and in his return thence, being, like the rest of the surviving *Grecian* chiefs, tossed about by contrary winds and tempests, was cast at length upon the coasts of *Cyprus*, and settled at *Paphos*, where he built a temple to *Venus*, who, till then, if we believe *Pausanias*, was only worshipped at the small city of *Golgos* ^m. From him the kingdom passed to the line of *Stymphalus* the son of *Elatas*, who was the youngest son of *Arcas*.

^l Arcad. c. ii.

^m Arcad. c. v.

(I) This princess having captivated the famous *Hercules* whilst he was at *Tegea*, was left with child by him, which her father no sooner perceived, than he ordered her to be drowned, or, according to others, to be put into a chest with her child and flung into the sea; she was taken up about the mouth of the *Caicus* by *Teuthras* king of *Mysia*, who was so charmed with her beauty, that he married her, and brought up her son *Telephus* as his own, and made him his successor (6).

Others say, that *Aleus* committed his daughter to *Nauplius*, to be drowned in the sea, and that she being delivered in her way to *Nauplia*, an *Argolic* port, she left her child there, and that he, instead of drowning the mother, sold her to *Teuthras*. The child was suckled by a deer, from which he was called *Telephus*, and when of age, having been directed by the oracle, who his parents were, went into *Mysia*, where he was adopted by his father-in-law (7).

(K) These were *Ancæus*, who, being returned from the *Argo-nautic* expedition, was killed by the *Calydonian* wild boar, and *Epochus*, who was carried off by sickness.

(L) Most probably as an auxiliary hired by *Agamemnon*, by whose ships they were transported to and from that siege, as we observed in a former note.

(6) *Pausan ubi supra.*
Pausan. ubi supra.

(7) *Apollod l. ii. Dio. l. Sicul l. iv.*

12. *Hippothous* the great grandson of *Stymphalus* was the person who succeeded him; of whom we have nothing memorable, except that he transferred the seat of the kingdom from *Tegea* the ancient metropolis to *Trapeza*; he was succeeded by his son

13. *Epytus* II. in whose days *Orestes* the son of *Agamemnon*, being warned by the oracle, retired into *Arcadia*, and died, and was buried in or near the city of *Tegea* ^a (M). *Epytus* was afterwards struck blind for his presumption in venturing into the temple of *Neptune* at *Mantineia*, and dying soon after it left the crown to his son

14. *Cypselus*, in whose days *Cresphontes*, having by indirect means gotten the kingdom of *Messenia*, was murdered with two of his sons. The third named *Æpytus*, by others *Ægyptus*, fled to *Cypselus*, who was his grandfather by the

^a Vid. *HERODOT.* l. i. c. 66. *PAUSAN.* ubi supra.

(M) *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Lacedemonians*, having proved unsuccessful against the *Arcadians*, were told by the oracle, that they would continue so, till they had brought back the bones of that prince. The difficulty was to find them out, and here they were forced to consult the oracle again, from which they received the following remarkable answer, as it is englisht by *Littlebury*.

*In the Arcadian plain lies Tegea,
Where two impetuous winds are forced to blow;
Form resists form, mischief on mischief strikes;
Here mother earth keeps Agamemnon's son,
Carry him off, and be victorious.*

The solution of this puzzling answer was afterwards accidentally found out by *Liches*, an eminent *Spartan*, who being one day at *Tegea*, and observing, with some attention, a smith working at his shop, was told by him, that in the sinking of a well, he had found a coffin seven cubits long, and that having had the curiosity to open it, to see if the body answered the length of the coffin, he had found it exactly fitting, and had laid it again where he found it.

Liches, comparing the place he was in, and the answer of the oracle, did easily conceive, that by the smith's bellows were meant the two winds, by the hammer and anvil the two contending forms, and by the 'double mischief' those which are caused by *Iron*; upon which, having acquainted the *Spartans* with this discovery, it was agreed, that he should be banished for some fictitious crime, that he might be the less suspected, and return to *Tegea*, which he did accordingly, and having with some difficulty hired the smith's inclosure, did privately dig up the bones, and carry them away to *Sparta* (8).

(8) *Herodot.* l. iv. c. 66.

mother's

mother's side (N), and by his assistance regained the *Messenian* kingdom, revenged his father's death, and killed the usurper *Polyphontes*. We find nothing considerable during the reigns of his four next successors, *Lajus*, *Bucolion*, *Phialius*, and *Simus*, except that in the time of this last, an antient statue of *Ceres*, surnamed the *Black*, was set on fire, which was looked upon as a presage of that monarch's speedy death, which happened accordingly soon after : he was succeeded by his son

19. *Pompus*. This prince, by the help of the *Æginetæ*, opened a commerce by land-carriage from his inland towns to the sea-port of *Cyllene*, to and from which the merchandises used to be conveyed upon mules. This trade proved so beneficial to the kingdom, that, in gratitude to those islanders, *Pompus* called his son and successor by their name *Æginetes*. This last was succeeded by his son

21. *Polymestor*, in whose days happened that fierce invasion we spoke of at the beginning of this section, in which the *Lacedemonians*, being come against *Tegea*, were discomfited by the help of the *Arcadian* women, and both they and their king *Charilaus* bound with the chains they had brought for the *Tegeans* : however, *Charilaus* was soon after released, upon his oath and promise, that the *Lacedemonians* should not fight against them any more. The chains were afterwards hung up as trophies in the temple of *Minerva Haliea*, where they still continued in *Herodotus's* time °. *Polymestor* was succeeded by his brother

22. *Echmis*, who assisted the *Messenians*, the old and constant allies of the *Arcadians*, against the *Lacedemonians*, and was succeeded by his own son

23. *Aristocrates I.* This prince, among other wicked actions, being fallen in love with a young virgin, priestess of *Diana Hymnia*, a deity highly revered by the *Arcadians*, and having in vain tried to debauch her, went and ravished

° HERODOT. ubi supra.

(N) About the beginning of his reign the *Dorian* fleet having invaded *Peloponnesus*, not by the isthmus of *Corinth*, as they had done three generations before, for want of taking the right meaning of the oracle ; but by standing above the cape of *Rhion*, *Cypselus* was forced to make an alliance with *Cresphontes*, and to give him his daughter in marriage, to help him to make head against them, in consideration of which, his son helped *Æpytus* to regain his father's kingdom (9).

(9) *Pausan.* ubi supra.

her

her at the very altar of the goddess. For this fact he was stoned to death by his subjects, who, to prevent the like sacrilegious attempts for the future, ordained, that from thenceforth none but married women should be admitted to the priestly function.

WE know nothing concerning his son *Hicetas*, except that he was father to

25. *Aristocrates* II. the last of the royal line of *Cypselus*, and with whom we shall close this section; he was stoned to death by his own subjects for his treachery to the *Messenians* his allies, whom he betrayed to the *Spartans*, with whom they were at war. We shall see the sequel of it in the next chapter: and all that we shall add here is, that the *Arcadians*, not content with his death, cast his body out of their territories, lest it exposed without burial, and, to perpetuate his infamy, erected a pillar in a grove of mount *Lycæus*, on which they caused an inscription to be engraved, the purport of which you may read in the margin (O), as we find it Englished by Mr. *Hind* in his *Grecian* history^P.

^P P. 167. Vid. & PAUSAN. ubi supra, & in Messenic.

(O) The base betrayer of *Messene's* state
Has met at length a well-deserved fate.
In vain perfidious traitors justice shun;
Hail, mighty *Jove*! save the *Arcadian* throne.

S E C T. VII.

*The History of the antient kingdom of THESSALY, with
a short account of that of PHOCIS.*

Name.

THESSALY is supposed to have received its name from *Theffalus*^a, the father^b, or, according to others^c, the son of *Græcus*, an antient king of an obscure village, from whom the *Greeks* are said to have been descended^d. It was also antiently called *Æmonia*, either from the famous mountain of that name, or from the daughter of *Deucalion*, or perhaps rather from *Æmon* the son of *Chlorus*, the father of *Theffalus* and grandson of *Pelasgus*^e. From this last it was also called *Pelasgia*, and *Pyrrhæa* from *Pyr-*

^a STEPH. BYZANT. sub voce Θισσαλ. ^b EUSEB. Chronic. vid. & not. Scalig. in eund.

^c Vid. BYZANT. sub voce Γραικος. ^d Id. ibid. & CLUVER. lib. iv. c. 8. ^e BYZANT. sub voce "Αἰμων.

rha Deucalion's wife; but it was most commonly known by that of *Thessaly*, as it is now by that of *Xanna*.

It was anciently divided into four districts, or perhaps *Division* kingdoms. *Thessaliotis*, *Istiaotis*, *Pelasgiotis*, and *Phthiotis*.

Deucalion was king of this last when the deluge which goes by his name happened, which destroyed all the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring countries, except only such as happily escaped into the high mountains of *Thessaliotis*, and *Deucalion* and his wife, who were carried in an ark upon the waters nine days and nights, and rested at length upon *Parnassus*, from which they are feigned to have repeopled the country by throwing of stones behind them^f. However, the name of *Thessaly* and *Thessalians* in time prevailed, and came to signify all the four parts. Sometimes it included *Magnesia* and *Phthiotis*, and sometimes not; sometimes it was joined with *Macedonia*, and sometimes severed from it, and again rejoined to it^g.

Thessaly, properly so called, had on the east the provinces *Situation* of *Magnesia* and *Phthia* abovementioned, and these two were *and extent* bounded by the *Ægean* sea. On the west it had *Illyricum* and *Epyrus*, now *Albania*; on the north *Macedonia* and *Mygdonia*, and on the south *Græcia Propria*. It extended from west to east about 1 deg. 20 min. that is, from 24 deg. 10 min. to 25 and a half east longitude, and from north to south, from 39 deg. 50 min. to about 41 deg. north latitude.

It was famous for its twenty four hills, the most remarkable of which were those that follow: *Natural rarities*.

1. *Olympus*, celebrated among the poets for its extraordinary height: 2. *Othrys*, where king *Pirithous* reigned over the *Lapithæ*: 3. *Pelion*: 4. *Ossa*, which with *Nephele* were, according to the fable, inhabited by *Centaurs*, who were afterwards killed or driven away by *Hercules* for their lustful attempt upon the women that assisted at *Pirithous's* nuptials. Here were also the plains of *Pharsalia*, and the delightful valley of *Tempea*, about six miles in length and five in breadth, so pleasantly situate between the mountains of *Ossa*, *Pelion*, and *Olympus*, so beautified with nature's gifts, and watered by the river *Peneus*, which ran through the midst of it, that it was reckoned the garden of the muses. On the south borders of *Thessaly* were seated the *Dolopes* and *Myrmidons* (A), whom *Achilles* led to the *Trojan* war.

THE

^f OVID. *Metam.* init. APOLLON. l. i. c. 7.
ubi supra. MELA, l. ii. c. 3, & 4.

^g CLUVER.

(A) The latter were so called from *μύρμηξ* a *pismire*, not, as the poets feign, because *Æacus* the son of *Jupiter*, seeing his country

Rivers.

THE whole kingdom of *Thessaly* was very pleasant and fruitful, being watered by several great rivers which run quite across the country. The chiefest of them are the *Peneus* abovementioned, the *Aliaemon*, *Erigon*, and *Axius*; all which empty themselves into the *Ægean* sea, by the gulph of *Thessalonica*, antiently called *Sinus Thermaicus*. This country seems also to have been above others productive of poisonous weeds and drugs. Hence *Plautus* makes use of the word *Thessalus* to express a *poisonous thing*; but upon the whole it was so fruitful and delicious a country, that, like many others of the same rich nature, it was seldom free from foreign invasions from some neighbouring nation or other.

Cities of note.

CITIES of note were; 1. *Larissa*, famed for giving birth to *Achilles*, called from thence *Larissæus* (B). Its situation was excellent, being near the gulph above-mentioned, and upon the river *Peneus* near the foot of *Olympus*, and at one end of the valley of *Tempea*: 2. *Demetrias*, situate on the *Sinus Pelasgicus*, now *Golfo dell Armixò*, and strongly fortified by art and nature: 3. *Pegasa* on the same gulph, famous for being the place where the ship *Argo* was built, which carried the *Argonauts* to their famed expedition of the golden fleece, of which we shall speak by-and-by. *Pythion*, celebrated for the *Pythian* games, which were instituted here in honour of *Apollo*, and, as some say, in memory of his killing the serpent *Python* (C). The metropolis of *Thessaly* was

country dispeopled by a grievous plague, obtained a fresh supply of subjects from his father, by turning ants into men; but because, as *Strabo* says, this people were very excellent in cultivating the ground, and imitated the pismires in their diligence and oeconomy, or took the hint of digging, tilling, and other husbandry from that insect.

(B) Others say, that he was born at *Phthia*, especially the poets. This difference might be owing either to the nearness of those two places, or perhaps to his being born in the one, and making his residence in the other.

(C) We have already spoken of some others instituted upon particular accounts, and celebrated in several parts of *Greece*. The four most considerable were, the *Isthmian*, the *Olympic*, the *Nemean*, and the *Pythian*; these made four annual meetings for all the *Grecians*, who resorted to those places in great number, but which were still much more esteemed for the concourse of the noblest and greatest youths, who came to signalize themselves there, some for their strength, others for their activity, courage, wit, learning, and other valuable accomplishments.

The

was, according to *Heliodorus*^h, called *Hypatha*, and situated near the *Sinus Maliacus*, now *Golfo de Ziton*, and at a small distance from mount *Oeta*, upon which *Hercules* ended his life, after he had put on the poisoned shirt.

Thessaly was famous, among other things, for such an extraordinary breed of oxen, that *Nelus* king of *Pylus* refused to give his daughter in marriage to *Melampus* king of *Tiryas*, except he procured him some of them, which he soon after did by the help of his brother *Bias* (D)ⁱ. What fine horses they bred, and how expert they were in the use and management of that noble creature, we need not tell our readers, since the fiction of the centaurs (E) is allowed to have taken its origin from them^k. This fable, however, reflects no less a brand upon them for their brutish incontinency, than it commends them for their skill in horsemanship. The attempt which they made upon the women that assisted at the nuptials of their neighbour, *Pirithous* king

Rarities.

^h Hist. Æthiop. ap. HEYLIN. ⁱ PAUSAN. in Messenic. c. xxxvi. ^k OSOR. SERV. VATTABL. & al.

The prize, which was given to the victors at these *Pythian* games, was originally a garland of oaken boughs, which was afterwards changed into one of laurel. The reader may see a fuller account of all these games in *Potter's* antiquities (1).

(D) We have already spoken of these two brothers in a former section, and shewn how they came to their share of the *Argolic* kingdom †. Our author adds, that *Bias*, to oblige his brother, having undertaken to fetch the oxen from *Thessaly*, was caught in the attempt, and flung into prison. But being a famous diviner, he plied his art so well with *Iphiclus* the owner of them, by foretelling many surprising events to him, that he obtained them as a recompence of his extraordinary skill. *Bias* brought them to *Melampus*, who presented them to *Nelus*, and he left them to *Nestor*, who caused them to be kept in a stable under ground, which was still to be seen in our author's time.

(E) The centaurs were fabled to have the upper part of their bodies, that is, from the navel upwards, like a man, and from thence downwards like a horse, and to have been the monstrous offspring of *Ixion*, when he embraced a cloud instead of *Juno*. The ground of this story was, that these people did manage their horses so well, that they were supposed by other nations, to be but one creature with them, and as the most famous of them dwelt in a canton called in *Greek* Νεφέλη, which signifies a cloud; hence came the fable of their being begotten of *Ixion* on a cloud.

(1) Ch. xxi. & seq.
son, in Messenic. ch. xxxviii.

† Sect. iii. p. 451. de his vid. & Pau-

of the *Lapithæ*, mentioned a little higher, is a pregnant proof of the one, and the history of their wars with other nations affords us a constant proof of the latter, so that in spite of their debauchery they have still shewed themselves a warlike nation, and as such their alliance, as well as assistance, especially that of their cavalry, was ever highly courted by contending powers. And indeed, if we consider how liable the pleasantness and fertility of their country made them to foreign invasions, it will be no wonder they should be so well inured to the trade of war. Nor can it be supposed, that any thing but their extraordinary valour could have saved them from being swallowed up by some of their neighbours, considering that their scanty territories consisted only of four small kingdoms or districts, as often disjointed from each other under different princes, as united together under one.

For this reason we shall not pretend to give here a list of their kings, much less of those petty tyrants, who reigned, some over one or more, others over all the four districts; but shall content ourselves with mentioning what we find most remarkable under any of them, during this fabulous and heroic epocha (F). At the head of all must be placed the celebrated *Argonautic* expedition, which happened in the reign of *Pelias* king of *Thessaly* about the year of the world 2720, or a hundred years before the taking of *Troy*. We do not, however, pretend, to settle this epocha with any certainty; but have followed that of archbishop *Usher*, without entering into the difference between Sir *Isaac Newton* and him. The occasion of this expedition was as follows:

Year of
the Flood,
1714.
Year be-
fore Christ
1285.


*Argonau-
tic expedi-
tion.*

Æson, the third in descent from *Æolus*, being either worn out with age or weary of government, whilst his son *Jason*, whom he had by *Polymela*, or according to others by *Alcimedea*, was yet very young, appointed *Pelias*, his brother by the mother's side, guardian of the kingdom till his son came of age. *Pelias* on the other hand, who had resolved to secure

(F) Among the fabulous exploits of the gods we must not omit the rape of *Cyrene* a beautiful virgin, daughter to *Hypsæus* king of *Thessaly*, by *Jupiter*, who conveyed her from the mountain of *Pelion* to that of *Cyra*, upon which *Battus*, so called from his stammering, settled a colony, and built a city which he called by the name of that princess, after which he is said to have recovered the free use of his speech, as the oracle had obscurely foretold (2). There is also a fountain of the same name near that city, which was dedicated to *Apollo* (3).

(2) *Justin. l. xiii. c. 7.* (3) *Pausan. in Lacœ.*

the government to himself, sent to consult the oracle about it, and was bid to beware of the man that had but one shoe. It happened some time after, that as he was sacrificing to *Nep-tune* he called his nephew to him, who was on the other side of a rivulet, and *Jason*, making more haste than good speed to cross the brook, dropped one of his shoes, and gave him occasion to think, that he was the person pointed at by the oracle. He then asked him what course he would take with a person of whom the oracle had bid him beware, and *Jason* readily answered, that he would send him to *Colchis* in search of the *Golden Fleece* (G). His uncle took him at his word, and sent him immediately upon that enterprize¹. *Jason* made no difficulty to obey, and having engaged a considerable number of young noblemen, the flower of all *Greece*, to this expedition; he procured a ship to be built for his purpose at *Pegassa* by one *Argus*, from whom he called it *Argo*, and hence he and his gallant company were called *Argonautæ*.

THESE adventurers, after many strange difficulties and exploits which the reader will find in the margin (H), arrived
at

¹ lib. 1.

(G) This fabulous fleece was then in possession of *Æetes* king of *Colchis*, a country lying between the *Euxine* sea and *Iberia*, and now called *Mengrelia*. It then had some considerable mines of gold, which gave rise to the fable of the fleece. The country abounding also with poisonous drugs and plants, which *Medea*, king *Æetes*'s daughter, knew how to prepare and make use of, the poets thought fit to turn her into an enchantress. The fable adds, that the fleece was hung upon a large oak in the grove of *Mars*, and was guarded by a dragon who never slept.

(H) The first place they touched at was the island of *Lemnos* in the *Ægean* sea, inhabited by female warriors, who, though they had killed their husbands in order to lead an *Amazonian* life, yet were so charmed with these brave youths, that they took them to their beds. They sailed next to the country of the *Deliones*, where they were kindly received by their king, *Cyzicus*, but loosing from thence in the night, and being driven back by contrary winds, they were mistaken for *Pelasgians*, with whom they were then at war. A fierce engagement ensued, in which *Cyzicus* and a great number of his men were killed on the spot. The return of day-light having discovered the unhappy mistake, they only stayed to bury their dead, and sailed to *Mysia*, a country in *Asia Minor* near the *Helle-spont* †.

Here *Hercules* plying his oar with more might than skill, unluckily broke it, and whilst he was gone into the wood to cut himself a

† See before p. 392.

at length at the land of *Colchis*, where the golden fleece was kept. They went immediately to the metropolis, where *Jason* acquainted *Æetes* king of the country with *Pelias*'s command, and demanded the fleece of him. *Æetes* promised to deliver it to him, provided he could yoke together, by his own single strength, two fierce and terrible bulls (which had brazen hoofs, and breathed out fire and flame, and had been presented to him by *Vulcan*), and plow the ground with them, sowing it with the dragons teeth which *Minerva* had given

new one, *Hylas*, his beloved boy, was stolen by a nymph, as he was drinking at a fountain, so that whilst he and his brother-in-law's son *Polyphemus* went in search of him, the *Argonautæ* left them behind and sailed into *Bithyna*.

Here *Amycus* the son of *Neptune*, king of the country, a man of prodigious strength, having obliged them, as he did all strange comers, to fight with him at whorlbats, was killed by *Pollux* one of the *Argonautic* heroes. The *Bebryces*, seeing their king fallen, would soon have revenged his death on the victor, had not his brave companions rescued him from the danger, after which they sailed immediately to *Salmydessus* a city in *Thrace*, where they consulted the famous blind soothsayer *Phineus*, concerning the success of their expedition.

This person, who, according to the fable, was continually infested with *Harpyes*, a monstrous kind of bird with womens faces and foul long claws, who devoured one part of his provisions, and poisoned the rest with the stench they left upon it, promised to direct them safely to *Colchis*, provided they would rid him of that infectious vermin, which they accordingly did. He then, among other directions, bid them beware of the *Symplegades*, two rocks or, according to others, two islands, about half a league distant from the straits of *Bosphorus*, and so near together, that at a distance they seem to run against each other, and which, the poets say, were often pushed so close by the force of the winds, that they shut up the passage. He therefore advised them to let a pigeon through it, and not to attempt the streight, unless they saw him got safe to the other side; they followed his advice with some success, the pigeon having lost only one part of his tail, and the ship received a small bruise on its hinder part.

From this straight they sailed to the mouth of the river *Parthenissus*, and were honourably received by *Lycus* king of that country. Here *Idmon*, the son of *Apollo* and *Asteria*, and a soothsayer of their company, was killed by a wild boar. *Typhis* their pilot did likewise die here, and was succeeded by *Ancaeus*. At length, having crossed the river *Thermodon* and mount *Caucasus*, they arrived safe at *Colchis*, which was the end of their Journey *

* *Apollon. Argonaut. l. ii. Apollod. l. i. Vid. Hind, Hist. Græc.*
him,

him, and were the remainder of thoſe which *Cadmus* had ſown at *Thebes* ^m.

Jaſon, perplexed how to perform theſe conditions, was happily relieved by *Medea* the king's daughter, who was fallen in love with him. She promiſed him, that if he would marry her ſhe would aſſiſt him in it, and he had no ſooner agreed to it, than ſhe gave him a medicine, with which having anointed his body and armour, he was to be proof againſt the violence of the bulls, or, according to others, ſhe taught him how to tame thoſe fierce creatures, ſo as to be able to yoke and make uſe of them. She told him moreover, that the teeth which he was to ſow would preſently ſpring up into armed men, which would infallibly deſtroy him, unleſs he raiſed an immediate diſſention among them by throwing ſtones at them, during which he might eaſily cut them off. *Jaſon*, having ſucceſſfully performed the taſk; went and demanded the fleece according to *Æetes*'s promiſe, whiſt he, inſtead of delivering it, was contriving how to deſtroy him and his company and burn their ſhip. To prevent this miſchief, *Medea* went, and by her enchantments caſt the watchful dragon into a deep ſleep, ſtole the fleece, and brought it to her lover, who took her, and, at her deſire, alſo her brother *Abyrtus*, into his ſhip, and ſailed away immediately with his companions. *Æetes*, who was ſoon informed of his daughter's treachery, purſued immediately after them, which when ſhe perceived, ſhe cut her brother in piéces, and ſcattered his mangled limbs about, in hopes to ſtop his farther purſuit as it actually did. For the diſconſolate king, ſurpriſed at her unnatural barbarity, ſtayed to gather up the fragments of his ſons body, and buried them in a place called from thence *Tomi*, and in the mean time ſhe and the *Argonauts* eſcaped into *Theſſaly*, not without having firſt felt the effects of *Jupiter*'s anger for the murder of *Abyrtus* (I), and after having ſpent four whole months in this expedition.

DURING

▪ Id. ibid. Vid. HIND. ubi ſupra, l. i.

(I) The fable adds, that *Jove* having purſued the *Argonauts* with dreadful ſtorms, and caſt them upon unknown coaſts, the ſhip *Argo*, to their great ſurpriſe, ſpake to them, and aſſured them, that that god would never be appeaſed, till they were cleansed from their murder by *Circe*, a famed ſorcererſs, ſuppoſed to have been the daughter of *Sol* by the nymph *Perſe*, who lived in the iſland of *Æea*. They had no ſooner obeyed this miraculous order, than, ſailing by the coaſts of the *Syrens*, they were delivered from the danger of their enchanting muſic, by the more charming voice of *Orpheus*.

DURING his absence, *Pelias*, who never expected his return from *Colchis*, had taken some means to cut off his father in order to fix the kingdom upon himself and his son *Acastus*, and the old king, being apprised of his plots, had poisoned himself by drinking a draught of bull's blood. His queen likewise, oppressed with grief for his death, and the supposed loss of her son and kingdom, had hanged herself, so that *Pelias* now thought himself secure on his throne, when, contrary to his expectation, *Jason* returned successful and victorious, and brought the fleece to him (K). However, he had so well strengthened himself in it, that *Jason* brave and well accompanied as he was, did not dare undertake any thing against

Orpheus.⁷ Thence they sailed between *Scylla* and *Charibdis* environed with the fire and smoke, which seemed to issue out of those and the neighbouring rocks. They were, however, delivered from this danger also, by *Tethys* and the *Nereids* at *Juno*'s command, and came at length to *Corcyra* the island of the *Phæaces*, where *Alcinous* then reigned. Here they were overtaken by the *Colchians*, whom *Æetes* had sent in pursuit of them. These went immediately to the king, and demanded *Medea* to be delivered to them, which he promised to do in case she was not already married to *Jason*. But his queen, being apprised of this promise, went and married them privately and out of hand, so that the *Colchians*, being forbid to return home without her, were forced to settle in this island, whilst the *Argonauts* sailed towards *Crete*.

Here *Medea* was again forced to make use of her enchantments to deliver the ship from being sunk by the stones, which *Talus*, a man of brass and the present of *Vulcan* to *Minos*, then king of that island, threw at it. This extraordinary man is feigned to have had one continued vein from his neck to his heel, the end of which was closed with a brazen pin; hence they pretend, that *Medea*, under pretence of making him immortal, only plucked out the pin and let out all his blood; others say, she poisoned him with some deadly potion. From *Crete* they came to *Ægina*, an island inhabited by the *Myrmidons*, whom they were forced to fight to get a supply of fresh water. Hence sailing by *Eubœa* and *Locris*, they arrived at length at *Jolcos*, the place whence they first set out*.

(K) We have observed already in a former note, that by this golden fleece was understood some mines in the country of *Colchis*. These are supposed by some mythologists to have been contiguous to some of those torrents which fall from the neighbourhood of mount *Caucasus*, and to have brought down with them some quantities of gold dust, which the inhabitants saved by setting fleeces of wool across some of the narrow passages of those currents. This is indeed the most rational account that can be given of that

* *Id. ibid. vid. G. Pausan. pass.*

against him openly. *Medea* was forced to have recourse to her magic to be revenged on the tyrant, and, as some say, restored *Jason's* father to life. After this she persuaded *Pelias's* daughters to boil their old father, on pretence she would restore him to life and youthful vigour, but upon her non-performance *Acastus* mounted the throne, and, having performed his father's funeral obsequies, banished *Jason* and his wife from *Thessaly*, who went and dwelt at *Corinth*, where we shall find them again in the next section.

Acastus is famed for having been a great hunter, and for the incontinency of his wife *Hippolyte*, or, as she is called by others, *Cretheis*; which proved fatal to him. She was in love with *Peleus* the son of *Cacus*, and had solicited him in vain for some time, till enraged at length at his constant refusal, she accused him to her husband for having made some attempts upon her honour. *Acastus*, believing her and endeavouring to kill *Peleus*, was himself and his unchaste wife slain by him.

THE next *Thessalian* prince, both in time and fame, was the celebrated *Achilles*, the son of *Peleus* and *Thetis* the goddess of the sea. This hero was king of *Phthia*, one of the four provinces of *Thessaly*, and is feigned to have been dipped by his mother in the river *Styx* (L) when he was a child, and to have become invulnerable by it in every part, except the heel by which she held him. After this she sent him to be brought up by the centaur *Chiron*, where he learned music, arms, and the riding of the great horse. Being afterwards warned by the oracle, that if he went to the *Trojan* war he should meet with his death there, she dispatched him privately in woman's apparel to *Lycomedes* king of *Scyros*, an island in the *Ægean* sea and one of the *Cyclades*, where, among other exploits, he debauched *Dejanira* one of the king's daughters, by whom he begot the celebrated *Pyrrhus*, afterwards king of *Epirus*. This transaction, as *Pausanias* observes, seems to have been designedly omitted by *Homer* as unworthy of his hero, though it has been preserved by all the other poets.

matter, which the fabulous poets afterwards disguised after their custom, and embellished with the stories of dragons, brazen bulls, dreadful seas, dangerous passages, and many such difficulties which attended the search after that precious metal.

As for the account which *Suidas* gives of it, that it was a parchment book made of sheep's skin, and in which was written the whole secret of transmuting all metals into gold; it scarcely deserves to be mentioned.

(L) We have already spoken of this river in the history of *Arcadia*.

IN the mean time, the *Grecian* chiefs being likewise forewarned by an old prophecy, that their enterprize against *Troy* would prove unsuccessful unless they had *Achilles* with them, *Ulysses* undertook to find him out, and to bring him to that war, which he accordingly did. *Thetis*, finding that her son was determined to prefer a glorious death before the walls of *Troy*, to an inglorious immortality, prevailed upon *Vulcan* to make him an impenetrable armour, with which he went at the head of his bold *Myrmidons* to the fatal siege. Here he forbore acting for some time, upon a pique he had taken against *Agamemnon* on account of a beautiful female captive; but his resentment being at length swallowed up in the death of his dear friend *Patroclus*, who had been killed by *Hector*, *Achilles* thenceforth sought nothing but to revenge it, which he soon after did. *Hector* was not only slain, but most barbarously used by him after his death, he having caused his body to be tied to his chariot, and dragged thrice round the walls of *Troy*. This inhumanity did not go long unpunished, and *Priam* having redeemed his son's shattered remains at an excessive price, *Paris*, another of his sons, soon after shot *Achilles* in the heel, the only place in which he was not invulnerable *.

THE two most memorable things, which the *Thessalians* are since recorded for, are, their driving the *Bæotians* from their country of *Arne*, a small territory in *Theffaly*, so called from its metropolis built by *Bæotus* the son of *Neptune* by *Arne*, the daughter of *Æolus* (M), the second of that name, who was the son of *Hyppotes* and grandson of *Mimas* king of *Æolis*; and their constant wars against the *Phocians*. The former of these happened, according to *Thucydides*¹, sixty years after the taking of *Troy*, and about a hundred after their first settlement in that territory; when the *Bæotians*, being driven thence, went and possessed themselves of a country then named *Cadmeis*, and called it by their name *Bæotia*.

* See before, p. 388.

¹ lib. i.

(M) This *Æolus* finding his daughter pregnant, is said to have sent her to *Metapontium*, a city in *Italy* (4), where she was delivered of two sons *Æolus* and *Bæotus*, the former of whom possessed himself afterwards of the isles in the *Tyrrhenian* sea, since called by his own name *Æolides*, in one of which he built the city *Lipara*. *Bæotus* went to *Æolis* to his grandfather and succeeded him in his kingdom, calling the country *Arne* from his mother, whilst his people retained that of *Bæotians* from him (5).

(4) *Id. sub. vec. Μίλαρον*.

(5) *D. Sicul. c. 4.*

We

We have elsewhere spoken of that country, and given another etymology of it, to which we refer the reader.

As for their wars with the *Phocians* (N), it is not easy to guess at the true ground of them, only we find, that there was an irreconcilable hatred intailed between those two nations, which proved a constant source of fresh and bloody encounters, in which the *Thessalians*; though superior in strength, especially on account of their cavalry, were very often worsted by the policy of their enemies; witness those statues of *Apollo*, *Minerva*, *Diana*, and other trophies, which, *Pausanias* tells us ^m they set up, both on their borders and at the temple of *Delphos*, in memory of their signal victories over them. The truth is, the kingdom of *Phocis* was very mountainous, and the avenues to it very rugged, so that the *Thessalians*, who seem still to have been the aggressors, could receive but little benefit from their horse. On the contrary, the same author gives us a remarkable instance, in which it even proved detrimental to them. We shall give it our readers pretty near in his own words ⁿ. The *Phocians* having got intelligence, that the *Thessalians*, were invading them by the road of *Hyampolis* (a city situate near the mount *Parnassus*), they strewed all that way with empty pots and potsherds, which they covered, however, so well with earth, that the *Thessalian* horse, who came riding full speed, did not perceive it, till they were so intangled in it, that they were all cut in pieces by them ^o. Their desire of revenge soon made them raise a more powerful army than the former, which so alarmed the *Phocians*, who dreaded above all their cavalry, more formidable for their famed dexterity than for their number, that they sent to consult the *Delphic* oracle concerning the event of this invasion. The answer they received was, *That a mortal and a deity were going to engage in a bloody fight; that both would come off victorious; but that the mortal would get the better*. Upon receiving this answer, they sent *Gelon* with 300 men in the night to observe the motions of the *Thessalians*, but with express orders not to engage with them, but to return by some by-ways. But he falling unfortunately into their

^m In *Phocid.* c. xiii. ⁿ *Ibid.* c. i. *Vid.* & *HERODOT.* l. i. & viii. *JUSTIN.* *DIOD.* & al. ^o *HERODOT.* l. viii. *PAUSAN.* in *Phocid.*

(N) The *Phocians* were a people who inhabited the tract of land, which lies between the south border of *Thessaly* and the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*. It seems therefore that this their neighbourhood was a constant source of their wars, whatever other motives there might be for their invincible hatred. We shall give a fuller account of this warlike nation in the close of this section,

hands with his men, they were all either trampled to death by their horses, or put to the sword. The news of this threw the *Phocians* into such consternation, that they resolved either to conquer or perish to the last man. Their first care was to secure their wives and children, the statues of their gods, and what else they had that was valuable, in a convenient place, near which they reared a large pile of wood. They committed the care of all these to some thirty of their most resolute men, with orders, that if they lost the day, they should murder their wives and children, and set fire to the pile of wood, and fling all their other riches into it.

THIS desperate resolution, which gave rise to the proverb of *the Phocian despair*, was no sooner taken, than they marched directly against their enemies, and the remembrance, that the fate of their wives, children, country, and all that was dear to them, depended on the success of this combat, made them engage with such desperate fury, that they gained a complete victory, which soon unfolded the meaning of the oracle. For upon enquiry they found, that the *Thessalian* word for the onset was *Minerva Itonia*, and that of the *Phocians* was the name of *Phocus* their founder; in gratitude therefore to the *Delphic* god, they erected a statue to him, together with those of their most famous heroes and generals, in his temple at *Delphos* ^P.

THE *Thessalians* were still more strangely outwitted upon another expedition against the *Phocians*, when having entered their territories, and forced them as far as mount *Parnassus*, they were routed by the following stratagem, devised by *Telias*, a famous diviner, who was then in the *Phocian* army, and highly esteemed amongst them. They took six hundred chosen men, and covered their armour and faces all over with plaister, and sent them into the *Thessalian* camp in the dead of the night, with orders to kill every man they met with, that was not plaistered over like themselves. These in their march being first perceived by the outguard, and afterwards by the whole camp, and mistaken for some strange army of ghosts, threw their enemies into such panic fear, that they killed 3000 of them upon the spot, routed the rest, and got a considerable spoil, the tenth of which they sent to the *Delphic Apollo*, together with one half of the shields of the slain; the other half was hung up as a trophy in the city of *Abas* ^Q. These frequent foils, however, did but the more heighten their implacable hatred against them, insomuch, that they never ceased their hostilities against each other till each

^P Id. ibid. ^Q HERODOT. ubi supra.

ceased to be a nation. But this, as well as their affairs with the other estates of *Greece*, will be best seen in the following chapter.

HAVING said so much of the *Phocians* war against the *Theffalians*, we shall here subjoin an account of that brave nation and of their territories, inconsiderable indeed with respect to the smallness of them, yet richly deserving our notice upon several accounts, though not worth being treated of in a separate section, considering how little we know of its original foundation, succession of kings, government, and laws, and other such-like particulars.

The ancient kingdom of Phocis.

¶ *Phocis* was situate in *Græcia Propria*, and, as we lately observed, between *Theffaly* and the bay of *Corinth*, having the former on the north, and the latter on the south. On the west it was bounded by *Ætolia*, *Locris*, and *Ozolea*, and on the east by *Bæotia* and *Megaris*, so that it was hemmed in from the sea on all but the south side. Its greatest length was from north to south, that is from 38 deg. 45 min. to 39 deg. 20 min. or about 35 miles; but very narrow from east to west, scarcely extending 30 miles, that is, from 23 deg. 10 min. to 23 deg. 40 min. at the widest, but about 20 miles towards the *Corinthian* bay, and much narrower still towards the north^r.

Situation and limits.

THIS country is generally allowed to have took its name from *Phocus* the son of *Ornytion*, a native of *Corinth*; but having been soon after invaded by the *Æginetæ*, under the conduct of another *Phocus*, who was the son of *Æacus* king of *Ænopia* (O), the memory of the first did insensibly give way to that of the second.

Name.

Phocis is famed for several celebrated mountains, the three principal of which were, 1. that of *Parnassus*, sacred to *Apollo* and extolled by all the poets. Its height was such, that *Deucalion* and his wife *Pyrrha* with many others are said to have

Mountains

^q HERODOT. ubi supra, CLUVER, &c.

^r STRAB. PAUSAN. MELA.

(O) This *Æacus* was the reputed son of *Jupiter* by *Ægina* queen of *Ænopia*, called afterwards from her *Ægina*. He is recorded to have been a prince of such strict justice, that after his death, *Pluto* appointed him one of the three judges of hell. It is no wonder therefore, if his son *Phocus*, whom he had by his second wife, who was the daughter of *Nereus*, one of the gods of the sea, did quite eclipse and obliterate the name of his predecessor.

Saved

saved themselves on the tops of it from the deluge, which happened in that prince's time and has since gone by his name. 2. *Helicon*, and 3. *Cythæron*, both consecrated to the muses, and on that account highly celebrated also by the poets. They are said to contend with that of *Parnassus* for height and bigness^r. *Phocis* had no rivers of any note except the *Cephisus*, which runs from the foot of *Parnassus* northward, and empties itself into the *Pindus*, which last was near the boundary of that kingdom.

It had several considerable cities, the chief of them was that of *Delphos*, or *Delphi* (P), famous for the temple of *Apollo*, whose oracle was resorted to from all parts of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*. We have had occasion to speak something of the name, antiquity, richness, and magnificence of it in a former section, and there given an account of the manner in which that oracle was consulted and delivered; and shall now add such other particulars as we find recorded concerning the original of it. We have already hinted, that *Apollo* was the deity who presided over it. How he came by it is variously reported, and may be seen in the note (Q). Its first discovery was owing to some goats who were feeding on mount *Parnassus*, upon which was a miraculous, deep, and large cavern, but with a narrow entrance. These goats having been observed by the goat-herd, whom *Plutarch* calls *Coretas*, to frisk and leap after a strange and unusual manner, and to have uttered strange and unheard-of sounds immediately upon their approach to the mouth of the cavern, he had the curiosity

^r Id. ib. Vid. & VIRG. OVID. PERS. &c.

(P) So called, as is supposed, from the Greek Ἀδελφοί, *brethren*, because *Apollo* and his brother *Bacchus* were both worshipped there. The fable says, that *Bacchus*, having been terribly torn and mangled by the *Titans*, was brought to *Apollo*, who both restored him, and ordered divine honours to be paid to him in this temple.

(Q) Some say, that this oracle did originally belong to the earth, and used to give its answers by dreams. Others, that *Neptune* and the earth were at first partners in it, but that he resigned his share to the earth, who was succeeded by her daughter *Themis*, the same who was consulted, according to *Ovid*, by *Deucalion* and his wife after the flood, and taught them how to repopulate the earth. *Themis* in time resigned it to her sister *Phæbe*, and she to *Apollo* (1).

Some antient poets do indeed tell us, that he did not come so fairly by it, but that he took it by main force from the earth, for

(1) *D. Sicul. lib. xvi. Pausan. in Phocid.*

†

which

sity to go and view it, and found himself seized with the like fit of madness, skipping and dancing, and foretelling things to come. At the news of this whole multitudes flocked thither, many of whom were possessed with such phrenetic enthusiasm, that they threw themselves headlong into the vorago; insomuch, that they were forced to issue an edict to forbid the approach of the cavern. After this they placed the tripod at the mouth of it, upon which a virgin being seated received and returned the answers of the deity in the manner we have elsewhere described^c. We meet with some different accounts of this wonderful place, which *Pausanias* has given us, upon the credit of the *Phocians*, and which the readers may see in that author^d. This miraculous place was soon after covered with a kind of chapel, which, the same author tells us, was originally made of laurel boughs, and was more like a large hut. This, if we may credit the *Phocian* tradition, was succeeded by one of wax, and reared up by the bees. After this a third was built of solid copper, and said to have been the workmanship of *Vulcan*. This last was destroyed by an earthquake according to some, or by fire which melted the copper according to others, and then a sumptuous one, all of stone, was erected by *Agamedes* and *Trophimus*.

Delphos, among several other cities of *Greece* and *Peloponnesus*, contended for being situate in the middle, or, as the *Greek* expresses it, the navel of the world (R)^e, because the navel is in the middle of the body. It had so convenient a harbour, and was so excellently well situated, being rather in the heart of *Greece* than of the world, that it became in time a sessions-town for all the *Grecian* estates. Here sat the court of the *Amphictyones*, chosen out of the prime cities of *Greece*, and called so from *Amphictyon* the first founder of this high

^c Vid. DIOD. SICUL. Biblioth. lib. iv. ^d PAUSAN. in Phoc.

^e Vid STRAB. Geogr. l. ix. PAUSAN. ubi supra, & Corinth.

which she was like to have precipitated him into the infernal regions, had not *Jupiter* come to his assistance (2), who seems on all hands to have confirmed the possession of the oracle to him.

(R) The fable says, that *Jupiter*, desirous to know the exact middle of the earth, let loose two eagles, *Pindar* says crows, and others swans, the one from the east, and the other from the west, and that they met in this place. The city of *Philus* and some others pretend to the same; but *Strabo* places it in the middle of *Greece* (3).

(2) *Pindar. Euripid. in Iphigen. Scholiast. in Æschyl.* (3) *Geogr. l. ix. Vid. &c. Pausan. in Corinth.*

court^c. The time of their assembling was in spring and autumn ; causes of all kinds were brought before them from all parts of *Græcia*, and their sentence was deemed definitive. We shall have frequent instances of the power of this court in the course of the *Grecian* history. The following one which relates to the *Phocians* shall suffice for the present.

THE *Phocians*, having presumed to plow the territories of *Cyrra*, which were consecrated to the *Delphic* god, were summoned by the other *Grecian* estates before this court, and had a considerable fine imposed upon them for their sacrilege. They refused to pay it on pretence that it was too large, and the next session their dominions were adjudged confiscated to the use of the temple. This second sentence did but exasperate the *Phocians* the more, who, at the instigation of one *Philomelus*, or, as he is called by *Plutarch*, *Philomedes*, went and seized upon the temple, plundered it of its treasure, and held the sacred depositum for a considerable time. This second crime brought all the estates of *Greece* upon them. A war was decreed against them, which was called *the holy war*, and lasted ten years, during which the *Phocians*, having hired a number of foreign troops, made a noble defence, and would in all probability have held out much longer, had not *Philip* of *Macedon* given the finishing stroke to their total defeat and punishment. The war being ended, the grand council assembled again, and imposed an annual fine of sixty talents upon the *Phocians*, to be paid to the temple, and continued till they had fully repaired the damage it had sustained from them ; and till this was done, they were excluded from dwelling in any walled towns, and from having any vote in the grand assembly. They did not, however, continue long under this heavy sentence ; their known bravery made their assistance so necessary to the rest, that they were glad to remit it ; after which they continued to behave with their usual courage and gallantry, and soon obliterated their former guilt, as we shall see in the next chapter.

CONSIDERING therefore the great concourse of people which this *Amphiſtyonic* court, the *Delphic* oracle, and the games celebrated in honour of *Apollo* brought into the city of *Delphi* ; to say nothing of the vast offerings and presents which were sent from all parts of the world, even by the very *Scythians*, unto that oracle, we shall not need wonder at its having been one of the richest and most opulent of all *Greece* ; though that proved likewise the occasion of its being so often plundered by other nations, as we shall see it was, in the very next chapter.

^c PAUSAN. in *Phocid.* ch. ii.

THE next in dignity, both for its antientness and grandeur, was the city of *Elatea*, situate on the river *Cephisus*, and said to have been built by *Elatus*, the son of *Arcas* the fourth king of *Arcadia*, and to have been peopled by a colony of that antient nation which came with him into *Phocis* §. *Aba* was likewise considerable for having *Abas*, the son of *Lyncæus* and *Hypermnestra*, for its founder, and for having also an oracle of *Apollo*. This was also the only city that was not levelled with the ground after the holy war, when all the rest were destroyed; but whether spared out of respect to *Apollo*, to whom it was consecrated, or, as *Pausanias* affirms, because it had no hand in the plundering of the *Delphic* temple, we will not affirm. *Cirrha*, on the sea-side of *Delphi*, was the port-town to it, and *Crissa*, so called from *Crissus* the son of *Phocus*, was another sea-port. These were both situate on the bay of *Corinth*, which was sometimes called *Sinus Crisseus* from the latter. The last city of any note was *Daulis*, not so much for its bigness or richness, as for the tallness and stoutness of its inhabitants, and much more for the inhuman repast which was served there to *Tereus* king of *Thrace* by the women of this city, by whom he was soon after murdered, for the double injury he had done to his sister-in-law *Philomela*, daughter of *Pandion* king of *Athens* (S). As for the other exploits of the *Phocians*, they will be best seen in the next chapter.

§ Ibid. Vid. & BYZANT. sub voc. Ελατεια.

(S) The fable goes, that *Tereus*, after having married *Progne*, did likewise ravish her sister *Philomela*, cut out her tongue, and cast her into prison, to prevent her discovering his villainy, but she found means to acquaint *Progne* with her double misfortune, by working the whole story of it on a piece of embroidery, which she sent to her. *Progne* took the opportunity of the approaching feast of *Bacchus*, when they were all to meet together, and having got her sister out of prison, made her kill her son *Itis*, whom she had by *Tereus*, and having baked him in a pie, ordered it to be set before him. When *Tereus* was apprised of this, he endeavoured to kill both his wife and her sister, but they, by the help of the *Daulian* women, got the start of him and killed him. *Ovid* has since turned him into a lapwing, *Itis* into a pheasant, his mother into a swallow, and *Philomela* into a nightingale, who is still bewailing the misfortune of her family.

Pausanias adds, that no swallows do hatch or breed in all that canton, either in chimnies or houses, as they do every where else (4).

(4) *Phocid. c. iv.*

S E C T. VIII.

The history of the antient kingdom of CORINTH.

THIS little estate was situate on the isthmus of *Corinth*, having the bay of that name, now called *Golfo de Lepanto*, and the isthmus, or neck of land, which joins *Peloponnesus* to the continent, on the north, *Sicyon* on the west, the gulph of *Saron* on the east, and the kingdom of *Argos* on the south. Its utmost extent from east to west was about half a degree, that is, from 23 deg. 50 min. to 24 deg. 20 min. east longitude, and from north to south about half that space, that is, from 38 deg. 21 min. to 38 degrees 36 min. north latitude. It had no rivers of any note, but abounded with mountains, the chief of which was called *Acrocorinthium*, at the foot of which the city of *Corinth*, and on the top of which the citadel were built. It was also famed for the fountain *Pyrene*, sacred to the muses, and supposed by some to be the same that was called *Fons Caballinus*, in *Greek Hippocræne*, or, *the fountain of the horse*, which was feigned by the poets to have sprung from the horse *Pegasus* striking his foot against the rock. Others place this last fountain on the hill *Helicon*, but the greatest part on that of *Parnassus*. As for that of *Pyrene* we shall speak more of it by-and-by.

Corinth is said to have been founded by *Sisyphus*, the son of *Æolus* and grandfather of *Ulysses*. This *Sisyphus*, is the same who was killed by *Theseus* for the many robberies he committed in *Attica*, and afterwards condemned by *Jupiter* to an endless punishment in hell (A), for having caught that intriguing god in the height of an amour with *Ægina*, the daughter of *Asopus* king of *Bæotia*. The antient name of this city was *Ephyra*, which it took from a nymph of that name, said to have been the daughter of *Oceanus* and *Thetis*, or, according to others, of *Myrmex* the wife of *Epimetheus*, the son of *Japetus*, and brother of *Prometheus*. The time of its foundation by *Sisyphus* is placed about the year of the world 2490, or six years before *Deucalion's* flood ^a.

^a Vid. HIND. hist. of Greece, lib. i.

(A) This punishment, as it is feigned by the poets, consists in the rowling of a great stone to the top of a hill, which he has no sooner reached, than it tumbles down again, so that his labour is never to be at an end.

ITS new name of *Corinth* is variously traced, some thinking, that it was so called from the Greek κόρινθος, *satiety* or *abundance*, implying the opulence of the place ; others go still farther for its etymon ^b ; but the antient inhabitants pretended, it had its name from *Corinthus* the son, as some of them said of *Jupiter*, or, as others, of *Marathon*, and brother of *Sicyon* (B). But most authors ascribe the name and building, or rebuilding of it to *Corinthus* the son of *Peleus*. Among other names it antiently had, we find that of *Heliopolis* or *city of the sun*, for which this reason is commonly given, that the poets feign *Apollo* and *Neptune* to have contended for it, and that *Jupiter* having appointed *Briareus* the cyclop their umpire, he adjudged the isthmus to the latter, and the promontory which commands the city to the former (C) ^c.

^b Id. *ibid*.

^c Vid. APOLLOD. DIO. PAUSAN. & al.

(B) *Pausanias* quotes an antient *Corinthian* poet called *Eumelos* (some fragments of whose poems are still preserved in that author and in the works of *Athenæus*), according to whom, *Marathon* was the grandson of *Aloeus*, who was the son of the sun. And being for some reason afraid of his mother *Epope*'s anger, he retired into some of the maritime coasts of *Attica* ; but after his father's death, being returned into *Peloponnesus*, he divided the territories of *Sicyon* and *Corinth* between his two sons *Sicyon* and *Corinthus*, from whom they took their names ; *Sicyon* being formerly called *Ajopsis*, and *Corinth* *Ephyra* (1).

(C) If *Dion*, *Apollodorus*, and other mythologists, may be believed, the gods were so fond of *Greece*, that in *Cecrops*'s time each of them contended to have, at least, one city, where he might be particularly worshipped. *Neptune* came the first into *Attica*, where, striking the ground with his trident, he formed a fountain or horse. *Minerva* came soon after, and in *Cecrops*'s presence planted an olive-tree, which the last quoted author tells you was still to be seen in his time (2). These two deities disputing their claims to the country on account of the present each had made to it, *Jupiter* caused the controversy to be decided by the twelve gods, who adjudged the city of *Athens* and all *Attica* to *Minerva*.

But whether *Corinth* was called Ἡλιοπόλις from its being adjudged by *Briareus* to *Apollo*, or from *Corinthus*'s being reputed the great grandson of the sun, or from the height and dryness of its situation and territory, is scarce worth enquiring. Only we cannot omit a conjecture of the learned *Gronovius* (3), that it was originally called Ἡλιοπόλις from the ruggedness and barrenness of its situation and territory, for such *Strabo* tells us (4), it really was.

(1) *Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. i.*
Not. in Byzant. sub voc. Corinth.

(2) *Apollod. l. iii.*

(3)

(4) *Geogr. l. viii.*

However, we meet with a number of other antient cities of that name, or rather appellative, it being common in those days to dedicate cities to some of the gods, and surname them accordingly, without losing their original name.

Corinth had, besides the abovementioned citadel on the eminence called from it *Acrocorinthus*, two port towns, namely, *Lecheum*, situate on the bay of *Corinth*, and *Cenchrea* (D), on that of *Saron*. These were the only two havens, and indeed the only two cities of any note next to *Corinth*, that belonged to this territory. And these were so well situate for naval commerce, and so near the metropolis, that they made ample compensation for the barrenness of the soil. These two naval roads, which opened a way into the *Ionian* and *Ægean* seas, might easily have gained them a superiority, if not a command, over all *Greece*, had not this advantageous situation inclined them more to commerce than war. For their citadel being almost impregnable by nature, and commanding both those seas, they could easily cut off all communication from one half of *Greece* to the other, so that it was not without reason called one of the *fetters* of *Greece*. But their genius leading them to improve these advantages more to navigation and commerce, than to martial exploits, they became in time exceeding opulent, so that the little influence they had over the other estates was rather owing to their wealth, than to their valour.

As their opulence daily increased, not only by their commerce, but by the great numbers of strangers that flocked thither from *Europe* and *Asia*, their city became in time one of the finest in all *Greece*; being adorned with sumptuous buildings, such as temples, palaces, theatres, porticoes, cenotaphs, baths, and other edifices, all of them enriched with a beautiful kind of columns, capitals, and bases, from which the *Corinthian order* took its name, with numberless statues done by the most famous artists^d. Insomuch, that with respect to its riches (E), greatness, and excellent situation, it was

^d PAUSAN. in *Corinth*. c. ii. & seq.

(D) That this last was a distinct city from *Corinth*, at least in *St. Paul's* time, we may gather from *Acts* xviii. 18. and from his epistle to the *Romans*, Ch. xvi. 1. though it had the epithet of *Corinthiaca* in the poets, for being one of the havens of that little estate, as *Corinthus* had that of *Bimaris*, for being so conveniently situated between two seas.

(E) We need not a more pregnant instance of their wealth and luxury than that of the courtesan *Lais*, who usually exacted 10,000 drachms

was thought by the *Romans* equally worthy of empire with *Carthage* and *Capua*. Among other artificial rarities we may reckon the sumptuous embellishments of the fountain of *Pyrene* we mentioned a little higher (F), consisting of several caves in form of grottoes, all covered with white marble, from which the water of that fountain falls into a large basin, and is very pleasant to drink. 2. The theatre. 3. The stadium or course, both which are of white marble. 4. The temple of *Neptune*, whose avenue was lined on one side with the statues of all those who had won the prize at the *Isthmian* games (G), and on the other with

drachms for every night's lodging, which made the famous *Demosthenes* say, that he did not design to buy repentance at so dear a rate. But she met with a worse fate in *Theffaly*, whither she went in search of fresh customers; for there the women, envious of her beauty, and jealous of their husbands and sons, put her to death.

(F) *Pausanias* tells us, this fountain owed its first origin to the tears which *Pyrene* shed for the death of her son *Cenchreus*, who was unfortunately killed by *Diana*. He adds, that it was commonly believed, that the *Corinthians* dipped their copper in that water, as soon as it came out of the furnace, to give it a better temper; but he assures us, that it was a vulgar error, since they had no copper among them (5).

(G) The origin of these games is variously reported; some say, they were instituted by the *Corinthians* in honour of *Melicertes*, the son of *Athamas* and *Ino* (6). The fable says, that *Athamas* king of the *Orchomenians*, having taken *Ino* the daughter of *Cadmus* in second marriage, after he had had two sons by his first wife *Nephele*, *Ino* proved so cruel a step-mother to them, that her husband grew enraged at her, and, having put *Learchus* one of the sons he had by her to death, would have killed her and her other son; but that she, to avoid her husband's fury, having thrown *Melicertes* down into the sea, and herself after him (7), a dolphin took the young prince upon his back, and swam with him to *Corinth*, where the *Corinthians* received and highly honoured him, changing his name into that of *Palæmon*, and instituting these games in memory of his deliverance. The victors were, according to our author, crowned with pine leaves.

But the generality attribute them to *Theseus* in honour of *Neptune*; the reader may see what we have said of that hero in a former section †.

They were afterwards obliged to appoint new games, accompanied with sacrifices, in honour of the sons of *Medea*, whom they

(5) *Corinth. c. iii.*

(6) *Id. ibid.*

(7) *Apollod. l. i.*

† See before p. 475.

with stately pines set in regular rows. The temple itself, which was not very spacious, was adorned with a multitude of brazen *Tritons* or *Sea gods*. Here were also the chariots of *Neptune* and of his wife *Amphitrite*, both drawn by horses covered all over with gold, except their hoofs, which were of ivory. The two deities were carved in a standing posture, and *Neptune* had young *Palæmon* riding on a dolphin by his side. The bases of the chariots were likewise adorned with curious bas-reliefs, and the temple with a multitude of other embellishments. It were endless to describe all the other edifices, and master-pieces of architecture, carving, and painting, with which this small spot of ground was enriched, the reader, if he please, may see them described more at large by *Pausanias* abovementioned.

BUT while the *Corinthians* seemed so wholly given up to traffic and luxury, that they neglected the encouragement of the liberal arts and sciences, and even that noble thirst for glory and conquest, for which their neighbours did so much value themselves, they did not forget to cultivate a good discipline, both in peace and war; their wealth and opulence, which made them insolent at home and envied abroad, made both indeed very necessary. And though they seldom, if ever, engaged in any war with a view of enlarging, but chiefly either of defending their territories, or to protect some neighbouring estate, or to maintain the liberty of *Greece*; yet has this little kingdom furnished many brave and experienced generals to the rest of the *Grecian* cities, insomuch, that it was common for these to prefer a *Corinthian* general to one either of their own, or of any other estate. The truth is, the *Corinthians* were of all others the greatest asserters of liberty, and though they continued some centuries under a monarchical government, yet they always shewed an aversion to tyranny, and a readiness to assist those who groaned under it.

THE *Corinthian* monarchy did not, however, continue in the lineal succession of their founder *Sisyphus*, who is sup-

had unjustly put to death, and for which it seems they had been punished by the gods, with the death of their own children, who used to expire unaccountably in their cradles, till the murder was, by the advice of the oracle, expiated by those annual ceremonies. In further memory of this murder, they erected a statue representing fear, in honour of *Medea*, and their children used to go in black, and with their hair cut, and this custom lasted till all the old race of the *Corinthians* was extirpated with their city (8).

(8) *Vid. Pausan. Cor. c. iii.*

posed to have begun it about the year of the world 2490, a- Year of
 bove seven or eight generations, or about 430 years, when the Flood
 his line became extinct, or as others affirm, was dethroned, 1915.
 and expelled the kingdom by *Aletes*, one of the *Heraclidæ*, Before
 about the year of the world 2920. From him we meet with Chr. ft,
 a long succession of kings of his line, concerning the greatest 1084.
 part of whom little else remains but their names and the
 years they are said to have reigned; for this reason we think
 it needless to give here a list of those monarchs, whose
 names the reader may see in *Eusebius's* chronicle, and shall
 content ourselves with mentioning the most remarkable
 transactions that happened during this epocha. After the
 ending of *Sisyphus's* line, the kings who descended from *A-*
letes affected to call themselves *Heraclidæ*, he being the great
 grandson of *Antiochus* the son of *Hercules* ^e. This name,
 however, they changed for that of *Bacchiadæ*, from *Bacchis*
 the fifth in descent from *Aletes*, whom we may therefore sup-
 pose to have been upon some account or other more famous
 and esteemed than his ancestors. These *Bacchiadæ* held the
 kingdom of *Corinth* near as long as the *Heraclidæ*, by which
 time they grew so numerous on the one hand, and on the o-
 ther so weary of kingly government, that they intirely dis-
 solved it in the reign of *Telestes* their last king. This prince
 being become very odious to his subjects, his two kinsmen
Arieus and *Perantas* formed a conspiracy against him, and at
 once deprived him of his kingdom and life, after he had
 reigned twelve years ^f, and in the year of the world 3104. Af- Year of
 ter his death two hundred of the principal *Bacchiadæ* seized the Flood,
 upon the government (H), and shared the administration of 2099.
 affairs among themselves, electing a supreme magistrate out Year be-
 of their own body, whom they called *Prytanis*, to preside o- fore Christ
 ver the rest. *Corinth* continued under the *Bacchiadal* aristo- 900.
 cracy till the year 3349, when *Cypselus*, descended from them

^e PAUSAN. ubi supra, c. iv.
 SICUL. ubi supra.

^f Id. ibid. vid. & DIONOR.

(H) Some antient authors do indeed tell us, that *Automenes*, the
 son of *Telestes*, did reign one year after the death of his father
 (9), and it is not unlikely, that he made some vain effort to keep
 the crown; but *Pausanias* takes no notice of him, but tells us, the
 dissolution of their monarchy did immediately follow the murder
 of that king (10), but whether in the last year of this or in the first
 of that, 'tis agreed, that the government was then changed into an
 aristocracy.

(9) *Euseb. D. Sicul. & al.*

(10) *Corinth. c. iv.*

by the mother's side (I), having received some obscure hint from the oracle that he would be king of *Corinth*, and that he should be succeeded by his son, but not by his grandson, found means to wrest the power out of their hand. The time of this usurpation, which according to the oracle continued only in *Cypselus* and his son, happened about the 30th year after the annual archontate of *Athens*, and is therefore beyond our present epoch. From *Sisyphus*, the first founder, to this *Cypselus*, the *Corinthian* government had stood almost 860 years, or 430 years in the line of *Sisyphus*, 130 in that of *Aletes*, 130 in that of *Bacchis*, and about 150 under the *Aristocratic* government of the 200 *Bacchiadæ*.

Sisyphus

(I) His mother *Labda* the daughter of *Amphion*, one of the *Bacchiadæ*, was lame, and so deformed, that none of her tribe cared to marry her. Wherefore her father gave her to one *Eetion*, a man descended at a great distance from the *Lapithæ*, contrary to the settled maxim of the *Bacchiadæ*, who had till then refused to intermarry with other families, the better to secure the government to their own.

This *Eetion*, having no children, went to consult the oracle of *Delphi*, where he was told, though in very obscure terms, that he should have a son by his lame wife that would prove a scourge to *Corinth*. On the other hand the *Bacchiadæ*, having likewise been forewarned by the same oracle, and in the same intricate terms, against *Eetion's* offspring, sent ten men of their own body to murder the boy *Labda* had lately brought forth; and as these were going to *Eetion's* house they agreed, that he to whom the child was delivered should kill him. Their pretence was to congratulate *Eetion* on the birth of it, in the name of their whole body, and *Labda*, ignorant of their real intent, readily gave him to the first that asked for it; but the infant at that instant smiling in his face, and he, not having the power to strike the blow, gave it to his next companion, and he moved with the same pity, gave it to a third. The child was thus handed through all the ten, and restored unhurt to the mother, after which they withdrew.

They were no sooner got out of the house, than they began to blame each other for not performing the deed, and agreed to go in again and be equal sharers in the murder; but the mother, who had overheard their discourse, took care to convey the child under a bushel or corn measure, called in *Greek* κυψίλη, *Cypsele*, from which he afterwards took his name. *Pausanias* calls it a coffer or chest, and adds, that it was made of cedar, and adorned with some fine carvings in gold and ivory, and that it was afterwards consecrated by his descendants to *Juno Olympia*, in memory of his wonderful escape (11. However that be, the bloody deputies,

(11) *Pausan. in Elid. c. xvii.*

having

Sisyphus is generally allowed the first founder of the *Corinthian* kingdom (K), he was the son of *Æolus*, and was killed by *Theseus* for the many inroads which he made into *Attica*, as we hinted at the beginning of this section. He left several sons, and amongst them *Glaucus* who succeeded him, and *Ornythus*, or, as he is generally called, *Ornytion* the father of *Phocus*, who carried a colony into *Phocis*, and called the country after his name, as we have shewn before.

Glaucus, called by *Euripides* *Creon* (L), received *Jason* and *Medea* into *Corinth*, after they had been both expelled *Thessaly* by *Acastus* the son of *Pelias*. Here they lived about ten years quietly enough, till *Creon* having married his daughter *Glauce* to *Jason*, the slighted sorceress *Medea* was so enraged at it, that she set the palace on fire, murdered all the children she had had by *Jason*, and fled to *Athens*^s. *Pausanias* adds, that *Glaucus*, having assisted at the funeral games, which *Acastus* had instituted in memory of his father, was trampled to death by his own horses^h, and that *Glauce* flung

^s Vid. *APOLLOD.* l. i. c. 9. *D. SICUL. Bibl. Hist.* l. iv. & *EURIP.* in *Medea*. ^h *ELID.* c. iii.

having searched the whole house in vain, returned to their brethren, and, being ashamed to own their weakness, made them believe that they had executed their orders, and *Cypselus*, thus wonderfully preserved, became in time the tyrant of *Corinth*, as shall be shewn in the next chapter (12).

(K) *Pausanias* doth indeed quote an antient poet, named *Eumelos*, who pretends, that this country had been given by the sun to *Æetes*, and that he, accompanying *Jason* in the *Argonautic* expedition, left the government to *Butus* the son of *Mercury*, from whom it having past in time to *Corinthus* the son of *Marathon*, who died without issue, or, according to *Apollodorus*, left only one daughter, the *Corinthians* invited *Jason* and *Medea* to come and reign over them; and that, *Jason* having taken a dislike at *Medea* and gone away from her, she appointed *Sisyphus* her successor (13).

But there are two solid arguments against this poetic fiction; the one, that *Sisyphus* was the brother of *Cretheus*, and this the grandfather of *Jason*, so that these two could not be contemporaries. The other is, that *Sisyphus* must have been dead some time before *Jason* came to *Corinth*, since *Euripides* tells us in his *Medea*, that *Creon* did then reign there, who is supposed to be the same with *Glaucus* the son and successor of *Sisyphus* (14), as we shall see immediately.

(L) The author above quoted supposes him to be so called, not as it was his real name, but as it implied his regal dignity, *Creon* in *Greek* signifying the same as *reigning* or *governing*.

(12) *Id.* in *Corinth.* c. iv. Vid. *Æ Herodot.* l. v. (13) *Corinth.* c. iv. (14) Vid. *Paulmier.* & *Gedoy.* in *eund.* *ibid.*

herself into a fountain, in hopes that the water of it would preserve her from *Medea's* enchantments, and that that fountain was since called by her name ¹.

Bellerophon, so called from his killing a man named *Beller*, was the son of *Glaucus* or *Creon*. We have seen in a former section how he was forced to retire into *Argos* for that manslaughter, and there falsely accused by *Sthenobæa* of an attempt upon her, for which he was sent by *Prætus* to *Jobates* king of *Lycia*, to be put to death (M). The first dangerous expedition, which the *Lycian* king sent him upon, was to subdue the *Solymi* a neighbouring people, against whom he sent him with a very small number of forces; but that defect being supplied by his bravery, he overcame them; and, as the learned *Bochart* supposes, their three gods, which they painted on their ensigns ^k, one in the shape of a lion, a second of a goat, and the third like a dragon, and which he probably joined together in his own, in memory of this conquest, gave birth to the fable of his killing the monster *Chimæra* (N). His next expedition

¹ Id. in *Corinth*. c. iv. ^k *Phaleg*. lib. i. c. 6.

(M) It is likely, as *Pausanias* observes, (15) that *Bellerophon* never reigned at *Corinth*, and that he was forced to fly into *Argos* before his father's death; but what the same author adds, that both he and the *Corinthians* were then subject to the *Argives*, doth not so well appear. It is true, those *Corinthian* troops that went to the siege of *Troy*, are said by *Homer*, not to have been led thither by one of their kings, but to have marched under the ensigns of *Agamemnon*. But might they not have gone as mercenaries under him, as did also the *Arcadians*?

However, as *Bellerophon* never returned from *Lycia* to *Corinth*, we find *Thoas* his cousin, the son of *Ornytion*, on the throne there; and 'tis likely, that he ascended it after *Glaucus's* death, and during *Bellerophon's* absence.

As for the exploits of this hero, they have been so blended with fable, that we hope our readers will be contented with a bare mention of them, divested as much as possible from the poetic fictions, with which those writers have disguised them.

(N) This monster the poets feign to have had the head and breast of a lion, the body of a goat, and the hinder parts or tail of a dragon, and that it spit out fire and flame (16). We have seen what the learned *Bochart* thought of it. The reader may see his arguments, which are far from despicable, in the place above quoted. Others think, that it was a mountain in *Lycia*, which had some volcano on the top; that the upper part of it was only frequent-

(15) In *Corinth*. (16) *De hac vid. Hesiod. Teogn. Lucret. Horat. Ovid. &c.*

expedition was against the *Amazons*, from which he not only came off victorious, but extricated himself also from an ambush of *Lycians*, which *Jobates* had set to way-lay and murder him in his return, and killed every one of them. *Jobates* at length, struck with admiration at his bravery and success, sought no more how to be rid of him, but how to reward his services, which he did by giving him his daughter *Philonoe* in marriage and declaring him his successor ¹.

ALL these achievements, however, if we may believe the poets, were not done without an extraordinary assistance. For *Minerva*, who took pity on the innocent prince, lent him the famous horse *Pegasus* (O), after she had been at the pains to tame and break him to his hands, to whose help he is affirmed to have been beholden for the most signal of his exploits, especially that of killing the *Chimæra* ^m, against which *Neptune* was likewise pleased to give him his assistance. After these successes and great change of fortune, he is said to have grown so insolent and presumptuous, that it brought a new series of mischiefs upon him, which gave occasion to the fable mentioned in the last note, of his having attempted to fly up to heaven upon *Pegasus*, by whom he was flung down into the valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blind ⁿ.

¹ PAUSAN. ubi supra.
PAUSAN. SICUL. & al.

^m APOLLOD. l. ii. c. 3.

ⁿ Id Ibid.

ted by lions, the middle by goats, and the foot by serpents, and that our hero having cleared it of all that vermin, gave rise to the fable of this *Chimæra* (17).

Others again suppose it to have been a noted pirate among the *Lycians*, named *Chimarras*, who had the lion, goat, and dragon, painted on his ship, and was overcome by *Bellerophon*, after having infested those parts a considerable time, and done great damage to *Lycia*, and all the neighbouring kingdoms (18).

(O) This famous winged creature is feigned to have sprung from *Medusa's* blood. The *Corinthians* had a temple dedicated to *Minerva*, whom they surnamed *Chalinitis*, from the Greek Χαλινός a bit or curb-bridle, because she had clapt one in his mouth, in order to break him for our hero's service.

The fable adds, that *Bellerophon*, being got on the back of *Pegasus*, was so affrighted at his mounting in the air, that he fell down, and that the horse, finding himself without a rider, flew up to heaven, where he was turned into the constellation that still bears his name.

(17) Vid. Serv. Comm. in Virg.
Hind. Hist. Græc.

(18) Plutarch. de virtut. Mul-

WE took notice above, that *Thoas* the son of *Ornytion* succeeded *Creon* or *Glaucus* ; from him the crown descended to his son *Demophon*, to his grandson *Propidas*, and lastly to his two great grandsons, *Doridas* and *Hyanthidas*. It was in the reign of these two that the *Dorians* invaded the kingdom, with *Aletes* one of the *Heraclidæ* at their head, who forced the two brothers to yield the crown to him, and to lead a private life at *Corinth*. *Aletes* was the son of that *Hippotes*, who had been banished *Peloponnesus* for ten years, by order of the *Delphic* oracle, for killing one *Carnus* an *Acarnianian* prophet in the war of the *Epigoni* against *Thebes*, mentioned in a former section.

HE met, however, with an obstinate resistance from the *Corinthians*, who shewed upon that occasion a great reluctance to submit to a foreign prince ; but unfortunately for them, *Aletes* and his brave *Dorians* proved too strong, beat and expelled them out of that metropolis, and got at length the quiet possession of the kingdom. From him it passed through a succession of his descendants, under the names of *Heraclidæ* and *Bacchiadæ*, till *Telestes* the ninth from him. This prince, being very young when *Aristomedes* his father died, had been left to the care of his uncle *Agemon*, who soon after mounted the throne, and not only held it from him sixteen years, but left it to his own son *Alexander*, who reigned also twenty six years ; but was at length killed by *Telestes*, whom it seems they had still suffered to live during this long usurpation, and who then seized upon his right, and enjoyed it till he was himself killed by a faction, as we hinted above ; immediately after which followed the aristocracy of the 200 *Bacchiadæ* under their annual *Prytanes*°.

° PAUSAN. ubi supra. EUSEB. Chron. l. i. D. SICUL. ubi supra.

S E C T. IX.

The history of the antient kingdom of Lacedæmon or Sparta.

THE original name of this country was *Laconia*, a name which this nation still prided themselves in, when it was afterwards changed into those of *Spartans* and *Lacedemonians*. As for those of *Sparta* and *Lacedemon*, though they be often confounded by writers antient and modern, yet, in propriety of speech, the former was only the name of the metropolis, so called, according to the tra-^{The name.}dition of that people, from *Sparte*, the daughter of *Eurotas*, and the latter of the kingdom or nation, and so called from *Lacedemon*, the husband of *Sparte* and heir and successor of *Eurotas*. The same tradition adds, that *Eurotas* was the grandson of *Lelex*, surnamed also *Autochthos*, because he was supposed to have been originally a native, and from him his subjects bore the antient name of *Leleges*. *Lelex* was succeeded by his eldest son *Myles*, and this by his son *Eurotas*, who finding the country very unhealthy and incommodious, by reason of the bogs and marshes with which it was covered, cut a spacious channel through it, into which such quantities of water drained themselves, that it became a large river, which he called by his own name. *Eurotas*, having no male^{And their} issue, married his daughter *Sparte* to *Lacedemon*, the supposed son of *Jupiter* by *Taygeta* (A), and appointed him his successor, from which time they agreed to call the kingdom by his name, and the city, which he built soon after and made the seat of the kingdom, by that of his wife^{etymon.}. Thus far the
Laconic

^a PAUSAN. in *Laconic*. ch. i. Vid. & St. BYZANT. sub. voce *Sparta* & *Laconia*.

(A) This princess was the daughter of *Atlas*, king of *Mauritania* and uncle of *Jupiter*, and is said to have been ravished both by him and by his brother *Neptune*; from her the mountain *Taygetus* had its name, on which was a noble monument erected in honour of her son *Lacedemon*. Near this place was also a village called *Alesies*, from the Greek *Ἀλίσω*, to grind, because *Myles* the son of *Lelex* is reported to have found the first mule there, and to have made use of it for grinding of corn (1).

(1) *Pausan. in Laconic. c. 20.*

This

Laconic tradition : others, however, derive the name of *Sparta* from *Spartus* the son, according to some, or, according to others, the brother, of *Phoroneus*^b, the son of the great *Inachus* the founder of *Argos*. Others make him the son of *Amidas*^c. *Stephen* of *Byzantium*^d tells us of one *Sparton*, who is in all likelihood the same person whom others call *Spartus*, and this is by some reckoned the brother, and by others the son of *Phoroneus*^e; but this last is confuted by *Pausanias*, who tells us, that he doth not believe, that *Phoroneus* had any son of that name, and that the *Lacedemonians* themselves did not acknowledge any such person. We omit that monstrous account which some give of *Sparta*'s being so called from *Cadmus* making an irruption into *Laconia* with his *Spartii*, who were said to have had that name given them, because they sprang from the teeth of the dragon which he had sown, and which we have mentioned elsewhere. This monstrous story is even rejected by the *Greeks* themselves as a fiction. Under this variety and uncertainty of opinions, we think it would be vain to make further inquiries concerning the original of that name ; as for that of *Lacedemon*, it is generally agreed to be from the *Lacedemon* mentioned above^f (B).

Geography. *Laconia* was situate on the south-east nook of *Peloponnesus*, having *Argos* and *Arcadia* on the north, *Messenia* on the west, the bay of *Argos* on the east, and the *Mediterranean* on the south. Its extent from east to west, where it reached farthest, was 1 deg. 45 min. that is, from 23 deg. 10 min. to 24 deg. 55 min. east, longitude ; but it grew still narrower, as it extended itself northward. The extent of it from north to south was about fifty miles, that is, from 26 deg. 50 min. to 27 deg. 40 min. north latitude^g. We do not pretend to

^b EUSEB. Chron.
voce *Lacedemon*.

^c EUSTAT. in *Iliad*. B.
^e Idem in voce *Mycenas*.
Corinth. Vid. & BOCHART. *Phaleg*. lib. i. c. 22.

STRAB. MELA. PAUSAN. & al.

^d Sub
^f In
^g Vid.

This mountain was likewise famous for furnishing huntsmen with a great variety of wild beasts, such as bears, boars, deer, and vast quantities of wild goats (2).

(B) Besides the names of *Lacedemonia*, *Sparta*, and *Laconia*, we find in antient geographers that of *Lelegia*, from the *Leleges*, whom *Strabo* makes the first inhabitants ; so that the name of *Laconia* is posterior to it according to him. It was afterwards called *Oebalia* from *Oebalus* the sixth from *Eurotas*. It had also the name of *Hecatompolis* from the hundred cities which it is said once to have had (3). It is now called *Tzaconia*.

(2) *Id. ibid.* (3) *Vid. Strab. Geogr. lib. viii.*

say, that this extent of their dominions was such from the beginning ; it is likely, on the contrary, that their boundaries were antiently contained within a much narrower compass, and that a great number of those cities both maritime and inland, which we find in this kingdom, were originally governed by kings of their own, and were not brought under the *Spartan* government till a long time after. Of this nature were the *Helots*, *Gythians*, and many others, which were forced to yield to the superior power of the *Lacedemonians*, especially after the *Ephori* had so far clipped the royal prerogative, and enslaved the people, that they were glad to make war a trade, and to fall foul upon all those neighbouring estates, rather than live an idle and slavish life under those upstart and tyrannic magistrates.

As all the south part of this kingdom was encompassed by the sea, and the east and north-east part by the *Argolic* bay, it had a great number of promontories, the chief which were those of *Malea* and *Tanara* (C), now *Capo Malio*, and *Capo Matapan*. These two, being situate on the *Mediterranean*, form the large *Laconian* gulph which lies between them, and is now called the *Golfo de Colochina*, into which the famed river *Eurotas* mentioned a little higher, and now better known by the name of *Basilipotamo*, vulgarly *Vasilipotamo*, or *royal river*, discharges her waters with an easy and gentle course.

ALL the sea-coasts of *Lacania* were likewise furnished with a considerable number of sea-ports, towns, and commodious harbours. The greatest and most convenient were those of *Trinassus* and *Acria*, situate on each side the mouth of the *Eurotas* ; and *Gythium*, at a small distance from *Trinassus*. *sea-ports.* This last, *Pausanias* tells us, had the remains of a castle still standing, which might be at first built to guard the mouth of that river, which was navigable quite up to *Sparta*, if not beyond. *Gythium* was famous, according to the tradition of its inhabitants, for having been built by *Apollo* and *Hercules*

(C) This cape which juts out a great way into the sea, had two ports, one named *Achilleus*, and the other *Psamatheus*. Here was also the famous temple of *Neptune* built in form of a grotto, falsely supposed by the poets to be the passage out of which *Hercules* brought out *Pluto's* dog *Cerberus*, since there is no subterranean place under it ; but what seems to have given rise to this fancy was, that here was bred a most dreadful serpent, whose bite was so mortal, that it was thence called *hell-hound*, and which was afterwards killed by *Hercules*, and carried by him to *Eurystheus* (4).

(4) *Id. ibid. Pausan. Melia. &c*

(D) ; but the most noted of all was *Epidaurus*, now *Malvesia*, seated on the gulph of *Argos*, now *Golfo de Neapoli*, a town well built and well peopled, and famed among other things for its excellent wine called *Malvesy* or *Malmesy*, which grew round the neighbourhood of it, and with which it supplied other parts of *Greece*. There were about twelve more sea-port towns along the *Laconian* coasts, and what made these still more famed, was a kind of shell-fish caught in that neighbourhood, whose blood was of excellent use for the dying of purple, and was inferior to none except that which was caught in the *Red-sea* ^h.

Cities of
note.

INLAND towns did likewise abound in this kingdom, the most considerable of which was *Sparta* the metropolis, called also improperly *Lacedemon*, and situate upon the river *Eurotas*, at about thirty miles distance from the mouth of it. This city, if not founded, was at least beautified, by *Lacedemon* the first king of it. The next for antiquity and grandeur was *Amyclæ*, built by *Amyclas* the son of *Lacedemon*, and famed afterwards for the birth of *Castor* and *Pollux* the sons of *Tyndareus*, eighth king of *Lacedemon*, and distant about eighteen miles from the metropolis. It was afterwards famed for sending a considerable colony of its own inhabitants into upper *Calabria*, who built there a city which they called by the same name. This city was afterwards destroyed by the *Dorians*, and turned into an inconsiderable hamlet, in which, however, there were seen some of the ruins of its antient grandeur. One of the finest buildings that escaped the common ruin was the temple and statue of *Alexandra*, whom the inhabitants pretended to be the same with *Cassandra* the daughter of *Priam*. 3. *Helos* ruined by the *Spartans* (E).

^h PAUSAN. in Laconic. ch. xxi.

(D) They pretend, that these two, having disputed a long while about a tripod, and at length amicably ended their quarrel, agreed to build this city at their common charge ; for which reason the inhabitants of it pretend themselves not to be sprung from mortal men, and had the statues of those two gods in their market place, as of the authors of their origin (5).

(E) These people, whose city had been built by *Helius* the son of *Perseus*, had a worse fate than any of the rest. For having refused to pay the tribute imposed upon them by *Agis*, the third king of the *Heracleidean* line, the *Lacedemonians* fell upon them with an army, took them prisoners, reduced them to the lowest and most miserable slavery, and, to compleat all, made a law, which forbid their masters either giving them their liberty, or selling them into other countries (6).

(5) *Pausan. ubi supra.*

(6) *Strab. ubi supra, p. 363. & 365.*
† 4. *Thulana*

4. *Thulana*; near to which is the famous lake of *Lerna*, where *Hercules* slew the *Hydra*. 5. *Leuëtrum*, upon the bay of *Messenia* and situate near the sea. We find two other cities of this name, one in *Arcadia*, and the other in *Achaia*; but this was the most remarkable of the three¹.

MOUNTAINS they had in great number, the country was divided from *Messenia* by one ridge of them, and from *Arcadia* by another; and this latter was a very long one^k, besides those which were in the heart of it. The greatest part of them, however, were more celebrated for some fabulous exploits of their gods and heroes, than for any thing else they were remarkable for, and may therefore be past by. Rivers of note, besides the *Eurotas* abovementioned, were the *Smenus*, which had its head near the foot of the mountain *Taygeta*, and thence empties itself into the sea, and whose waters are famed for their sweetness and pleasantness. The *Thiasus*, said to have had its name from the daughter of *Eurotas*. The *Scyras*, where *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles* landed, after he came from *Scyros* to marry *Hermione*. This river, having till then no name, was from thenceforth called *Scyras*. We omit some others of less note.

THE soil was very rich, especially in the low and flat grounds, and their being so well watered by rivers, and from the mountains, made it excellent for pasture-ground; but their being so overthwarted with hills and mountains, hindered them from being so well tilled as they might have otherwise been. But the country was much better situated for trade and navigation, by having the sea round above half the kingdom, and so many fair havens upon it. How well they improved these advantages, how powerful they became, and what noble fleets they entertained, and brave experienced admirals they bred, will be seen in the sequel of their history. The truth is, the *Lacedemonians* were a brave courageous people, hardy, and inured to the trade of war both by sea and land, averse to sloth and luxury, jealous of their honour and liberty, as well as of their neighbours power, they were wanting in no civil or military discipline, in order to secure the one and curb the other. And by these means it was, that they became so powerful, and made so considerable a figure in *Greece*^l.

THEIR government was like all others originally monarchical. Their kings had indeed some magistrates under them

Sail.

Government.

¹ De his vid. PAUSAN. *ibid.* & BYZANT. *sub. voce.* ^k MELA. lib. ii. c. 4. & alib. STRAB. *ubi. supra.* ^l Vid. THUCYDID. l. ii. PAUSAN. in *Laconic*, PLUTARCH. in *Lycurg.* DIODOR. SICUL. &c.

whose advice and council they made use of upon all emergent occasions ; but as these were chosen by the prince and might be turned out at pleasure, they seldom had courage enough to contradict him in any thing, so that his will was still the supreme law. In this manner it passed through a succession of twelve princes from *Lacedemon*, the son-in-law of *Eurotas* the founder of this monarchy ; not indeed constantly in the male line, which being extinct in *Castor* and *Pollux* the sons of *Tyndareus* their seventh monarch, it passed to *Menelaus*, then king of *Messenia*, in right of his wife *Helena* *Tyndareus*'s daughter. From him it passed to his sons by a former wife, after which it returned again to the descendants of *Helena*, in *Orestes* the son of *Agamemnon*, whose son *Tisamenes*, being outed by the *Heraclidæ*, went and reigned in *Achaia*, leaving the kingdom of *Lacedemon* to the sons of *Aristodemus*, *Eurysthene*s and *Procles*. For though some have placed their father at the head of the *Herculean* list, yet it is more likely, that he had been dead before they had finished the conquest of this kingdom, if not even before they entered into *Peloponnesus* (F).

HOWEVER, whether under him, or his twin-sons, *Eurysthene*s and *Procles* (G), abovementioned, the government took a quite new form, and instead of one sovereign became subject to two. For these two brothers did not divide the kingdom between them, as had been done at *Argos*, *Messenia*, *Arcadia*, and elsewhere; neither did they agree to reign al-

(F) We have already taken notice, that this prince, who was the son of *Aristomachus* and brother to *Cresphontes* and *Temenus*, is said to have been killed by lightning at *Naupactus* in *Ætolia*, whilst their navy was getting ready for this expedition ; here it was that he left his twin-sons *Eurysthene*s and *Procles*, whom he had by *Argea* the daughter of *Autesion* (7), his successors, both to the expedition and to all the conquests they should make in it.

Pausanias says, he was killed by the sons of *Pylades* and *Electra*, who were cousin-germans to *Tisamenes* the son of *Orestes*, before this expedition. And the *Lacedemonians* pretended, that *Apollo* had shot him to death at *Delphos*, because he came thither, not to consult the oracle, but to advise with *Hercules*, who was there at that time, about the means of invading *Peloponnesus* ; so that upon the whole it appears, that he was dead some time before the conquest of that peninsula by the *Heraclidæ*.

(G) This last is sometimes called *Procles*, and sometimes *Protocles* by *Strabo*. *Plutarch* calls him *Patrocles* ; but *Herodotus*, *Apollodorus*, *Cicero*, and *Pausanias*, always call him *Procles* ; it is likely, this difference is owing to the inadvertency of copyists, some of whom were used to abridge words and names, and others to write them at length.

(7) *Pausan.* in *Laconic.*

ternely,

ternately, as *Eteocles* and *Polynices* had done at *Thebes*; but, whether pursuant to their father's will, or by virtue of some mutual contract, they resolved to govern jointly, and with equal power and authority; both bearing the title of king of *Lacedemon*, and both being acknowledged and obeyed as such. *Pausanias* adds, that the *Delphic* oracle being consulted about this new form of government, the pythones did not make any objection against it^m. What is still more surprising is, that this biarchy, if we may be allowed the expression, did not end with those two brothers, though, from their mutual jealousy and antipathy, one would hardly have expected it to have outlived even them, but continued in this condition under a bipartite succession of thirty princes of the line of *Eurysthene*s, and twenty seven of that of *Procles*, and ended in both near about the same time (H).

BUT, though this title and succession continued thus long in those two lines, yet was the power and authority soon curtailed; through the discords which must inevitably have reigned between them. *Eurysthene*s was succeeded by his son *Agis*, from whom all the descendants of that line were surnamed *Agidæ*, as the other line took the name of *Eurytionidæ* from *Eurytion* the grandson of *Procles*. These two soon came to divide themselves into two distinct parties, under which the people, who are not always the dupes of those that govern them, did list themselves according as their affection or interest led them; and this obliged their heads to court them, by largesses, by some new privileges, and other such-like concessions, which though they served the present purpose, yet could not but prove in the end prejudicial to the royal prerogative. This the *Lacedemonians* soon perceived, and being become conscious how impossible it would be for either side to hold the reins of government under such disadvantageous circumstances, they became the haughtier and more insolent, as they found their affection and assistance necessary to either competitor. This gave birth to fresh complaints, murmurs, and every pretence or stratagem, which did but weaken the regal power. The consequence of all this was, that the people, instead of becoming more tractable by any concession, grew the more turbulent and headstrong, taking every advantage they could against those, who, thro' either their easy nature, or through necessity, were glad to court their affection,

^m PAUSAN. ubi supra, c. i.

(H) When *Cicomenes* III. the last of the first line, having killed his copartner *Eurydamidas*, was shortly after vanquished by *Antigon*us, as shall be seen in the following chapter.

Y y y 2

and

and vexing and blackening those, who had courage enough to curb and use them with any severity. By these divisions the regal dignity was brought into such contempt, that the government was upon the brink of falling into anarchy and confusion, when the great *Lycurgus* took the reins of it, during some part of his nephew *Charilaus*'s minority.

THIS great patriot and lawgiver was the son of *Polydectes*, the 6th king of the *Eurytionian* line, but by a second wife. However, his elder brother dying without children, the right of succession remained in him, and he accordingly took the administration upon him, waiting, however, to see, whether his sister-in-law was with child. This princess finding herself pregnant, acquainted him with it privately, and with a promise that if he would marry her, she would take some effectual method to destroy the embryo. *Lycurgus*, though shocked at the proposal, yet gave her some distant hopes that he would comply with it, but withal used all proper means to prevent her miscarrying, till the time of her delivery was come, when he sent for some persons of note to be present at her labour. She was soon after brought to bed of a son, the news of which being sent to him whilst he was at supper with some noble *Spartans*, he came immediately, and taking the child in his arms, said to those who were present, *This is your king*; laid him on a chair of state, and gave him the name of *Charilaus*. This generous action did not, however, satisfy all the *Spartans*; the incensed queen, by the help of her brother *Leonidas*, persuaded many of them, that he was only acting a game in order to seize and make himself the more sure of the crown by the death of the young prince. To prevent therefore so vile an insinuation, and so far from his intention, from gaining credit, *Lycurgus* withdrew himself into a voluntary exile, from which he returned not till *Charilaus* was married, and had had a son to succeed him. This last action having at once put an end to all those unjust surmises which had been raised by his enemies, and procured him the esteem of all those that wished well to their country; he met with less difficulty in the prosecution of his more glorious design of new-modelling the government. Another circumstance which facilitated this change was, that during his absence, such depravity of manners and corruption in the government had crept into that miserable state, that not only his friends, but even those who had been his most zealous enemies, were glad to repeat their embassies, to entreat him to come back and save his country from ruinⁿ.

ⁿ Vid. *Auct. sup. citat.*

THESE were the inevitable consequences of that fatal division of the regal authority between two competitors, which, however, *Lycurgus* took a quite different method of remedying, than by confining it again to either of the lines, which might have proved too dangerous a task. He contented himself therefore with reducing their authority, by constituting a senate endowed with the supreme power in all civil matters, and leaving to the kings, besides the title and honour, only the management of military and religious affairs, as shall be shewn in the next chapter ; in which we shall give a more particular account of the form of government which he established, the body of laws which he framed, and the extraordinary method which he took to give both a sure and lasting sanction.

THUS was the *Spartan* monarchy changed into a commonwealth, after it had continued in the line of *Lacedæmon* 610 years, that is, from the year of the world 2290, in which we place the building of *Sparta* according to the chronology we have hitherto followed, to its becoming subject to the *Heraclidæ* about *A. M.* 2900, and continued in the double line of these last during seven reigns, making in all about 280 years more. In the following list therefore of those kings, we shall begin it only from *Lacedemon* the son-in-law of *Eurotas*, who may be properly looked upon as the founder of that state. As to his supposed predecessors, *Lelex*, *Myles*, and *Eurotas*, we shall content ourselves with having mentioned them in the beginning of this section.

AND as for those of the *Herculean* family, who reigned after the change of government made by *Lycurgus*, besides that they are all out of our epocha, they are more to be looked upon as generals of the *Lacedemonian* army, than as royal sovereigns, and consequently their names need not be mentioned here.

A LIST of the royal *Lacedemonian* line.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1 <i>Lacedemon</i> | 8 <i>Castor and Pollux</i> |
| 2 <i>Amyclas</i> | 9 <i>Menelaus</i> |
| 3 <i>Argalus</i> | 10 <i>Nicostratus and Megapenthes</i> |
| 4 <i>Cynorta</i> | 11 <i>Orestes the son of Agamemnon</i> |
| 5 <i>OEbalus</i> | 12 <i>Tisamenus</i> |
| 6 <i>Hippocoon</i> | |
| 7 <i>Tyndareus his brother</i> | |

The *Herculean* line.

1 <i>Eurysthenes</i>	1 <i>Procles</i>
2 <i>Agis</i>	2 <i>Sous</i>
3 <i>Echestratus</i>	3 <i>Eurytion</i>
4 <i>Labotas</i>	4 <i>Prytanis</i>
5 <i>Doryssus</i>	5 <i>Eunomus</i>
6 <i>Agésilas</i>	6 <i>Polydectes</i>
7 <i>Archelaus</i>	7 <i>Charilaus</i>

1. CONCERNING *Lacedemon*, we know little more besides what we mentioned at the beginning of this section, except that he built a temple to two of the graces whom he called *Phacna* and *Clete*, celebrated by an antient poet °, and that his descendants raised a stately monument to him near the town of *Alesies*, where *Myles* is said to have found the first mule.

2. *Amyclas* his successor is still more unknown (I), except for building the city of his name, mentioned a little higher, concerning which there goes a story, that, whether by reason of its situation, or any other cause, it was so subject to frequent and strange noises as of enemies coming upon them, when there was really nothing like it, that the *Amycleans* made a law, that none should dare to alarm the town upon any such occasion. The *Dorians*, taking the advantage of it, came upon them on a sudden and took the town ; and hence came the old proverb, *I will speak, knowing how the Amycleans were ruined for holding their peace* ; and the old saying of *Amyclas vivere*, was used to signify *to see, and hear, and say nothing*. The people of this city became afterwards fa-

° ALCMAN. ap. PAUSAN. LAcon. c. xviii.

(I) The fabie says, that of all the sons he had, he was most excessively fond of *Hyacinthus* the youngest, because he excelled all the rest in beauty, insomuch, that *Apollo* and *Zephyrus* became enamoured with him at the same time. *Apollo* being one day at play, unfortunately flew him with a quoit, and from his blood caused the flower of his name to spring up.

His disconsolate father erected a stately tomb with his statue, both which outlived the ruin of that city, and appointed a feast to be kept in memory of him. *Ovid*, in his metamorphoses makes this youth the son of *OEbalus* ; but *Pausanias*, who had seen his monument, says he was the son of *Amyclas* (8).

(8) *Lacon. c. i. § xix.*

mous likewise for their strict adherence to the *Pythagorean* doctrine, which forbids the killing of any living creature, and which they did so strictly keep, that they forbore the destroying even of those very serpents which annoyed and destroyed them. We have very little left concerning *Amyclas's* three successors, *Argalus*, *Cynorta*, and *OEbalus*, except that this last gave his name to a canton of *Lacedemonia*, which he had either conquered, or which he divided afterwards from the rest, and gave to his son *Hippocoon*, whilst the rest of the kingdom was assigned to his other son *Tyndareus*. *OEbalus* married *Gorgophone* the daughter of *Perseus*, by whom he had this *Tyndareus*, to whom he left the kingdom; but his brother, who reigned in *OEbalia*, came soon after and deprived him of it.

WHILST *Hippocoon* reigned in *Sparta*, *Hercules* happened to come thither to be expiated, for the murder of *Iphitus*: *Hercules*, it seems, after having put away *Megara*, went to *OEchalia*, where he won *Iole* the daughter of *Eurytus* king of that country, at shooting against him and his sons, an exercise which that king always proposed to those who came to court his daughter. But the king and his sons, remembering how he had used *Megara*, refused to give *Iole* to him; in revenge of which affront he drove away *Eurytus's* horses, and taking his son *Iphitus*, who was ordered to go in search of them, up to the top of a high tower, under pretence of shewing him where they were, threw him down headlong and killed him. *Hippocoon* therefore and all his sons did stoutly oppose his being expiated, because they thought the action too black to deserve such a favour^p, and *Hercules* stayed only for an opportunity of being revenged on him for his refusal.

HE did not wait long for it; for a first cousin of his, named *Oeonus*, who was come with him to *Sparta*, walking one day along the streets of that city, past by chance before the house of *Hippocoon*, out of which a mastiff came and flew upon him. *Oeonus* flung a stone at him, which being perceived by *Hippocoon's* sons, they rushed out upon him with cudgels in their hands and beat him to death. There wanted no more to rouse the fury of that sanguine hero, he fell upon them with what men he had about him, but, being wounded in the scuffle, he was forced to retire, but came not long after with a strong reinforcement, and gave them battle, killed *Hippocoon* and ten of his sons, besides a great number of

^p Id. *ibid.* c. xv.

Lacedemonians; and having taken the metropolis, he recalled *Tyndareus*, and left the kingdom, which was now become his conquest, to that banished monarch, in trust for his own posterity, as we have elsewhere hinted (K). *Tyndareus*,

(K) *Hercules*, having succeeded so well in this expedition, is reported to have built a temple to *Juno*, because she had not thwarted him in it, as she had formerly done upon all occasions, and for want of a better victim offered her a goat, from which she was afterwards worshipped by the *Lacedemonians* under the name of *Juno Ægophaga*, or *Goat-eater*, and that creature became the constant victim which they offered to her there (9).

His last exploit, and with which this is a proper place to finish the history of that renowned hero, was against *Eurytus*, who retained, as he thought, unjustly *Iole* from him. He went therefore against him, slew him and his sons, and carried off his daughter with him. Coming soon after to the *Cenæan* promontory in *Eubæa*, to offer some sacrifice there, he sent his servant *Lychas* to *Trachin*, to his wife *Dejanira* for the shirt and coat in which he used to perform that ceremony.

This princess had some time before been attempted by the centaur *Nessus*, as he was ferrying her over the river *Euenus*, and *Hercules*, beholding it from the shore, had given him a mortal wound with an arrow. The monster finding himself dying, advised her to mix some oil with the blood which flowed from his wound, and to anoint her husband's shirt with it, pretending, that it would infallibly secure him from loving any other woman; and she, too well apprised of his inconstancy, had actually prepared the poisoned ointment accordingly (10).

Lychas, coming to her for the garments, unfortunately acquainted her with his having brought away *Iole*, and she, in a fit of jealousy, failed not to anoint his shirt with the fatal mixture, which had no sooner touched his body, than he felt the poison diffuse it self through all his veins; the violent pain of which caused him to disband his army and to return to *Trachin*. His torment still increasing, he sent to consult the oracle for a cure, and was answered, that he should cause himself to be conveyed to mount *Oeta*, and there rear up a great pile of wood, and leave the rest to *Jupiter*.

By that time he had obeyed the oracle, his pains being become intolerable, he dressed himself in his martial habit, flung himself upon the pile, and desired the by-standers to set fire to it; others say, that he left the charge of it to his son *Philoctetes*, who having performed his father's commands, had his bow and arrows given him as a reward for his obedience.

At the same time *Jupiter*, to be as good as his word, sent a flash of lightning which consumed both the pile and the hero, inso-much, that *Iolaus* coming to take up his bones, found nothing but

(9) *Cæli Rhod.* (10) *Ovid. Metam. l. 9. Diodor. l. 5. Seneca, in Hercule Oetæo.*

Tyndareus, or, as he is otherwise called, *Tyndarus*, more glad to accept the *Lacedemonian* kingdom upon any conditions, than solicitous about the performance of them, was no sooner seated upon his throne, than he began to find out means to secure it to himself and descendants against the *Heracidae*. He had two brave sons by his wife *Leda*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, and two daughters, the famous *Helena* and *Clytemnestra*, whose strange birth, as it is fabled by the poets, the reader may find in the margin (L). *Helen's* fatal beauty had caused her to be stolen away by *Theseus*, as we have seen before, and after she was recovered by her two brothers, *Tyndareus*, still afraid lest she should be carried off again, had obliged all her suitors by an oath to leave it to her to make choice of the man she liked, and that in case she should be stolen by any other, they would all join their forces to bring her back to her husband. She chose soon after *Menelaus* the son of *Atreus*, after which she being stolen away again by *Paris*, her husband, encouraged by his brother *Agamemnon*, challenged all those princes, who had been her admirers, to the performance of their promise, and engaged them to the *Trojan* war, of which we have spoken at length in a former chapter.

Tyndareus, vexed at the incontinency of his two daughters, (for *Helena* was carried off by her own consent, and *Clytemnestra*, as we have seen elsewhere, not only lived in adultery during her husband's absence, but murdered him imme-

ashes, from which they took up the notion that he was passed from earth to heaven, and was joined to the gods. A fit son indeed for such a father, and a fitter god for such votaries, who could deify, raise altars and temples, offer sacrifices, and institute feasts to a mortal, who had sullied his best actions with so many murders, rapes, and adulteries. *Hercules* bequeathed *Iole* to his son *Hyllus*; as for *Dejanira*, she hanged herself as soon as she was apprised of the fatal effects of the pretended philtre.

(L) The fable goes, that *Jupiter* having had an amorous intrigue with her in the shape of a swan, soon after her matrimonial commerce with her husband, the result of these amphibious embraces was, that she was brought to bed of two eggs, out of one of which came *Pollux* and *Helena*, and out of the other *Castor* and *Clytemnestra*; whence *Castor*, as *Tyndareus's* son, was mortal, but *Pollux*, as son of *Jupiter*, is said to have been immortal, and to have divided his immortality with his brother.

The *Greeks*, however, according to *Pausanias* (11), pretended, that *Helena* was the daughter of *Nemesis*, and that *Leda* was only her nurse, and brought her up as her own, but this is a piece of *Grecian* mythology not worth disproving.

(11) *Ubi supra.*

diately after his return) is said to have built a temple to *Venus* (M), and erected a statue of cedar to that goddess, with a vail over her face and chains about her legs, either, as some think, to expose her as the cause of their unlawful love, or, as *Pausanias* thinks, to intimate to posterity the indissoluble tie of wedlock⁹. He began likewise to build a stately temple to *Minerva*, whom he surnamed *Poliuchos*, or *guardian of the city*, but died before he could finish it, and left both that work and his kingdom to his two sons, after he had reigned about forty years^r.

8. *Castor* and *Pollux* went on with the building, designing to have enriched it with the spoils of the city *Aphidne*, out of which they had rescued their sister *Helena*, but left it likewise imperfect. The *Lacedemonians* did afterwards build a new one in that place which was of massive brass, from which it was called *Chalciacos*. These two heroes likewise signalized themselves in the *Argonautic* expedition, and when they came home, they built a temple to *Minerva Asia*, in acknowledgment of their success and safe return from *Colchis*, from which they are also said to have brought away a famous statue of *Mars*. They had likewise a bloody combat with the sons of *Aphareus*, *Ida*, and *Lynceus*, the latter of whom is said to have had such piercing eyes, that he could see even into the trunk of a tree (N). The occasion of their quarrel is variously reported; *Theocritus* says, that they had stolen the daughters of *Leucippus* the brother of *Aphareus*, but *Pausanias* and *Pindar* say, it was only about a herd of oxen. However, in this combat *Pollux* killed *Lynceus*, and *Ida* was struck dead with lightning. The remainder of their exploits is too fabulous to deserve a place here, we shall give a specimen of them in the margin^r (O).

9. *Menelaus*

⁹ LACON. c. 16. ^r Ch. xvii. ^r De his vid. PLUTARCH. in Theseo. DIOD. APOLLOD. & PAUSAN.

(M) *Pausanias* adds, that this temple, which himself saw, was built after a particular manner, being rather two temples reared the one upon the other, the upper of which was called *Morphe*, which is but another name of *Venus* (11), and signifies *form* or *figure*, implying that she was the goddess of beauty.

(N) Hence the saying of *Lyncean* eyes, and *Pindar* tells us, that he could discover *Castor* hid in the trunk of a tree from mount *Taygetus* (12).

(O) These two famous brothers are celebrated by the ancient poets under several names, such as *Anacles* from the Greek *Ἀνάξ*,

(11) In LACON. c. xv.

(12) *Neemeen*, Ode 10.

which

9. *Menelaus* the son of *Atreus* succeeded them in the kingdom in right of his wife. We have spoken of the war which her rape occasioned, and the success of it in a former chapter. At their return from the *Trojan* war, being, upon some difference, parted from his brother *Agamemnon*, after having weathered many violent storms, he arrived safely in *Egypt* with his wife *Helena*, whither *Homer* tells us he was driven by contrary winds. *Herodotus* gives us a quite different account of his going into *Egypt*, and gives us his reasons for it; but as it contradicts most of the antient poets

which signifies a king or prince, such as were originally all the *Heathen* gods. *Ambulii*, most probably likewise from the Greek *'Αμ-βολιη*, *procrastination*, *delay*, to imply their lengthening of life. *Jupiter* is also called by that name. They were also called *Apherei*, as supposed to preside over the lists; but the name they were most commonly known by was that of *Dioscouri*, from *δῖος* and *κῆρσι*, because they were reputed the sons of *Jupiter*.

They are reported to have cleared the country of robbers, and the sea of pirates, and from this last they were worshipped as gods of the sea, and are said to have appeared to mariners in storms, and the notion was, that if only one was seen, it betokened shipwreck, but if both together, it was taken for a good omen.

They are likewise said to have appeared at land upon several occasions: They once facilitated the escape of the *Lacedemonians* under their king *Anaxander*, when they were closely pursued, and likely to be cut in pieces, by *Aristomenes* and his *Messenian* troops. At another time they came to the very house where they had lived when upon earth, and begged of *Phormio*, who was then in possession of it, to take them in for that night, pretending they were strangers come from *Cyrene*. They asked moreover to lie in one particular chamber, which they had been formerly fond of; but *Phormio* told them, that the whole house was at their service, except that chamber, in which was a young woman whom he kept. They seemingly agreed to accept of any other apartment, but on the morrow, both the young woman and those that waited upon her were gone as well as the guests, and nothing found in her chamber but the two statues of the *Dioscouri*, and a table with some sweet gums upon it (13).

The fable adds, that when *Castor* died, his brother *Pollux*, who was immortal, prayed to *Jupiter* that he might share his immortality with him, which being granted, they are said to have lived and died by turns, and to have been at length transformed into the sign *Gemini*, of which two of the stars are called by their names, and one of which goes down when the other rises.

(13) *Pausan. ubi supra*, c. xvi.

and historians, we shall relate it in the margin (P). *Menelaus* was succeeded by his two sons by a former wife, or rather by a slave, namely,

10. *Nicostratus* and *Megapenthes*; but the *Lacedemonians*, unwilling to submit themselves to a spurious offspring, *Orestes* easily obtained the kingdom, and without any blood-shed.

11. *Orestes*, the son of *Agamemnon* king of *Messenia*, came to the *Lacedemonian* crown in right of his mother *Clytemnestra*, the other daughter of *Tyndareus*. We have already mentioned in the history of that kingdom, how he revenged his father's murder on his faithless mother and her paramour, and ascended the *Messenian* throne *. He was, however, accused of that parricide, not, indeed, by his grandfather *Tyndareus*, who must have been dead long before, but by his uncle *Perilaus*, the son of *Icarius*, and cousin-german, and consequently the nearest relation, of *Clytemnestra*. He it was who cited him before the great *Athenian* court called *Areopagus*, after he had recovered his senses. What their sentence was our author doth not inform us, but tells us elsewhere †, that he had seen an old building which was called *Orestes's mansion*, in which he was forced to live separate from the rest of mankind, except that they took care to supply him with

* See before p. 457.

† PAUSAN. *Arcad.* ch. xxxiv.

(P) He tells us, upon the credit of the *Egyptian* priests, that as *Paris* was carrying off that fatal beauty, they were driven by contrary winds upon the coasts of *Egypt*, where he was accused of the theft by some of his servants, who went and took sanctuary in the temple of *Hercules*. *Proteus*, then king of the country, having examined the story, detained the woman and the goods she had brought with her till her husband came to demand them, and let the ravisher go as being a stranger.

When therefore the confederate *Greeks*, who were ignorant of this, came to demand her of the *Trojans*, and were answered that she was left in *Egypt*, they believed it a mere pretence, and carried on the siege; but when the city was taken, and she not found in it, then *Menelaus* went to demand her of the *Egyptian* king.

What inclined our author to believe that this was the real truth of the story is, as he tells us, that if *Helen* had really been in *Troy*, it had been madness in *Priam* to have sacrificed that noble city, and the lives of so many noble *Trojans*, only to defend *Paris* in the possession of another man's wife, since he was neither heir to the kingdom, nor equal in worth to many of those that fell in the defence of that city (14).

(14) *Herodot.* l. ii. c. 113, & seq.

food and other necessaries, till he had quite expiated his crime^u. He died and was buried in *Arcadia*, whither the oracle advised him to retire, as we have seen in a former section.

12. *Tisamenes*, the son of *Orestes* by *Hermione* the daughter of *Menelaus* and *Helena*, succeeded him both in this kingdom and those of *Argos* and *Messenia*, and was soon after outed out of all by the *Heracidae*, who, having by this time invaded *Peloponnesus*, claimed the latter, as being of the line of *Perseus*, and he only of that of *Pelops*; and the former, because *Hercules*, having conquered it from *Hippocoon*, had only left in it trust with *Tyndareus*, as we have lately seen. What became of *Tisamenes* is variously reported: some say he was killed as he was defending the kingdom of *Argos*^w; others, and with more probability, say, he escaped into *Achaia*, and reigned there; some time after which he was killed one of the first in a combat against the *Ionians*, and was buried in the city of *Helice*, whence the *Lacedemonians*, by the oracle's advice, afterwards fetched his bones and buried them in *Sparta*^x. However that be, *Philonomus* betrayed that metropolis to the sons of *Aristodemus*, who with their forces entered it with the sound of the flute^y, an instrument then reckoned very martial, and proper to inspire the soldiers with courage, as well as to keep them in their ranks, for which reason the *Lacedemonians* made use of it from that time, whenever they sounded to battle^z.

Eurysthenes and *Procles* having thus obtained the kingdom, at first divided it into six parts, every one of which they endowed with all the privileges of the city of *Sparta*, where they still kept their residence. This, though for the present it had the desired effect of ingratiating themselves to the *Lacedemonians*, yet in the following reigns proved the cause of many grievous disturbances. For *Agis*, the son and successor of *Eurysthenes*, finding, that the people were grown headstrong by it, endeavoured to curb them, not only by depriving several cantons of those privileges, but by laying a tribute upon all the *Lacedemonians*. They did indeed all submit to it, except the *Heliois*, who were made a severe example to the rest; but these severities failed not to alienate the affections of the people from him.

ON the other hand, his copartner *Sous* the son of *Procles*, a valiant and warlike prince, gained their esteem by his bravery and new conquests. We have an instance of his con-

^u Id. Corinth. c. xxxi.

^w APOLLOD. l. ii c. 8.

^x Vid.

PAUSAN. Achaic. c. i. & STRAB. Geogr. l. viii.

^y STRAB.

ibid.

^z POLYÆN. Stratagem. l. i c. 10.

duct recorded very much to his honour, which is as follows ; that prince being besieged by the *Chlorians* in a dry stony place, where his army suffered very much for want of water ; he was at length reduced to make a treaty with the enemy, by which he obliged himself to restore to them all the places he had taken from them, upon condition that he and all his men should drink of a spring at a small distance from his camp. After the mutual ratifications of the treaty on both sides, *Sous*, having called his soldiers together, offered the kingdom to him that would forbear drinking ; but they being all oppressed with excessive thirst, not one could be tempted to accept his offer upon that condition. As soon therefore as he had seen them drink their fill of the water, he took some of it in the hollow of his hand, and sprinkled his face with it without drinking one drop, and marched off in the face of the enemy. The consequence of which was, that his abstinence having made the contract void, seeing he and all his men had not drank at the spring, he could safely refuse to resign his conquests to them ^a.

Agis, from whom the descendants of that line had the name of *Agidæ*, or *Agiadæ*, for they are indifferently called by both, was succeeded by his son *Echestratus*, and *Sous*, not long after, by his son *Eurytion*, otherwise also called *Eurypon* and *Euryphon* ; from him this line, which had till then took the name of *Proclidæ*, exchanged it for that of *Eurytionidæ* or *Eurypontidæ* ^b, &c. In this reign, some seeds of discord between the *Lacedemonians* and *Argives* began to appear, which were, however, stifled by the prudence of those two monarchs. The *Cynosureans*, who were a colony of *Argives*, and settled in the neighbourhood of that kingdom by *Cynosurus* the son of *Perseus*, were complained against by the *Argives*, for not only suffering a parcel of banditti to ravage their frontiers, but likewise for doing the same themselves, and sometimes leading their plundering troops as far as their metropolis. For this the *Lacedemonians* banished all the *Cynosureans* that were able to bear arms out of their territories, and by that severity not only prevented all such ravages for some time, but restored a good understanding between the *Argives* and them ^c.

BUT this peaceful disposition did not last but till the next

^a PLUTARCH. in Lycurg. vid. & Apothegm. Laconic. ap HIND. ubi supra. ^b PAUSAN.. MEURS. &c. ^c PAUSAN. ubi supra. c. ii. & iii.

reign, when *Labotas* (Q), the son of *Echestratus*, and *Prytanis*, the son of *Eurytion*, declared war against them. The ground of it was, that though the *Lacedæmonians* possessed the town and territories of *Cynosura*, by right of their late conquest, yet the *Argives* were still incroaching upon some part of it, and endeavoured to withdraw their confederates from their alliance and friendship. It doth not appear, however, that this war was of any duration, at least we find not, that any thing remarkable was done on either side. After this things continued in a peaceful state, at least with their neighbours abroad, though they grew worse within doors through the jealousies and misunderstandings of the princes, both between themselves, and between them and the people. *Labotas* was succeeded by his son *Doryssus*, and *Prytanis* by his son *Eunomus*, the former of these, as well as his son and successor *Agésilæus*, are by some said to have reigned but a short while^d; and yet a modern critic hath proved from the authority of *Eusebius* and St. *Jerom*, that the former reigned twenty nine, and the latter forty four years^e. As for *Eunomus*, he enjoyed a long reign, and lived to a good old age, but was at length stabbed, as he was endeavouring to quell a riot, in which the parties were come to blows, and left two sons behind him, *Polydectes* by a former, and *Lycurgus* by a second wife. He was succeeded by the former, and he dying soon after left the kingdom to *Lycurgus*, who only kept it till his brother's wife was delivered of a son, to whom he immediately resigned it, and banished himself out of *Lacedæmon*, during which time he meditated that new form of commonwealth, into which he afterwards modelled that government.

^d PAUSAN. ubi supra. c. ii. HIND. hist. Græc. l. ii. p. 97. ^e MEURS. ap. Gedoyn. in loc.

(Q) *Herodotus*, who calls him *Leobatus*, tells us in his history of *Cræsus*, that the great *Lycurgus* had been his tutor; but he was certainly out in his chronology, as a learned critic has since shewn (15), since that prince had been dead some time before that law-giver was born.

(15) MEURS. antiqu. Lacedæm. ap. Gedoyn. in Pausan. Lacedæm.

S E C T. X.

The History of the antient kingdoms of Elis, Ætolia, Locris, Doris, and Achaia.

WE shall join these antient kingdoms together in one section, because they made but a small figure in the world, in comparison of those that have gone before, and because they have been either conquered by, or blended with, them; whilst their being so often mentioned in the foregoing sections, and in the following history of Greece, will not permit us to pass them by without taking notice of their situation, original, antiquities, and history, as far as it can be got out of antient authors, their wars and exploits, and other such particulars, for which they were formerly remarkable, and are worth our notice here.

Elis. THE principal of them is the kingdom of *Elis*, at first peopled, as is reasonably supposed, by the descendants of *Elishah*, the son of *Javan*, and grandson of *Japheth*^a, if not by *Elishah* himself, from whom this territory at least, if not the whole peninsula, was called *Elis* (A), and in the *Chaldean Hellas*, and by the prophet *Ezekiel Elishah*, where he celebrates its fine purple dye^b (B). According therefore to this suppo-

Names.

^a Gen. x. 2, & 4. ^b Ch. xxvii. 7. Vid. & BOCHART. Phalæg. l. iii. c. 4.

(A) The poets derive that name from *Eleus* the son of *Neptune*, whom they make the first founder and king of it (1). *Pausanias* tells us, that *Æthlius*, the son of *Jupiter* and *Protogenia* the daughter of *Deucalion*, was the first who reigned here, and gives some other etymons of the word not worth notice, since we have a much antienter one, and clearer from fiction; in the patriarch *Elishah*.

(B) It is true, the prophet here speaks of isles and not of a continent; but we have often shewn, that that word in the language of scripture doth not strictly imply an island; but the maritime countries, especially those about the *Mediterranean* †; and we have the testimony of several antient authors, that the coasts of *Elis*, and quite up to the *Corinthian* bay, were famous for a shell-fish which they used in this dye, and in which they exceeded all nations except *Egypt* (2).

(1) Vid. int. al. Ovid. Metam. & Steph. Byz. sub voce Ηλῆς & Gronov. not. in eund. † Vid. Vol. I. p. 372. & before p. 433.

(2) Pausan. in Laconic. Vid. & Bochart. ubi supra, & auctor. ab eo citat.

sition, which is far from improbable, that this country was peopled by that patriarch, or some of his immediate descendants, it was not without good reason, that the inhabitants of this country and of *Arcadia* boasted themselves to be *Aborigines* of *Peloponnesus*, whereas the others were looked upon as interlopers, which came from more remote parts to settle there, and by degrees elbowed them out of the greatest part of that peninsula^c.

Elis was situate on the western side of *Peloponnesus*, having the *Ionian* sea on that side, *Arcadia* on the east, *Achaia* on the north, and the bay of *Cyparissos* or *Chalonites*, now *Capo di Torinese*, with *Messinia* on the south: its extent from east to west was at the widest about forty eight miles, that is, from 22 deg. 10 min. to almost 23 deg. east longitude; and from north to south about 60 miles, or from 27 deg. 20 min. to 28 deg. 20 min. north latitude^d.

Its chief cities were, 1. *Elis*, situate on the river *Peneus*, and almost in the heart of the kingdom and the metropolis of it. It was famous among many other things for a large spacious place called the *Xystos* (C), where the candidates for the olympic games were obliged to initiate themselves for some time by diet, exercise, and other such preparatives, before they were admitted to appear on the *Olympic* plains^e. In this place their senate did likewise use to assemble themselves, and the candidates for all kinds of dignities and employments came to give proofs of their abilities and merit. In this city was likewise a temple dedicated to *Fortune*, with the statue of that blind goddess of a surprising bigness, and made of wood, covered all over with gold, except the face, hands, and feet.

^c PAUSAN. *Elid.* c. i. & seq. ^d Conf. STRAB. *Geogr.* l. viii. MELA. l. ii. c. 4. CLUVER. *WELLS*, & al. ^e PAUSAN. *Elid.* c. xxiii.

(C) So called from the *Greek* ξύω, to trim or polish. This place was surrounded with a wall, and lined on the inside with plantane trees of great height, to cast an agreeable shade on the courie. Here *Hercules*, in order to inure himself to hard labour, is said to have spent some time every day in clearing it from weeds, thorns, and briars. Near the inclosure of this place was a famous cenotaph or monument erected in memory of *Achilles*, by the advice of the oracle, to which the women used to repair about sun-set during the time of the olympic games, and to lament the death of that hero by several mournful actions, especially by smiting upon their breasts (3).

(3) *Pausan.* in *Elid.* c. xxiii.

They had likewise several others dedicated to *Diana*, *Minerva*, *Jupiter*, and *Bacchus*. This last deity was held in the greatest veneration, and the *Eleans* pretended, that he appeared to them on the day in which his feast was celebrated (D). *Elis* had likewise a citadel, in which was a temple of *Minerva*, and on the helmet of that goddess was carved a cock, because he is supposed the most courageous of all winged creatures. Here was also the palace of *Augas* one of their kings, and the famous stables, the cleansing of which proved a task fit only for the great *Hercules* (E). †

Olympia. 2. THE city of *Olympia* was the next in dignity, situate on the famous *Olympian* plains, on which were celebrated the *olympic* games, instituted by *Pelops* in honour of *Jupiter*, and after some suspension, restored again by *Atreus* and *Hercules*. *Olympic games.* They were celebrated every fifth year and during five days, but with much greater solemnity, and a vaster concourse of people, than any of these we have hitherto mentioned; and from them came the computation of time by *Olympiads*, to be introduced in *Greece* (F). This city is famed likewise for its magnificent temple of *Jupiter Olympus*, said to have been built from the spoils which the *Eleans* got from their neighbours the

‡ PAUSAN. ubi supra.

† See before, p. 455. Note.

(D) This feast-day they called *Thya*. The chapel where they celebrated it was about a mile from the city. Thither his priests repaired on the night before, with three empty flasks which they left there, shut up the temple, and sealed the locks of it, every by-stander being permitted to clap his own seal to them; and on the morrow they returned thither, accompanied with *Eleans* and strangers, and having first shewed to them that the gates were safe and just as they had left them, they opened them and went in, and found the flasks filled with wine. (4).

(E) It is said to have held three thousand oxen, and to have been thirty years without cleaning, so that when *Hercules* undertook to do it in one day, upon condition that he gave him his daughter in marriage, he only turned the river *Alpheus*, or *Peneus* according to others, into it, which carried off all the filth in the time prefixed. How that monarch rewarded him for this work we shall see in the sequel.

(F) This solemnity, which had been so often interrupted, and renewed again by *Endymion*, *Neleus*, *Pelias*, *Icyrgus*, and others, but without any settled time, was at length restored by *Iphitus* and fixed to be celebrated once every fifth year, so that between every celebration four complete years expired, which some have mistaken

(4) *Id. ibid.*

for

the *Piseans*; in which was a famous statue of that god 50 cubits high, and reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world, near which is also the famous *Olympian* wood or grove dedicated to the same deity. As for its antient name of *Olympia*, it hath long since changed it for that of *Sconri*. 3. *Pisa*, situate on the river *Alpheus* (G), and near the mouth of it, said to have been founded by *Pisus* the grandson of *Æolus*, and whose inhabitants signalized themselves under *Nestor* at the *Trojan* war. This city was afterwards destroyed by the *Eleans*, because the *Piscans* took upon them to celebrate the *olympic* games by their own authority; for this, the *Eleans*, jealous of their privilege, raised a war against them, and after many battles fought, in which they had still the advantage, they took, plundered, and razed their city, and banished its inhabitants. If

for five. Hence every four years was called an *olympiad*, which computation was afterwards observed for a considerable number of centuries, as well as the solemnity of those games during many generations, without any interruption.

The time of celebrating them was at the full of the moon, whose change immediately preceded the summer solstice. Against that time the priests of *Jupiter Olympus*, who belonged to the temple of that deity, were to take care to regulate the form of the year, and to observe every new moon, especially that after which the solemnity was to be celebrated, and to cause it to be proclaimed. They were likewise intrusted with the registering of the names of all the victors at those games, and recording every material occurrence which happened between each *olympiad*.

We must, however, observe here, that this exact and ready way of computing by *olympiads* did not begin immediately after the first of them, but commenced only from the first year of the 28th, in which *Choræbus* of *Elis* obtained the victory in the race, after which the *Grecian* accounts began to go on in a regular order of time, and from that *Epocha* the times began to be reckoned historical, whereas those which preceded it up to the deluge are called fabulous and heroic, because mixed with fable (5), as those who preceded it were deemed unknown.

(G) This river doth run quite through *Arcadia*, *Elis*, and along the city of *Pisa*, soon after which it is swallowed up in the earth. From thence it is supposed to run by a subterranean channel under the sea without mixing with the salt water, and so to pass quite into *Sicily* where it mixes itself with the fountain *Aratbusa* near the city of *Syracuse*, insomuch, that any thing that is thrown into it on the *Elis* side, is said to come out at the fountain abovenamed (6). Hence

(5) *De his vid. Plutarch Pausan. Var. Scalig. de Emendat. temp. Potter, Archæolog. Hind. & al. plur.* (6) *Vid. Diod. Pausan. & al.*

It were fruitless to dive into the chronology of this kingdom, since we cannot tell, whether the patriarch, from whom it has its name, was the real founder of it, or some of his descendants. As to what prophane authors say of it, it is so mixed with fable that there is no receiving any light from it. However, as this is a fabulous epocha, we shall give our readers a short sketch of what we find about it, which is as follows :

*Kings of
Elis.*

Æthlius is pretended to have been the founder of this little monarchy, which was at first distinct from that of *Pisa* ; this last having kings of its own for a considerable time. He was succeeded by his son *Enymion*, who married *Asterodia*, or, according to others, *Chronia*, the daughter of *Itomus* and grand-daughter of *Amphictyon* (H), by whom he had three sons, *Pæon*, *Epeus*, and *Ætolus*. When these were grown up, he promised his kingdom to him that should win the prize at the *olympic* race, and *Epeus* proved the happy victor. *Ætolus*, however, stayed with him at *Elis*, but *Pæon*, unable to brook the loss of such a noble prize, went to seek his fortune elsewhere, and settled in that canton on the river *Axus*, which took from him the name of *Pæonia*. *Epeus* went to the siege of *Troy*, and is supposed to have been the architect of the *Trojan* horse. It was in his reign that *Peleus* the *Lydian*, or according to others, the *Paphlagonian*, came from *Asia*, killed *OEnomaus* king of *Pisa*, seized on his kingdom, and took the city *Olympia* from the *Eleans*.

Ætolus.

the poetic fiction of *Alpheus*'s love to *Arethusa*, which tells us, that this last, to avoid his amorous pursuit, hid herself under-ground, and that he was forced to do the same in order to get at her by some subterraneous passage, which he at length accomplished near the place where that river and fountain mix their streams.

Pausanias adds, that the *Eleans* had a law, which condemned any woman to death that should either appear at the *olympic* games, or even cross this river during that solemnity ; and the *Eleans* add, that the only woman who transgressed it, had disguised herself in the habit of a master or keeper of those games, and conducted her son thither ; but when she saw him come off victorious, her joy made her forget her disguise, so that her sex was discovered. She was, however, spared on account of her father, son, and husband who had gained the *olympic* prize ; but from that time an order was made, that the keeper should appear there naked.

(H) The fabulous poets add, that he was beloved by the moon, and that he had fifty daughters by her.

(7) In *Elid* cb. vi.

Epeus

Epeus died without male issue, and was succeeded by his brother *Ætolus*.

THIS prince had not reigned long, before he had the misfortune to kill *Apis* the son of *Jason* at the funeral games, which were celebrated on the tomb of *Azan* king of *Arcadia*, and was forced to leave *Peloponnesus*, and went to settle in *Ætolia*, where we shall find him in the sequel. He was succeeded by *Eleus*, who is said to have been the son of *Neptune*, by *Eurycyde* the only daughter of *Endymion*, and the father of *Augeas*, who succeeded him in the kingdom (I).

WE have already mentioned more than once the large stable which this prince is said to have had, and its being cleansed by *Hercules*. The truth of the story, if we may believe *Pausanias* ^g, was, that he kept such large quantities of oxen and sheep, that they had quite covered the earth with their dung, so that it was become incapable of producing either grass or corn. *Augeas* therefore hired *Hercules* to clear his grounds of it, who for his reward was to have his daughter and some part of his kingdom. When *Hercules* had performed the task by turning the river over them (K), *Augeas* refused to give him his hire, pretending, that he had done the job more by cunning than by labour. The quarrel was referred to *Phyleus* *Augeas*'s eldest son, and he, having given it against his father, was banished the kingdom together with his client. *Augeas*, being afraid of that hero's resentment, was forced to strengthen himself by a double alliance, one with *Aëtor*, the son of *Phorbas* by *Hyrmine* the daughter of *Epeus*; and the other with *Amarynceus*, a *Thessalian*, a man well versed in the art of war, whom he invited into

^g Elid. c. i.

(I) This is he who, the *Greeks* pretend, gave his name to this kingdom, which was before called *Epea* from *Epeus* mentioned a little higher.

Others willing to do *Augeas* a greater honour, make him the son not of *Eleus*, but of *Elius* or the sun.

(K) This river which some pretend to have been the *Alpheus*, and others the *Peneus*, as we observed in a late note, is by our author here called *Alinyeus*, which name *Strabo*, who says it was the *Peneus*, thinks was given it by the long stay which its waters made upon the ground. This etymon is something forced, and it seems more reasonable to suppose, that that river had those two names, as we find many others to have had (8).

(8) *Pausan. in Elid. c. ii. Vid. & Gedyon. Not. in eund. Elis.*

Elis. To bind these two the faster to his interest, he made them his associates in the kingdom, so that when *Hercules* came afterwards with a powerful army against him, he met with such stout resistance from them, particularly from *Aëtor* and his sons, that he was forced to return and wait for a more favourable time. Not long after, being informed that these brave youths were to go to the *Isthmian* games, he went and lay in ambush against them, and killed them all, and with such privacy, that it cost the *Eleans* some time and trouble to find out the murderer. But when they knew that it was *Hercules*, who by that time was retired to *Tirynthus*, they sent ambassadors in vain to the *Argives* to punish him, and to the *Corinthians* to interdict the *Argives* from the *Isthmian* games, for suffering the assassin of those who were going to them to live unpunished in their territories. They could prevail on neither to comply with their request; and *Hercules* having raised a powerful army of *Argives*, *Thebans*, and *Arcadians*, came and besieged them, took and sacked the city of *Elis*, and was going to let fly his resentment against the *Piseans* for assisting them, had not the oracle prevented it. *Hercules*, who would not sit down contented till he had conquered the whole kingdom, made a present of it to *Phyleus* the son of *Augeas*, who had formerly decided the quarrel in his favour, and with the kingdom restored him all the prisoners he had taken (L), and among the rest *Augeas*, whom he pardoned upon his account, according to *Pausanias*; others say he killed him and *Eurytas*, another of his sons ^h.

Phyleus, thus recalled to the kingdom, did, however, stay in it but as long as was necessary to settle the affairs of the

^h Conf. DIODOR. SICUL. l. iv. & PAUSAN. Elid. c. iii.

^(L) These prisoners must have been very few in comparison of those that were killed, since *Pausanias* tells us, that the *Elean* women, finding their country almost stripped of male inhabitants, prayed to *Minerva*, that they might conceive at the very first matrimonial intercourse; and that the goddess having granted their request, they built a temple to her, and called it *Minerva, the mother of mankind*. And moreover in memory of this signal favour, they called both the place and the river that runs by it *Badu*, which in their dialect signifies the same as *ἡδύς*, *sweet*, to express the pleasure of that matrimonial intercourse (9).

(9) *Id. ibid. c. iii.*

state, after which he retired to the island of *Dulichium* (M). And *Augeas* dying soon after, the crown fell to his next son *Agasthenes*, whose son *Polyxenus*, having succeeded him, went to the *Trojan* war, and was one of those who returned from thence, and was succeeded by his son *Eleus* II. It was in this prince's reign that the *Dorians* and *Heraclidæ* made their last but successful attempt against *Peloponnesus* under *Hippotes* their general, after having formerly made several fruitless ones against it. We have already had occasion to speak more than once of this expedition, for the success of which, having consulted the oracle, they were bid to make choice of a three-eyed general to head them, and met with *Oxylus* an *Ætolian*, whom they supposed to be the person pointed at by the oracle, because his horse and he had but three eyes between them.

Oxylus, of the race of *Endymion*, had been forced to leave his native country a year before for having accidentally killed, some say, his brother *Thermius*, others say, *Alcidocus* the son of *Scopius*, as he was playing at quoits. He was then upon his return to *Ætolia*, when the *Heraclidæ* met him and invited him to be their general. The condition upon which he accepted this office was, that when they had conquered *Peloponnesus* they should allot him *Elis*, not only as a reward for his services, but because he had a title to that kingdom as being the sixth in a lineal descent from *Endymion* the second king of it. They agreed so much the more readily to his demand, as he was moreover related to them by the mother's side, his great grandmother being sister to *Dejanira*, the mother of *Hyllus* the son of *Hercules*. The success of this expedition we have seen in some former sections, as well as the manner in which they divided their conquests between them, in which they did not fail to give their general the kingdom of *Elis* according to their agreement¹.

Oxylus, who expected to have taken possession of it without any opposition, found himself mistaken, and *Dius*, who was then upon the throne, refused to resign it to him. However, to avoid exposing their troops to a battle, they agreed, that each should chuse a champion, who should decide the right of it by single combat, and *Pyrechmes*, an excellent *Ætolian* singer, having won the victory in favour of *Oxylus*,

¹ Id. *ibid.* & *APOLLON.* l. ii. *STRAB.* Geogr. l. x.

(M) It is but a small inconsiderable island on the *Ionian* sea near that of *Cephalenia*, it is now called *Dulichia* and *Tziakki*.

he was immediately proclaimed king of *Elis*. We find nothing remarkable concerning either his reign or those of his successors; he had two sons, *Ætolus* and *Lajus*, the former of whom, dying young, was buried under the gate of the city, the oracle having ordered that he should be buried, neither within nor out of it. His son *Lajus* succeeded him, after which we hear no more of his race, nor indeed of any material transactions in this kingdom, if we except some of their wars with their *Arcadian* neighbours, and with some other estates of *Greece*, till we come to the reign of *Iphitus*, the reviver of the *olympic* games, and cotemporary with the great *Lycurgus* mentioned at the close of the last section.

*Restores
the olym-
pic games.*

BEFORE his reign, *Greece* had been almost ruined by wars and pestilence. *Elis* seems to have suffered more than any other estate, so that those games had been interrupted for a considerable time. *Iphitus* sent to consult the oracle concerning the means of appeasing the angry gods and obtaining a remedy against these calamities, and was answered, that the restoration of those games would prove the safety of *Greece*, to procure which he and his subjects were exhorted to set about it, immediately and with all their might. He began with offering a sacrifice to *Hercules*, whom the *Eleans* believed to have been upon some account or other exasperated against them (N). He next caused the *olympic* games to be proclaimed all over *Greece*, with a promise of free admittance to all comers, and fixed the time for the celebration of them, as we hinted before: he likewise took upon himself to be sole president and judge of those games, a privilege which the *Pijæans*, by reason of their neighbourhood, had often sharply disputed with his predecessors, and which continued in his descendants, as long as his line and the regal dignity continued. After this the people took upon them to appoint two presidents whom they chose by vote, and which in time increased to ten, and at length to twelve. We have spoken a little higher of the place where they sat; their office was to examine and admit the candidates, and to judge of all disputes that arose concerning

(N) *Pausanias* tells us, there was a kind of dispute between the *Eleans* and the rest of the *Greeks*, whether *Iphitus* was lineally descended from *Oxylus*, if he was not, it was not without reason that he feared the resentment of that god, whose particular kindness to all that were related to him, as *Oxylus* was, would hardly suffer such a wrong to go unpunished: and this was probably the motive that induced that monarch to begin with appeasing his anger by this sacrifice.

the

the victory in all the several exercises which were performed in them.

§ *Ætolia* was so called, as we have seen a little before, *Ætolia*: from *Ætolus*, the son of *Endymion* and brother of *Epeus*, whom he succeeded in the kingdom of *Elis*, and from which he fled into this country after he had accidentally killed *Apis*, the son of *Jason*, at some funeral games. What people inhabited this country before his coming, and what names they had, is not to be guessed at, only this we find, that both they and their neighbours on both sides, of whom we shall speak by-and-by, were the greatest robbers in all *Greece*, and continued so, during many centuries, after *Hercules*, *Theseus*, and other heroes, had extirpated those vermin every where else ^a.

THIS slip of ground, for such it was, had on the east the *Locrians*, *Phocians*, and *Ozoleans*, from whom they were parted by the river *Euenus*, or *Lycormas*. The *Acarnanians* on the west were also parted from them by that of *Achelous*, on the north it had the *Dorians* with part of *Epirus*, and on the south the bay of *Corinth*: its utmost extent from north to south was about forty eight miles, that is, from 38 deg. 40 min. to 39 deg. 28 min. north latitude; and from east to west, where it was widest, something above twenty miles; that is, from 22 deg. 40 min. to 23 deg. 10 min. but exceeding narrow, as it extended northward and southward, especially the latter, where it scarcely reached 10 miles, and had but one sea-port of any note on the *Corinthian* bay, namely *OEnias*, situate on the mouth of the *Achelous* abovementioned ^b.

IT had no other rivers but the two we have just spoken of, the former of which was that on which *Hercules* killed the centaur *Nessus*, and the latter, which was also called *Thoas* from its rapidity, descended from mount *Pindus* in *Macedonia* into the *Ionian* sea. Concerning this last the poets have feigned many stories, or blended the history with many fables which the reader may see in the margin (A). As for its name,

^a THUCYD. l. i. PLUTARCH. in *Theseo*. & al.
STRAB. MELA, CLUVER, & al.

^b Vid.

(A) This famous river is feigned by the fabulous poets to have been the son of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*, and a competitor with *Hercules* for *Dejanira*, the king of *Calydonia*'s daughter. These two having engaged in a duel, and *Achelous*, finding himself likely to be worsted by him, changed himself first into a serpent, and then into a bull: *Hercules* broke both his horns, and gave one of them to *Plenty* the companion of *Fortune*; Hence the story of the *Cornucopia*. *Achelous*, finding himself still inferior to his rival, turned himself into the river of his name, in which form he has continued ever

since,

name, some think it received it from *Achelous* one of the kings of *Ætolia*, and others derive it from the *Greek*, and think it was given it by reason of the salubriousness of its waters ^c; but as we meet with three rivers of this name ^d, and in three different countries, it is not likely they should all have it upon this last account; however, this of *Ætolia* is by far the largest and most considerable, insomuch, that *Homer* calls it the king of rivers.

THE country is very craggy and mountainous, which rendered several of their cities almost impregnable, and the people so stout, turbulent, and unruly, that the more polite estates of *Greece*, and even the *Macedonians*, tried in vain to tame them. The most noted of these cities were those that follow; *Thermus* or *Thermius*, situate almost in the heart of the kingdom, and which became in time the metropolis of it, surrounded at some distance with such high and craggy mountains, that though it was the place where the states of the country assembled, and the repository of all their wealth and treasure in times of danger, yet was it not so much as fortified with a wall, the difficult ascents and narrow passages of the neighbouring mountains being deemed sufficient to guard it both from surprize or invasion. It had its fairs and markets, was inhabited by the noblest and wealthiest *Ætolians*, and had the surname of *Panetolium*, upon account of the senate holding their meetings there ^e. 2. *Calydon*, situate near the forest of that name, where *Meleager*, accompanied with the noblest youths of *Greece*, slew the famed *Calydonian* boar (B). Hither

^e EUSTAT. ^d Vid. PAUSAN. in Arcad. c. xxxviii. & Auct. sup. Citat. ^e Vid. STRAB. Geogr. l. x. POLYB. BYZANT. sub. voce. *Θερμῶν* & Gronov. not. in eund.

since, or, as others have it, for grief and spite flung and choaked himself in it, after he had bribed his rival with the horn of *Amalthea* or *plenty*.

This poetic hodge-podge of serpents, bulls, and horns, seems to have taken its rise from the serpentine turnings and windings, and likely also from the rapidity and noise of this noble river, which like all others are properly enough said to be the offspring of the ocean and earth. His two horns were its two streams, where it divided itself, and the plenty which these brought after they were either confined within due bounds, or by some other way made serviceable to fertilise the neighbouring plains, might be not inelegantly figured by the *cornucopia*.

(B) This fierce and monstrous creature had done so much mischief about the neighbourhood, that *Meleager* king of the country, who

her it was also that *Hercules* came after he had left *Peloponnesus*, and though he had a numerous spurious brood scattered over all *Greece*, yet wanting legitimate issue, he married *Dejanira* the daughter of *Oeneus*, king of the country, and father to *Meleager*, and to ingratiate himself to the *Ætolians*, either turned the current of the river *Achelous*, or made such improvements upon it, as gave rise to the fable we mentioned in a late note. This city, which seems to have continued for some time the seat of the antient *Ætolian* kings, was built by *Calydon* the son of *Ætolus*[†], from whom the kingdom was for some time called *Calydonia*, but resumed its antient one in some following reign. The situation of this city was very pleasant and commodious, being seated upon the river *Evenus*, which ran quite through the midst of it, and having some pleasant plains round it and the *Calydonian* forest at a small distance from it: but their continual wars with their neighbours obliged them in process of time to remove the seat of the kingdom and senate to *Thermus* abovementioned. 3. *Pleuron*, which gave name to a territory, whose inhabitants were surnamed *Curetes*, because they shaved the fore-part of their heads, lest their enemies should lay hold on it, but let the hinder-part to grow, that they might be caught by it if they offered to run away. Some few more cities of less note they had, but fewer in proportion than the more noted states of *Greece*.

† Vid. BYZANT. sub voce.

who kept his court at *Calydon*, was forced to call to his assistance a great number of the flower of *Greece* to destroy it. The chief of these were, *Theseus*, *Telamon*, *Peleus*, *Pollux*, and *Iolaus*, all of them the faithful companions of *Hercules*, besides a number of other heroes. To these we may add the famous *Arcadian* princess *Atalanta*, who behaved with such uncommon courage and intrepidity upon this occasion, that *Meleager* became enamoured with her and married her.

If we may guess at the bigness of this monstrous boar by the length of his tusks, *Pausanias*, who tells us that one of them was still preserved in the temple of *Bacchus* in the imperial gardens, says it was above a yard long (10).

The poets pretend, that it was sent by *Diana* as a punishment to *Oeneus*, for having forgotten her when he sacrificed to all the gods besides at the close of the harvest. *Pausanias* adds, that he was driven out of his kingdom by a faction, and went to *Argos*, whence he returned again with an army and recovered it again, but was persuaded by the *Argolic* king to return thither and died there.

(10) *Arcad. c. xlvi.*

4 B 2

THE

The *Ætolians* were in general a stout warlike people, always inured to the trade of war and plunder, seldom at peace with any of their neighbours, and having in general the advantage over them by reason of their situation. It was chiefly in such excursive exploits that they signalized their courage, without striving to enlarge their territories, till some of the *Grecian* wars invited them out of their dominions, particularly the *Theban* war, as we shall see by-and-by.

It were, however, needless here to give a list of their kings, many of whom have been known to antient authors by little more than their names. We have already had occasion to mention some of the descendants of *Ætolus*, namely *Calydon*, *Oeneus* the father of *Dejanira*, and his son *Meleager* (C); and to these we shall only add the two heroes of his race, who signalized themselves, the one in the *Theban*, and the other in the *Trojan* war.

THE first of these was *Tydeus* another son of *Oeneus*, by *Althea*. We have already had occasion to mention him in the histories of *Argos* and *Thebes*. In the first of these kingdoms, to which he fled to be expiated for manslaughter, he and *Polynices* having married the two daughters of *Adrastus*, these three princes went jointly against *Thebes* to recover *Pol-*

(C) The fable says, that when *Althea* this prince's mother was brought to bed of him, she saw the three fatal sisters sitting by the fire, one of whom, taking a billet out of it, said, the boy should live as long as it remained unburnt: as soon as they were gone, she got up and quenched the stick, and repositied it in a safe place.

When *Meleager* was come to the kingdom, he unfortunately chanced to quarrel with his two uncles at the killing of the boar mentioned in the last note. That young prince having presented the head of it to *Atalanta*, who had given it the first wound, and they endeavouring to take it from her, the contention arose to such a height, that the exasperated prince killed them both. *Althea*, seeing her two brothers killed, fell into such fury, that she ran to the fatal brand which she had saved, and flung it into the fire, upon which her son was immediately seized with a burning fever in his bowels, and soon after expired.

Pausanias, who tells us that this fabulous story was devised by an antient tragic poet, named *Phrynicus* (supposed to have flourished about the 67th olympiad) doth not give us a much better account of this prince's death, when he tells us, upon the credit of two other poets, that *Apollo* killed him with his own hands, because he had taken the part of the *Ætolians* against the *Curcetæ*, mentioned a little higher, and in whose favour that god had declared himself (11).

(11) *In Phocid. c. xxxi.*

lynice's right ; and here it was that *Tydeus* performed such glorious exploits against *Eteocles*, as we have given an account of in that famous war between the two contending brothers *. He was there at length mortally wounded by *Menalippus*, but before he expired, he had the satisfaction to see his enemy's head brought to him by the brave *Amphiaraus*, and took the brutal revenge of cutting out his brains and swallowing them ‡.

His son *Diomedes* was one of those who signalized themselves at the *Trojan* war, he had indeed the good fortune to return safe from it, but meeting with a worse enemy at home, in his faithful wife *Ægiale* and her paramour *Cometes*, he was forced to retire into *Apulia*, where he shared that kingdom with *Daunus*, as we have seen above †. From this time we meet with nothing considerable in the history of this nation, except a few warlike excursions which they made in conjunction with some of the great estates of *Greece*, in which they assisted sometimes as allies, and sometimes as auxiliaries, and which have been already interspersed in the history of the foregoing kingdoms, till the famous *Achaean* league which proved so fatal to them, and of which we shall give an account in its proper place. The rest of their time was spent in mutual excursions between them and their neighbours the *Dorians* and *Locrians*, of whom we are to speak next, and especially with the *Ozoleans* and *Acarnianians* whose territories lay on each side of *Ætolia*. These two last being more obscure and inconsiderable than any of the rest, the reader will find all that we think need be said of them in the following note (D)

THE

* See before p. 459 & seq. 492. & seq. ‡ APOLLON. l. iii. c. 7. † See before, p. 460, 461.

(D) The *Ozoleans*, as we observed in the geography of *Ætolia*, were situate on the east of that kingdom. It was a small territory lying on the north coast of the bay of *Corinth*, and extending itself about twelve miles northward, where it was contiguous with *Locris*. On the west, it was bounded by the river *Ezerus*, which parted them from *Ætolia*, and on the east they had the kingdom of *Phocis*, spoken of in the close of the seventh section of this chapter. Its chief towns were *Naupactus*, situate on the mouth of the river abovementioned, which was often contended for by the *Ætolians*, and at length became wholly theirs. It was called by that name from the *Heracleæ* building their navy there, with which they invaded *Peloponnesus*, but is now known by that of *Lepanto*, and was taken from the *Venetians* by *Bajazet*.

The

Locris. THE *Locrians* were either the same people with the *Ozoleans*, mentioned in the last note, or so blended with them, that

The *Ozoleans* bid fair for being some of the antientest inhabitants of these parts, if we admit the etymon which some give us of their names, and that they were called so from the stench, which their cloathing (which was the raw hides of wild beasts without any dressing) gave to their bodies ; for this was all the dress which the first inhabitants of *Greece* used, till *Pelasgus* and some other founders taught them a better, as we have seen at the beginning of this chapter, and in the history of *Arcadia*.

Others think, that this stinking name was owing to the stench of their rivers and marshes, and others again to the quantity of *Asphodel* or *Daffadil* which grew in those parts, one sort of which has an ill smell, and used to be sowed antiently over graves ; a third affirm, that this stench was caused by the blood which the centaur *Nessus* scattered upon the earth, when he was wounded by *Hercules*.

A more fabulous account of this name, though not so ill-scented, is, that in the reign of *Orestheus* the son of *Deucalion*, his bitch brought forth instead of whelps, a stick of wood, which that prince caused to be put into the ground, from which, when the spring came, a vine sprang forth. Hence they pretended, that the name of *Ozoles* came not from ὄζειν to stink, but from ὄζος, a branch or sprout : however that be, *Pausanias* tells us, the *Locrians*, who were likewise called *Ozoles*, were so ill-pleased with that name, that they changed it for that of *Ætolians* (12) ; we shall speak of them in the next place above.

As for the *Acar-nanians*, their territories were parted on the east by the river *Achelous*, and surrounded by the *Ionian* sea on the west and south, and on the north joined to *Epirus*, and became afterwards a province of that kingdom (13).

They were antiently known by the name of *Curetes*, but whether of the same race with those of the *Celtic* nation mentioned in a former chapter *, or, whether so called, because like the *Pleuronones* they cut off their fore-locks, or whether both were not originally of *Celtic* extraction, is not easy to determine.

Their name of *Acar-nanians* they afterwards received from *Acar-nanus* the son of *Alcmon*. This last was the son of *Amphiaraus* the noted soothsayer, whose wife *Eriphyle* had been bribed by *Polynices* with a rich necklace, to determine him to go to the *Theban* war, for which reason he left orders with his son to murder her, as we have seen elsewhere †. He having executed his fathers commands, was so tormented with furies, that he was forced to apply to the *Delphic* oracle for relief, and was answered, that if he could find

(12) *Ibid* c. xxxviii. (13) *Strab. Mel. & al.* * See before, p. 248. & seq. & sub note (A). † *Ibid* p. 459.

that they are not easily to be distinguished by their names, or indeed by any thing but their situation. In this respect they were divided into the *Locri Ozolæ* abovementioned, which inhabited the southern or maritime parts. 2. The *Locri Epicnemidii*, so called from the mount *Cnemis*; these were situate in the middle: and 3. The northern *Locri*, surnamed *Opuntii* from their chief city *Opus* or *Opoes*, near the coasts of the *Ægean* or *Eubæan* sea; authors, however, are not so well agreed in the placing of the two latter, as the former of these antient nations^b. Antient indeed, if we consider that *Homer* tells us, they came to the *Trojan* war armed with bows and slings, and that the *Ozoleans* carried an early colony into *Italy* under the conduct of their princes *Evas* and *Ajax*, and built a city there near the *Zephyrian* promontory, from which they were called *Locri Epizephyrii*^c.

THE *Ozolean Locrians* were divided from the other two by the whole kingdom of *Phocis*, of which we have given an account in a former section. Their chief city was *Amplissa*, situate on the *Evenus*. *Herodotus* calls it *Amphicea*, and the inhabitants *Amphiclea*. It was afterwards taken by the *Phocians*, and destroyed with the rest of the *Phocian* cities in the holy war formerly mentioned, and when it was rebuilt, *Pausanias* tells us, it took the name of *Ophitea*, if the text has not been corrupted by his transcribers^k (E). The *Epicnemidian* Their three tribes.

^b De his vid. *PTOLEM.* *STRAB.* *MELA,* *CLUVER.* & al. sup. Citat. ^c *PAUSAN.* *Achaic.* c. xxiii. & *Phocid.* xxxviii. ^k Id. ibid. vid. & *BYZANT.* sub voce *Ἀμφικλαία*, & *Gronov.* not. in *Loc.*

out some country which had sprung up out of the sea, since his parricide, and did settle there, he should be freed from his mother's avenging ghost. After much seeking he found this spot of ground, which the *Achelous* had thrown up, and settled himself there.

He soon after married *Callirrhoe*, the pretended daughter of that river, by whom he had two sons, *Acarnan* and *Amphoterus*, the former of whom gave his name to this country (14). Some think, that the difference between the *Acarnanians* and *Curetes* was, that the latter shaved the fore-part of their heads, and the others did not (15). Again, some derive the name of *Curetes* from the mount *Curius*, and others from the Greek *κῦραι* maidens, because they affected to go drest like young women, though in this latter sense it should properly be writ *κῦραι*. We have nothing material concerning this nation, except their constant wars with the *Ætolians*, at least during this epocha. The remainder of their history will be best seen in that of *Epirus*, of which they afterwards became a province.

(E) This last is more likely to be the case, both because *Hero-*

(14) *Pausan.* in *Arcad.* c. xxiv. *Acarnania.*

(15) *Vid.* *Byzant.* sub voce *dotus*

Towns of
note.

midian Locrians were the only ones of all the three who had a right to send deputies to the grand *Amphietyonian* court at *Delphos*. Their metropolis was *Thronium*, mentioned by *Homer*, *Ptolemy*, and other antient authors ¹. They had another city called *Cranis*, built at the foot of the mount of that name, from which they took their appellative. Those who desire to know more of these antient cities, as well as of that of *Opus* or *Opoes*, belonging to the other *Locrian* tribe, may see an ample description of them in the authors above quoted †. How they came by their common name of *Locrians*, whether they were colonies of one another, and if so, which was the antientest, is past our skill to find out. As for their countries they afford little worth our farther notice, and all that we can add concerning their inhabitants is, that they were a brave warlike nation; and we shall in the sequel see, that they signalized themselves, as much as any others, in maintaining the liberty of *Greece*.

Doris.

§ *Doris* was situate on the south of *Thessaly*, being parted from it by mount *Oeta* and a ridge of other hills. It had on the south *Phocis* and part of *Ætolia*; on the east it was parted from the *Locri Epicnemidii* by the river *Pindus*; and on the west from *Epirus* by that of *Achelous*. Other rivers of note they had not. Mountains they had in great number, and those not

¹ POLYB. LIVY, Pausan. Vid. & PALMER. Antiq. Græc. l. v. & Byz. sub voce. † Vid. & PALMER. antiq. Græc. l. iv. & alib. pass.

dotus no where calls it by this new name, but always *Amphicea*, and more particularly because this last name doth better agree with the etymon which *Pausanias* himself gives of it, which is as follows (16).

A petty king of that country, out of some fear for his young son, had caused him to be brought up privately in a very retired place, where he was one day in danger of being killed by a wolf, but was saved by a serpent, who twined about and defended him. The father, coming at that instant, and in a fright misjudging the matter, let fly an arrow, which killed both the serpent and his son, and when he was better informed by some shepherds, who had beheld the encounter, he caused them to be both burnt upon the same funeral pile.

It seems therefore more probable, that the place was called from thence *Amphicea*, from *Ἀμφικαίεσθαι*, both being carried to the same pile, than *Ophitea*, which has no allusion to that or any other part of the story (17).

(16) *Phocid.* c. xxxiv. (17) Vid. *Sylburg. Paulmier. & Gedoy.* in eund. *ibid.*

considerable ones: the most famed were *Oeta* and *Pindus*, often mentioned in this chapter, which, with some others of less note, surrounded them on the north, as the *Callidromians* did on the west; yet they abounded with spacious plains and very fruitful: the air was sweet and healthy, and the soil capable of being improved to all advantages of husbandry. Their territories were not large, they extended only at most about forty miles in length, that is from 39 deg. 10 min. to 39 deg. 50 min. and about 20 miles in breadth at the widest, or from 23 deg. 10 min. to 23 deg. 30. east longitude ^m.

THIS country was called *Doris*, and the people *Dores*, from *Dorus*, the son of *Hellen*, and grandson of *Deucalion*, who first peopled, or rather conquered, it, at least that part of it which lies below the mountains *Oeta* and *Pindus*: they were afterwards driven from it by the *Cadmeans*, and forced to inhabit for some time about *Macednum* and the neighbourhood of *Pindus*, but returned soon after to *Dryopis* (F), and the country about *Oeta*, where they continued till they made that famous descent into *Peloponnesus* with the *Heraclidæ*, of which we have spoken in some former sections, and whither they carried also their dialect called from them *Doric* (G). Their chief city was called *Doris* from the founder of

^m Vid. PTOLEM. STRAB. MELA, &c.
APOLLOD. l. i. c. 7. PAUSAN. &c.

ⁿ HERODOT. l. i.

(F) A country situate in the neighbourhood of the mounts *Oeta* and *Parnassus*, and called *Dryopis*, from *Dryope* the daughter of *Eurypylus*, or, as the poets feign, a nymph ravished by *Apollo*; but more probably from *δρυς*, an oak, and *ὤψ* voice, from the quantity of oaks that grew about the mountain and the rustling of their leaves.

However, the *Dryopes* valued themselves very much upon their fabulous origin, and called themselves the sons of *Apollo*; wherefore *Hercules* having overcome them in fight, took them prisoners and carried them to *Delphos*, where he presented them to their divine progenitor, who commanded that hero to take them back with him into *Peloponnesus*, which he accordingly did, and gave them a settlement there near the *Asinean* and *Hermionian* territories; hence the *Asineans* came to be blended with and to call themselves *Dryopes* (18).

(G) The *Dorians* gave their name, i. to this dialect of theirs, which became much in vogue among the *Greeks*, but was preserved

(18) Pausan. in *Messenic*. c. xxxiv.

of this kingdom. We find this metropolis mentioned by *Homer*, *Herodotus*, and others °.

2. *Erineus*, situate on the most northern verge of the kingdom, near the foot of the hills which part *Doris* from *Macedonia*, and mentioned by all the antient geographers and historians. 3. *Lilæa* on the southern frontiers, and adjoining to *Phocis*. 4. *Bium*, as it is called by *Ptolemy*, or *Bojon*, as *Strabo* and others call it, with some few of less note.

We have nothing remarkable left concerning these people before their naval descent into *Peloponnesus*, the particulars and success of which have been seen in the former sections, and need not be repeated here. After their conquest of and settlement in that *Peninsula*, in conjunction with the *Heraclidæ*, they built a stately temple to *Jupiter Tropeus*, in memory of this great event. Such indeed it was, and answerable to the surname given to that deity, since it almost overturned the whole state of affairs in all the different kingdoms and states of *Peloponnesus*, whose cities were now forced to receive a garison of *Dorians*, and to submit to a foreign government.

Achaia
its names.

§ *Achaia Propria* (H), so called from *Achæus* the son of *Neptus*, was originally called *Ægialea*, from *Ægiæus* the first king of *Sicyon*, as some affirm †; others think, it comes from the Greek *Ægialos*, *sea-shore*, because above half of it was surrounded with the sea^p, but whether it was originally a part of the *Sicyonic* kingdom, or was under its own kings, is not certain; the latter indeed seems the more probable, because the king, who reigned there when *Ion* the brother of

° De his vid. PTOLEM. STRAB. &c. BYZANT. & PALMER. Ant. Gr. See before p. 441. ^p PAUSAN. Achaic. c. i.

most pure by the *Messenians*, even through all their various migrations: 2. to the *Doric* order, one of the five in architecture; and 3. to the *Doric* music, in opposition to that of the *Lydians* and *Phrygians*.

These three kinds of music used to be played upon three different kinds of flutes, particularly adapted to each of them, till the celebrated *Pronomus* invented a fourth sort, upon which he could play them all indifferently (19).

(11) It is called *Achaia Propria* to distinguish it from the general name of *Achaia*, by which *Greece* itself was sometimes called, and which was afterwards given by the *Romans* to one of the provinces of it, after they had divided it into two, viz. *Macedonia*, containing *Macedonia*, *Thessaly*, and *Epirus*, and *Achaia*, containing all the remainder of *Greece*, both inland and the islands about it.

(19) Pausan. in *Ægetic*. c. xii. *Athen* l. xlv. c. 7.

Achæus;

Achæus came to invade it, is called *Selinus* by the last quoted author, whereas there was no *Sicyonian* king of that name in the list we have left of them, unless perhaps *Selinus* be the same with *Telchin*, or *Selchin* as he is also called, the grandson of *Ægialeus*. However that be, the country took then the surname of *Ionia*, and the people were called *Ægialean Ionians*; and it is likely, that that of *Achaia* was not given to it till the sons of *Achæus* came and invaded it, and drove the *Ionians* out of it.

Achaia had *Sicyon* on the east, and the *Ionian* sea on the west; the kingdom of *Elis* and that of *Arcadia* on the south, and the bay of *Corinth* on the north: its utmost extent was from east to west somewhat above fifty miles, but from north to south about half that distance¹, being within the 38th deg. of latitude and 23d of longitude. Rivers of note it had not, except the *Piereus* which discharged itself into the *Ionian* sea, at the mouth of which was the city of *Olenus*, a famous sea-port mentioned by antient authors, and so called from *Olenus* its founder, the supposed son of *Jupiter*, or, according to others, of *Vulcan*. We find another city of the same name in *Ætolia*². We shall have occasion to mention the rest of their cities in the following sketch of their history.

Xuthus, one of the sons of *Hellen*, the son of *Deucalion*, having been banished by his other brothers out of *Thessaly* after their father's death, under pretence that he had embezzled the royal treasury, came to *Athens*, where *Erectheus* gave him his daughter *Crcusa*, by whom he had two sons, *Achæus* and *Ion*. After *Erectheus*'s death, a dispute arising between his sons, *Xuthus* was chosen umpire between them, and having adjudged the succession to *Cecrops* II. who was the eldest, the others, drove him out of the kingdom, whence he came and settled in *Achaia**, and died there. His son *Achæus* did soon after raise a small number of *Athenian* and *Ægialean* forces, with which he went into *Thessaly*, and recovered his grandfather's kingdom. He had not reigned long there, before he was forced to fly for man-slaughter, and went into *Laconia* where he died, and his posterity continued, till they were expelled from it by the *Dores* and *Heraclides*.

BUT in the mean while his brother *Ion*, who was grown very great at the *Athenian* court, obtained a number of forces, and with them invaded this country, then called *Ægialean*. *Selinus* then king of it, having but one only daughter, instead of repulsing him, gave her to him in marriage, and ap-

¹ STRAB. MELA, &c. before, p. 470.

² Vid. BYZANT. in voce. * See

pointed him his successor. *Ion*, having succeeded his father-in-law, built a city, and called it by his wife's name *Helice*, and from him the *Ægialeans* were surnamed *Ionians*; but the country seems to have retained its antient name, since, *Homer*, in the list of *Agamemnon's* forces, makes mention both of it and of the city of *Helice*.

Ion was soon after chosen general of the *Athenian* forces in their war against the *Eleusians*, and was either killed in it, or died soon after, and was buried in a small town of *Attica*. The crown, however, passed to his descendants, who enjoyed it undisturbed for a considerable time. In the mean while, those of his uncle *Achæus*, and known by the name of *Acheans*, had spread themselves in several parts of *Greece*, particularly in the kingdoms of *Argos* and *Lacedemon*. When therefore they came to be driven out of these two countries by the *Dores* and *Heraclidæ*, they bethought themselves of laying claim to *Achaia*, and of driving the *Ionians* out of it. They had their brave king *Tisamenes* the son of *Orestes* at their head, and pleaded a superiority of kindred, being descended from the eldest son of *Xuthus*; but what they trusted would give them a better title was, that they had a good number of troops, and among them some *Dores*, who agreed to assist them in this expedition. Accordingly they came against them with this army, and sent a herald to them to demand, that they might be amicably received into their territories, without being put to the trouble of invading them by force. The *Ionians*, surprised at such an unexpected message, resolved, however, to oppose their entrance with all their might. They knew, that if they were once suffered to settle in their territories, they would not let any one reign there except their prince *Tisamenes*, whose noble extraction and known valour would hardly brook a competitor in the government: They therefore resolved to march against the invaders, and on the very first onset the *Acheans* lost indeed their prince, but gained the victory and pursued it to the very gates of *Helice*. The *Ionians* thus overpowered were glad to capitulate, and to obtain the liberty of retiring whither they thought fit, which being granted to them, they went into *Attica*, where *Melanthus* then reigned, and gave them a kind reception; not perhaps so much in consideration of the great services which their progenitor *Ion* had done to that kingdom, as to make use of their assistance against the *Dores* whom he now began to fear. Here they stayed no longer than till the first archontat, when *Medon's* brethren, unwilling to submit to
their

their lame brother, invited them among other *Grecians* to go and seek their fortune elsewhere *.

As for the *Achæans*, their prince being dead and the *Ioni-ans* gone off, his sons agreed to divide their new conquest by lot; this little kingdom chiefly consisted of the twelve following cities, well known to all the *Greek* writers; namely, 1. *Helice* mentioned above: 2. *Ægion* or *Ægium*, to which the assembly of the states was removed after the subversion of *Helice*, as being the next in dignity and bigness: 3. *Olenus*: 4. *Phares*: 5. *Rhyphes*: 6. *Tritia*: 7. *Cerynea*: 8. *Bura*: 9. *Dymea*: 10. *Æges*: 11. *Ægira*: 12. *Pellene*. These twelve cities were at first divided between the four sons of *Tisamenes*; *Diamenes*, *Spartan*, *Telles* and *Leontomenes*; for as to his fifth son *Cometes*, he was already gone into *Asia*. These, together with their cousin *Damasias*, the son of *Penthilus* and grandson of *Orestes*, having jointly reigned over this new *Achaian* state for some time, agreed again to take into partnership *Preagenes* and his son *Patrus*, who were the sovereigns of those *Acheans* who had been banished out of *Lacedemon*, and gave them the sovereignty and territories of a city which was called from the last of these *Patra*. By what appears from this division of the *Achaian* government, it seems, as if it then became a kind of aristocracy, rather than a seven-fold monarchy, each under a particular prince; but what share the subjects had in it we cannot find out; only it seems from the short sketch *Pausanias* gives us of it, that all those cities abovementioned, except *Pellene*, were in some measure free cities, and that the states of *Achaia* ceased not to assemble themselves, even when the rest of *Greece* was terribly harrassed with wars and pestilence. In this assembly it was, that the famous *Achean* league was formed, into which the *Sicyonians* came the very first, and were followed by all the other states, not only of *Peloponnesus*, but by those on the other side the *Isthmus*; even at length by all *Greece*, except the *Lacedemonians*, who soon after entered into a war against them as shall be seen in the next chapter.

* See before, p. 481. † Vid. PAUSAN. in Achaic. pass. & PLUTARCH. D. SICUL. & Auct. sup. citat.

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A N
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ORIGINAL AUTHORS;
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Other Tables.

V O L. VI.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχισθαι μὴ κατανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως,
ὥς περ ἕτεροι συνήξαν ἐγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



D. Pomarede Sc.

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S E C T. I.

Of the state of ATHENS, from the establishing annual Archons to the Achæan league.

THE *Athenians* acquired that mighty renown which rendered them the most glorious nation in *Greece*, when *Greece* was in her greatest glory, and which makes the *Athenian* name venerable, even in these distant times, under a democratic government, of the beginning of which we are now to treat. Though *Athens*, as we have already shewn, was in antient times, as indeed most nations were, governed by kings, yet those kings were far from being absolute. The best of them prescribed bounds to themselves, and the people prescribed bounds to the worst. For the *Athenians* were always friends to liberty, and reserved, even in the days of *Theseus*, such an authority in their hands, as engaged *Homer* to difference them from the other nations of *Greece*^a. The glorious death of *Codrus*, who sacrificed himself for his subjects, and his sons disputing the succession, furnished the *Athenians* with a pretence for ridding themselves of kings. It was improbable, they said, that ever they should have so good a prince as *Codrus*, and to prevent their having

Iliad. lib. v.

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A

a worse,

a worse, they could have no king but *Jupiter* ^b. However, that they might not seem ungrateful to his family, they made his son *Medon* their supreme magistrate, with the title of *Archon*; they afterwards rendered that office *decennial*, but continued it still in that family. The extinction of the *Medontidæ* at last left them without restraint, upon which they not only made this office *annual*, but created nine *Archons* ^c; by the latter invention they provided against the too great power of a single person, as by the former expedient they took away all apprehension of their *Archon's* having time to establish an *optimacy*, and so change the constitution. In one word, they attained now what they had long sought, the making their supreme magistrates *dependent* on the *people*.

THAT these magistrates might, however, retain as much authority and dignity as might be sufficient to preserve the order and peace of the commonwealth, they had high titles and great honours annexed to their offices. The *first* was stiled by way of eminence *The Archon*, and the year was distinguished by his name. The *second* was called *Basileus*, i. e. *king*. He too had his peculiar function and his particular tribunal. The *third* had the name of *Polemarchos*, war was his province especially, though he had the direction of many things besides military affairs. The other six had the title of *Thesmothetæ*, common to them all, and were looked on as the guardians of their laws and conservators of the constitution. We shall speak of all these officers distinctly in their proper place; at present we intend only to give a general idea of that form of government which took place on the *abolition* of the decennial magistracy in *Athens*. As to the reasons on which the names of the three first magistrates and their distinct officers were founded, they are variously, and not very clearly, reported. It may be, their chief end was to transfer that reverence which the common people had for their old magistrates to these new ones, by leaving the latter as much of the exterior pomp of the former, as was consistent with the ends for which this change was made: As the *Romans* allowed their consuls to have fasces carried before them, and bore with the word *Rex*, when it implied no more than a supreme sacrificer. This change happened at *Athens* in the twenty fourth *Olympiad*, but in what year of that *Olympiad* is not well settled. *Creon* was the first of the new *Archons*, and the names of his successors, at least such of them as are recorded in history, the reader will find in the

^b Schol. in nub. ARISTOPHAN.
Antiq. Rom. lib. i. EUSEB. Chron. PAUSAN.

^c DIONYS. Halicarn.

following table, which also shews the years in which they bore that office (A).

An

(A) The *Athenian* history takes up so great a part of those volumes which are left us of the antient writers of *Greece*, that though little has been said by them in a regular manner of the form of that republic, and the power of its magistrates; yet the industry of such of the learned as have laboured in this way, and, by collecting the scattered passages of *Grecian* writers, have formed treatises of the *Athenian* government under its several mutations, have given us such lights on this important subject, that it would be unpardonable in us not to set it clearly and distinctly before our readers. But previous thereto, it will be necessary to give some account of those last mentioned authors, that if such as peruse this work should be desirous of entering more deeply into the *Athenian* polity, than the construction of this history will permit us to do, they may not be at a loss for guides. *William Postel*, who flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and was deservedly famous for his extensive learning, hath written a very curious treatise of the *Athenian* republic, consisting of thirty five chapters, wherein he handles concisely the functions of the *Athenian* magistrates, the rights of the people, and the dependency of the several parts of the *Attic* constitution on each other (1). But if the lucidness of *Postel* leaves any doubt on the minds of his readers, *Sigonius*'s four books, with his scheme of the *Athenian* history, will sufficiently supply it. *Sigonius* was a man of much reading, vast diligence, and had a mighty affection for this kind of writing, as appears from the many other works of the same kind which he composed (2). This excellent person was a professor in the university of *Modena*, and, by that time he was twenty years of age, had acquired such a stupendous knowledge in history and politics, as rendered him the wonder of all who knew him. As *Sigonius* exceeded *Postel*, so *Sigonius* himself hath been transcended by *Ulbo Emmert*, rector of the University of *Groningen*, who, having resolved upon a work of the same nature, made his description extend not only to the *Athenian*, but to all the republics of *Greece*, and ordered it so, that this description made but one third part of his work, the two former parts containing an exact description of antient *Greece*, and a regular history of its inhabitants, collected in the words mostly of original writers (3). If to these we add the almost numberless treatises of the very learned *Meursius* on every part of the *Athenian* government (4), there can no question be made, but that this point may be as thoroughly understood as any thing of the same nature can be. But as things are never perfect at

(1.) *Tractatus de Republicis sive Magistratibus Atheniensium.*

(2) *De Republica Atheniensium, Venetiis 1565, 8v.* (3) *Vetus Græcia Opus distinctum in Tomos tres.*

(4) *Themis Attica, Cætopia, Lætion, Attic. &c.*

An exact TABLE of such of the annual archons of *Athens* as are mentioned in history.

<i>A. a. Ch.</i>	<i>Olymp.</i>	<i>A. a. Ch.</i>	<i>Olymp.</i>
	xxiv.		liv.
684 <i>Creon</i>	1	561 <i>Hippocles</i>	4
683 <i>Tlesias</i>	2		lv.
682 <i>Lysias</i>	3	560 <i>Comias</i>	1
	xxvii.	559 <i>Hegestratus</i>	2
670 <i>Antosthenes</i>	3		lvi.
	xxix.	552 <i>Euthydemus</i>	2
663 <i>Archimedes</i>	2		lviii.
	xxx.	547 <i>Euxiclus</i>	2
658 <i>Miltiades</i>	3		lix.
	xxxiii.	543 <i>Alcæus</i>	2
645 <i>Dropis</i>	4		lxii.
	xxxv.	532 <i>Heraclides</i>	1
639 <i>Damafias I.</i>	2		lxiv.
	xxxvi.	523 <i>Miltiades</i>	2
634 <i>Epænetus</i>	3		lxviii.
	xxxix.	<i>Isagoras</i>	<i>an. incert.</i>
623 <i>Draco</i>	2		lxix.
	xlili.	<i>Acestorides</i>	<i>an. incert.</i>
608 <i>Aristocles</i>	4		lxx.
	xlvi.	<i>Myrus</i>	<i>an. incert.</i>
599 <i>Megacles</i>	2		lxxi.
598 <i>Phisombrotus</i>	3	496 <i>Hyparchus</i>	2
597 <i>Solon</i>	4	495 <i>Philippus</i>	3
	xlvi.	494 <i>Themistocles</i>	4
596 <i>Dropides</i>	1		
	xlvi.		lxxii.
591 <i>Euocrates</i>	2	492 <i>Diognetus</i>	2
590 <i>Simon</i>	3	491 <i>Hybrilides</i>	3
	xlix.	490 <i>Phœnippus</i>	4
582 <i>Damafias II.</i>	3		
	li.		lxxiii.
576 <i>Archestratides</i>	1	488 <i>Aristides</i>	1
	lii.	487 <i>Anchises</i>	2
569 <i>Austomenes</i>	4	486 <i>Acratides</i>	3

first, so we held it more reasonable to refer the particular account of the power of the archons, and the construction of the *Athenian* democracy to its settlement by *Solon*, than to perplex the reader with anticipations or repetitions.

<i>A. a. Ch.</i>	<i>Olymp.</i>	<i>A. a. Ch.</i>	<i>Olymp.</i>
	lxxiv.	449 <i>Pedieus</i>	4
484 <i>Leostratus</i>	1		lxxxiii.
483 <i>Nicodemus</i>	2	448 <i>Philiscus</i>	1
482 <i>Aphephon</i>	3	447 <i>Timarchides</i>	2
	lxxv.	446 <i>Callimachus</i>	3
480 <i>Callias qui &</i>	} 1	445 <i>Simachides qui &</i>	} 4
<i>Calliades</i>		<i>Lysimachides</i>	
			lxxxiv
479 <i>Xanthippus</i>	2	444 <i>Praxiteles</i>	1
478 <i>Timosthenes</i>	3	443 <i>Lysanias</i>	2
477 <i>Adimanthus</i>	4	442 <i>Dipbilus</i>	3
	lxxvi.	441 <i>Timocles</i>	4
476 <i>Phædon</i>	1		lxxxv.
475 <i>Dromoclides</i>	2	440 <i>Myrichides sive</i>	} 1
474 <i>Acestorides</i>	3	<i>Marichidas</i>	
473 <i>Menon</i>	4	439 <i>Glaucis</i>	2
	lxxvii.	438 <i>Theodorus</i>	3
472 <i>Chares</i>	1	437 <i>Euthymenes</i>	4
471 <i>Praxiergus</i>	2		lxxxvi.
470 <i>Demotion</i>	3	436 <i>Nausimachus qui &</i>	} 1
469 <i>Phædon</i>	4	<i>Lysimachus</i>	
	lxxviii.	435 <i>Antichides</i>	2
468 <i>Theagenides</i>	1	434 <i>Charis</i>	3
467 <i>Lysistratus</i>	2	433 <i>Apsendes</i>	4
466 <i>Lysanias</i>	3		lxxxvii.
465 <i>Lysistheus</i>	4	432 <i>Pythodorus</i>	1
	lxxix.	431 <i>Euthydemus</i>	2
464 <i>Archidemides</i>	1	430 <i>Apollodorus</i>	3
463 <i>Tlepolemus</i>	2	429 <i>Epamion</i>	4
462 <i>Conon</i>	3		lxxxviii.
461 <i>Euippus</i>	4	428 <i>Diotimus</i>	1
	lxxx	427 <i>Euclides</i>	2
460 <i>Phaciclides</i>	1	426 <i>Scytodorus qui &</i>	} 3
459 <i>Philocles</i>	2	<i>Euthydemus</i>	
458 <i>Bion</i>	3	425 <i>Stratocles,</i>	4
457 <i>Mnesitides</i>	4		lxxxix.
	lxxxxi.	424 <i>Isarchus</i>	1
456 <i>Callias</i>	1	423 <i>Aminias</i>	2
455 <i>Sofistratus</i>	2	422 <i>Alcæus</i>	3
454 <i>Ariston</i>	3	421 <i>Aristo qui &</i>	} 4
453 <i>Lysicrates</i>	4	<i>Aristion</i>	
	lxxxii.		xc.
452 <i>Chærephanes</i>	1		420
451 <i>Antidotus</i>	2	420 <i>Aristophilus qui &</i>	} 1
450 <i>Eutydemus</i>	3	<i>Astyphilus</i>	
			419

<i>A. a. Ch.</i>	<i>Olymp.</i>	<i>A. a. Ch.</i>	<i>Olymp.</i>
419 Archias	2	385 Dexiteus	4
418 Antiphon	3		xcix.
417 Euphemus	4	384 Diotrephes	1
	xc.	383 Phenostratus	2
416 Aristomnestus	1	382 Menander qui & Evander	3
415 Chabrias	2		
414 Pysander	3	381 Demophilas	4
413 Cleocritus	4		c.
	xcii.	380 Pytheas	1
412 Callias	1	379 Nicon	2
411 Theopompus	2	378 Nausinicus	3
410 Glaucippus	3	377 Callias	4
409 Diocles	4		ci.
	xciii.	376 Chariander	1
408 Euctemon	1	375 Hippodamus	2
407 Antigones	2	374 Socratides	3
406 Callias	3	373 Astius five Asteus	4
405 Alexias	4		cii.
	xciv.	372 Aristhenes five Alcisthenes	1
404 Pythodorus	1		
403 Euclides	2	371 Phrasiclides	2
402 Micio	3	370 Dysnicetus	3
401 Zenetetus qui & Epenetus	4	369 Lysistratus	4
	xcv.		ciii.
400 Laches	1	368 Nausiegenes	1
399 Aristocrates	2	367 Polyzelus	2
398 Itycles	3	366 Cephisodorus	3
397 Lysiaes	4	365 Chion	4
	xcvi.		civ.
396 Phormio	1	364 Timocrates	1
395 Diophantus	2	363 Chariclides	2
394 Eubulides	3	362 Molio five Molon	3
393 Arches qui & Demostratus	4	361 Nicophemus	4
	xcvii.		cv.
392 Philocles	1	360 Callimedes	1
391 Nicoteles	2	359 Eucharistus	2
390 Demostratus	3	358 Cephisodorus	3
389 Antipater	4	357 Agathocles	4
	xcviii.		cvi.
388 Pyrrbio qui & Pyrrhion	1	356 Elpines seu Elpinus	1
		355 Callistratus	2
387 Theodotus	2	354 Diotimus	3
386 Mystichides	3	353 Eudemus	4
			cvii.
		352 Aristomedes	1
			351

<i>A. a. Ch.</i>	<i>Olymp.</i>	<i>A. a. Ch.</i>	<i>Olymp.</i>
351 <i>Theſſalus</i>	2	316 <i>Democles</i>	1
350 <i>Apollodorus</i>	3	315 <i>Praxibulus</i>	2
349 <i>Callimachus</i>	4	314 <i>Nicodorus</i>	3
	cviii.	313 <i>Cheophrastus</i>	4
348 <i>Theophilus</i>	1		cxvii.
347 <i>Themistocles</i>	2	312 <i>Ptolema</i>	1
346 <i>Archius</i>	3	311 <i>Simonides</i>	2
345 <i>Eubulus</i>	4	310 <i>Hieromnemon</i>	3
	cix.	309 <i>Demetrius Phalereus</i>	4
344 <i>Lyciscus</i>	1		cxviii.
343 <i>Pythodorus</i>	2	308 <i>Charinus</i> five	}
342 <i>Sofigenes</i>	3	<i>Cærinus</i>	
341 <i>Nicomachus</i>	4	307 <i>Anaxicrates</i>	2
	cx.	306 <i>Coræbus</i> five	}
340 <i>Theophrastus</i>	1	<i>Corybus</i>	
339 <i>Lyſimachides</i>	2	305 <i>Xenippus</i> five	}
338 <i>Charondas</i> ſeu <i>Charonides</i>	}	<i>Euxenippus</i>	
337 <i>Phrynicus</i>	4		cxix.
	cx.	304 <i>Pherecles</i>	1
336 <i>Pythodorus</i>	1	303 <i>Leoſtratus</i>	2
335 <i>Euenetus</i>	2	302 <i>Nicocles</i>	3
334 <i>Cteſicles</i>	3	301 <i>Calliarchus</i>	4
333 <i>Nicocrates</i>	4		cxx.
	cxii.	300 <i>Hegamachus</i>	1
332 <i>Nicerates</i>	1	299 <i>Euclæmon</i>	2
331 <i>Ariſtophanes</i>	2	298 <i>Mneſidemus</i>	3
330 <i>Ariſtophon</i>	3	297 <i>Antiphates</i>	4
329 <i>Cephiſophon</i>	4		cxxi.
	cxiii.	296 <i>Nicias</i>	1
328 <i>Euthycritus</i>	1	295 <i>Nicoſtratus</i>	2
327 <i>Hegemon</i>	2	294 <i>Olympiodorus</i>	3
326 <i>Chremes</i>	3	293 <i>Philippus</i>	4
325 <i>Anticles</i>	4		cxxii.
	cxiv.	290 <i>Philippus</i>	3
324 <i>Hegesias</i>	1		cxxv.
323 <i>Cephiſodorus</i>	2	279 <i>Gorgias</i>	2
322 <i>Philocles</i>	3	278 <i>Anaxicrates</i>	3
321 <i>Archippus</i> five	}	277 <i>Democles</i>	4
<i>Apollodorus</i>			cxxvii.
	cxv.	271 <i>Pytharatus</i>	2
320 <i>Naæchmus</i>	1		cxxix.
319 <i>Apollodorus</i>	2	264 <i>Diognetes</i>	1
318 <i>Archippus</i>	3		clx.
317 <i>Demogenes</i>	4	140 <i>Antitheus</i>	1
	cxvi.		clxxx.
		63 <i>Herodes</i>	2

As we are obliged to gather the history of *Athens* at the entrance of this period from such passages in far later historians, as have a retrospective view thereto, the reader cannot expect that it should be very exactly connected. He will see from the foregoing table, that the names of many of the archons are lost; and of several which remain, we know nothing more, than that they were archons in such a year, which is frequently discovered from writers of other nations, who, for the better settling the facts of which they wrote, referred them to the years in which such and such persons were archons; because antiently the *Athenian* story was better known than that of any other people, and therefore served the purpose of historians in this respect perfectly well. If the people laboured for power in *Athens*, the nobility were likewise desirous of preserving it to themselves, and tho' they frequently found it necessary to give way to popular humours, yet they generally fell upon expedients, which in the end defeated the designs of the people, and hindered them from attaining that measure of authority they sought. The archons were from the beginning of the democracy chosen by the people, but they were chosen out of the nobility, and they still retained one privilege of the antient magistrates, which very probably bore hard upon the people, viz. that of deciding all causes that came before them, according to their own notions of right or wrong; for as yet the *Athenians* had no written laws, but every magistrate acted according to the principles of natural equity.^d

THE more populous the city grew, and the greater wealth its citizens acquired, the less easily were they governed. Merchants from *Syria* and *Egypt* very probably gave them first to understand the expediency of written laws, which might serve to rule the magistrates as well as the people. This once inculcated, the *Athenians* would not be at rest without them; the same spirit, which had compelled former alterations in government, made it necessary now, that laws should be compiled, and therefore the nobility pitched upon *Draco* to undertake this arduous employment (B).

Draco

^d SUIDAS in Δράκων.

(B) When it is said, that *Draco* first gave laws to the *Athenians*, it must be understood in an extensive sense, for otherwise it is certain, that *Ceres* was the first who taught the *Athenians* to lead a social life, and to become subject to the wisest amongst them, that their wisdom might be made generally beneficial. It is commonly believed,

Draco was archon in the second, though some say in the Year of last, year of the thirty ninth *olympiad*, when it is supposed the Flood he published his laws. Though the name of this great man ^{2376.} occurs frequently in history, yet we nowhere find so much ^{Before} as ten lines together relating to him and his institutions, ^{Chr. st,} which is certainly the reason that the collectors of *Greek* his- ^{623.} tory have written so superficially about them. We cannot pretend to supply their deficiencies; but from the scattered fragments relating to him, we will give the reader the best account of him and his laws that we can. He was without doubt a man noble by birth, and endued with high qualifications. He was learned, virtuous, and a true lover of his country, but at the same time severe in his temper, and extremely rigid in the rules which he laid down for the government of *Athens* ^e. He esteemed the taking away of life so high a crime, that, to imprint a deep abhorrence thereof in the minds of men, he ordained, that process should be carried on even against inanimate things, if they had accidentally caused the death of any person. So that for instance, a statue, which had fallen upon and killed a man, was banished, it being rendered criminal for any one to keep it in *Attica* ^f. Happy had it been for himself and for his country, if the same spirit of humanity had reigned throughout his institutions; but so it was, that he punished all things with death, even indolence; and the taking of an apple was as severely punished as sacrilege, for which he himself assigned this reason; *Small faults seem to me worthy of death, and for the most flagrant offences I can find no higher punishment* ^g.

^e A. GELLIIUS. Noct. Attic. lib. ii. c. 18. TATIAN. Orat. cont. Græcos. CLEM. Strom. l. i. ^f PAUSAN. Attic. ^g PLUTARCH. in vita Solon.

believed, that *Ceres* gave these laws by her favourite *Triptolemus*, and we are farther told what those laws were, the whole body of them being comprized in one line; *Honour your parents; Worship the gods; Hurt not animals* (5). These precepts were retained likewise by *Draco*, and made the very foundation of his institutions, yet notwithstanding all this, he was, in the sense we usually take the word, the legislator of the *Athenians*, since he first restrained the magistrates from pronouncing arbitrary judgments, and declared what actions were criminal, and in what manner such as committed them should be punished.

(5) *Porphyr. de abstinentia.*

The care of executing these laws, he intrusted chiefly with the *Ephetae*, a court we have heretofore mentioned, which he took upon him to reform in many respects, whence he is by some said to have instituted it, but that is a mistake. He did indeed make it superior to the *Areopagus*, to which it was before inferior, and *Solon*, restoring the precedence of the last-mentioned court, has been by a like mistake reported to be the institutor thereof ^h. *Draco* was far in years when he gave laws to *Athens*; some have been of opinion, that he borrowed most of his principles from the books of the *Phœnicians*, but this can hardly be proved ⁱ; certain it is, that his institutions were not stiled *Nomoi*, but *Thesmoi*, i. e. not laws, but *sanctions*, as if they proceeded from more than human wisdom ^k; but this did not hinder their falling into dislike with the *Athenians*, even in his life-time; and as their dislike was always fatal, he was obliged to retire from *Athens*, from whence he went to the island of *Ægina*, where he was received with the highest respect; but the favour of the inhabitants of that country proved more fatal to him than the hatred of the *Athenians*. For coming one day into the theatre, the audience, to shew their regard for him, threw, as the custom of that age was, their bonnets and cloaks upon him, and the multitude of these being very great, they stifled the old man, who was too weak to disengage himself from that load their inconsiderate kindness cast over him ^l. *Aristotle* tells us, that *Herodicus* was wont to say, *That his institutions seemed rather to have come from a dragon than a man*, alluding to his name ^m, and *Demades* rendered himself famous by observing, *that Draco's laws were not written with ink, but blood* ⁿ. It may be the violence of the age in which he lived, and the natural turbulency of the *Athenian* people, made that legislator have recourse to so harsh a method; for that he was not of altogether so savage a temper, as he is generally represented, may be probably conjectured from those fragments of his laws which are yet undevoured by time, and from the knowledge we have of his being strongly inclined to poetry, a study seldom agreeable to cruel minds ^o (C).

NOTHING

^h PORTER'S *Archæolog.* Vol. I. p. 102. ⁱ JOSEPH. CONTR. Apion. ^k ÆLIAN. *hist.* var. l. viii c. 10. ^l HESYCH. de Illust. Philos. ^m Rhet. l. ii. c. 23. ⁿ PLUTARCH. in vit. Solon. ^o Vid. Note C.

(C) *Aristotle* speaks very slightly of *Draco's* laws. He says, they had

NOTHING considerable happened at *Athens* from the time Year after of *Draco's* archonship, till that republic engaged herself in a the Flood, war with the *Mityleneans* about the city of *Sigeium*, which 2393. was seated near the mouth of the river *Scamander*; the *Athe-* Year be- nian army was commanded by *Phrynon*, a person equally fore Christ remarkable for the comeliness of his form and the generosity 606. of his mind. The *Mityleneans* were commanded in chief by *Pittacus*, one of the famous sages of *Greece*; as these commanders looked on the honour of their several countries to be engaged in this business, they exerted their utmost abilities with equal success. At last these chiefs met in single combat, wherein *Phrynon* depended on his valour only, but *Pittacus* made use of craft; for concealing behind his shield a net, he therewith suddenly entangled *Phrynon*, and easily slew him; but this not putting an end to the war, *Periander*, tyrant of *Corinth*, interposed, and both parties having submitted the dispute to his arbitration, he decreed, that *Sigeium* should belong to the *Athenians*. This happened in the third year of the forty third olympiad ^P (D).

ABOUT

^P POLYÆN. Stratag. lib. i. c. 25. PLUTARCH. de Malign. HERODOT.

had nothing extraordinary in them except their cruelty (6), which expression, as I apprehend, hath given occasion to the censures of many other authors. With respect to *Draco's* laws, what fragments still remain put it not in our power to decide either for him or against him. *Porphyrus* hath preserved a part of one of his laws, which runs thus: It is an everlasting law in *Attica*, that the gods are to be worshipped, and the heroes also, according to the customs of our ancestors and in private only, with good words, first-fruits, and annual libations (7). This seems to have been a commentary on *Triptolemus's* laws, and is declarative only of the manner in which the gods and heroes ought to be worshipped. *Hesychius* (8) mentions a law, whereby a person, eating himself in the temple of *Apollo*, was adjudged to suffer death. It is highly likely, that, amidst the disturbances which made laws necessary, *Draco* saw, or at least thought he saw, a necessity of punishing very severely, since the licentiousness of the people was grown to such a pitch, that nothing but harsh measures could force them within their former bounds. After all, the extravagant severity of his *Thesmoi* or *Sanctions*, like an edge too finely ground, hindered them from striking deep, so that by degrees they grew into dissuetude, so that the commonwealth stood more in need of new laws, than ever she stood in need of *Draco's*.

(D) The war between the *Mityleneans* and the *Athenians* about

(6) *Arist. Polit. lib. ii. c. 10.* (7) *De Abstinent.* (8) *Ap. Ant. Tbyf. Coll. leg. Ath. & Rom.*

Year after
the Flood,
2400.
Year be-
fore Christ
599.

ABOUT seven years after this war was ended, *Athens* was torn by civil dissensions; *Cylon*, a man of a most antient family, son-in-law to *Theagenes* tyrant of *Megara*, whose affable behaviour had gained him many friends, and whose great riches procured him many dependants, formed in his own mind a design of seizing the supreme power; this he communicated to such as he thought were fit to be trusted with so important a secret, and they concurring with him in his undertaking, it was agreed to consult the oracle of *Apollo*, when would be the fittest time for them to put this design in execution. The oracle answered, *When the citizens were employed in celebrating the highest feast to Jupiter*. *Cylon* and his associates waited therefore for the forty fifth olympiad, and when many of the citizens were gone to the olympic games, the conspirators made themselves masters of the citadel. *Megacles*, who was at that time archon, with his eight associates and the whole power of *Athens*, immediately besieged them therein, and *Cylon* and his party found themselves so exceedingly distressed, especially for provisions and water, that they knew not what to do. Their chief and his brother found means to make their escape, but the meaner sort were left to shift for themselves¹. In this extremity they fled to the temple of *Minerva*, and took sanctuary therein; *Megacles* persuaded them with much ado to come down from thence, and to put themselves upon their country; when they assented to this, they tied a cord to the image of the goddess, and carried the clew with them, to demonstrate

¹ HERODOT. l. v. THUCYD. lib. i.

the city of *Sigeium* hath cost the learned a good deal of trouble. *Herodotus* doth not say any thing of *Pittacus* in the account he gives us of this business; but *Plutarch* alledges this as one instance of his malignity, and the little inclination he had to do any but the *Athenians* justice (9). But then *Plutarch*, in commending excessively *Pittacus's* ensnaring *Phrynon*, seems to speak him a little prejudiced on that side, at least as the rules of honour are now settled. *Polyænus* tells this story without making any farther comment thereon, than that *Pittacus* was undoubtedly the first inventer of the art of net-fighting (10), which was afterwards common among the *Romans* in their shews, but with this difference from *Pittacus's* behaviour, that the *Retiarius* fought openly with his net and his dagger, whereas *Phrynon* thought nothing of a net till he found himself intangled in it.

(9) *Plutarch. de malign. Herodot. lib. i. c. 28.*

(10) *Polyæn. Stratag.*

that they were still under sanctuary ; but unfortunately, as they passed the temple of the furies, the line snapt of itself, and *Megacles* and his officers, construing this into a renunciation by the goddess, fell upon them without mercy, and put them to death as fast as they could : such as were without the temple were immediately dispatched ; such as retired thither again were killed at the feet of the altars. In a word, none escaped but such as bribed the wives of the officers of justice. But this did not put an end to the sedition ; the remains of *Cylon's* faction created great disturbances, not by pretending to domineer over their countrymen, but by insinuating, that the violation of *Minerva's* sanctuary had drawn down the anger of heaven, of which all the crosses that happened to the republic were cited as indubitable proofs. These discourses had such an effect, that *Megacles* and his officers were stiled execrable, and held to be persons under the peculiar displeasure of the gods ^r. What happened in consequence of this, we shall shortly see : In the mean time let us observe, that the oracle of *Apollo* justified itself, by declaring that *Cylon* and his adherents mistook the feast ; that intended by the oracle being the *Diasia* held in *Athens* to the honour of *Jupiter*, and not the *olympic* games ^r (E).

WHILE

^r PLUTARCH. in vita Solon. ^r DACIER. in Plutarch. ubi supra.

(E) There was for a long time after the democracy took place a strong party against it, who left no measures untried in order if possible to restore their antient form of government. *Cylon*, as a man of quality, repined at the sudden change of the magistrates, and at the thoughts of asking that as a favour which he apprehended to be due to him as his birth-right. The design of seizing the citadel, if it had succeeded, would in all probability have ended the dispute in his favour, but the number he drew together, proving far inferior to those who were under the direction of the archons, obliged him to act otherwise than he expected, and to endure a siege where he hoped to make a conquest (11). In the citadel there were two temples to *Minerva*, that seated in the middle was stiled *Parthenion*, alluding to her constant preservation of her virginity : It was afterwards burnt by the *Persians*, but repaired by *Pericles* with such skill as well as magnificence, that the remains thereof are to this day admirable, and shew it to have been one of the finest structures in the world (12). As to the proceeding against *Cylon's* confederates, it was against the common custom of *Greece*,

(11) *Herodot. Thucyd. Plutarch. in vit. Solonis.* (12) *Cicero-
pia. Wheeler's Voyages.*

and

WHILE *Athens* was in this confusion the *Megarensians* attacked *Nisæa*, and, having taken it, afterwards drove the *Athenians* out of *Salamis*, which the latter endeavoured to recover, but in vain, for the *Megarensians*, continually victorious, cut off such numbers of them, that at last, despairing of success and afflicted with the mighty loss they had received, the *Athenians* made a law, that it should be capital for any one to propose to attempt the recovery of *Salamis* ^c. About this time also the city was exceedingly disturbed with superstitious fears and frightful appearances, this moved them to consult the *Delphic* oracle, and the answer they received was, that the city must be *expiated*. Upon this *Nicias* was sent to *Crete* to bring from thence *Epimenides* the *Phæstian*, who was reputed a holy man, beloved of the gods, and one who had deep skill in the mysteries of religion. He coming to *Athens* took some sheep that were all black, and others that were all white; these he led into the *Areopagus*, and turning them loose there, directed certain persons to follow them, who should mark where they couched, and there sacrifice them to the local deity. This being done, altars were erected in all these places to perpetuate the memory of this solemn expiation. *Epimenides* directed also many temples and chapels to be erected without the city, two of which have been particularly noted, *viz.* the chapel of *Contumely*, and the chapel of *Impudence*. He is reported to have looked wistfully on the port of *Munychia* for a long time, and afterwards to have said to those who were near him, *How blind is man to future things, for did the Athenians foresee what mischief will one day be derived to them from that place, they would eat it with their teeth* ^d. This prediction was fulfilled two hundred and seventy years after, when *Antipater* constrained the *Athenians* to admit his garrison into that place. During his stay at *Athens* he became intimately acquainted with *Solon*, who was already taken notice of for his shining parts and admirable moderation. As for *Epimenides*, the *Athenians* were highly satisfied with what he did for them, and, in token of their gratitude, offered him.

^c PLUTARCH. ubi supra.
Epimen.

^d DIOGEN. LAERTIUS. in vita

and might very well alarm a nation so prone to superstition as the *Athenians* were; for though they had the quickest wits of all the inhabitants of *Greece*, yet in these respects they were more scrupulous than any other people, as we shall see in the sequel of this history, when we come to speak of the ordinances relating to their religion.

present.

presents of great value and considerable honours ; but he requested only a branch of the sacred olive, and this being given him, he returned well-satisfied to *Crete* * (F).

IT

* PLUTARCH. in vita Solon.

(F) This *Epimenides* was a very extraordinary person, as we shall have occasion to shew in the history of *Crete*. Here we have nothing to say of him farther, than what relates to lustrating or cleansing cities : *Diogenes Laertius* tells us, that he was the inventor of this art, or rather that he was the first that lustrated houses or fields, which, if spoken of *Greece*, may be true ; for *Moses* had long before taught something of this nature to the *Jews*. This was practised on the great day of atonement, which might very well be called the annual lustration of *Israel*. Upon that day the priest took for himself a young bullock, and for the people two goats ; the bullock the priest offered for himself : then he cast lots upon the goats, one was called the goat of *Jehovah* and was offered ; the other *Azazel*, or as we translate it, *the scape-goat* ; the latter was presented also before the altar of God, and the priest, laying his hands upon him, confessed all the iniquities of the children of *Israel* and all their transgressions, which *Moses* calls putting them upon the head of the goat, which was then sent away into the wilderness, *because he bore upon him all their iniquities unto a land of separation* (13). The reader will easily see that we have given this account of the scape-goat here, that he might apply it to what is said of *Epimenides*'s method of cleansing the city of *Athens*, which has a visible resemblance thereto, and was in all probability copied therefrom, or from the custom of some other eastern nation, which originally borrowed it from the *Hebrews*. There were, however, other ceremonies practised for the same purpose. *Tzetzes* in his poetical chronicle has given us a very remarkable account of the manner in which lustrations were made, their causes, and effects.

Thus was in antient times lustration made :
 When any city groan'd beneath the weight
 Of famine, plague, or worse calamity,
 Forthwith a grateful victim was prepared,
 Which at the holy altar when they'd plac'd,
 They cast upon the pile, cheese, cakes, and figs ;
 Then striking quick seven times its genitals
 With sea-leeks, and wild-figs, and other fruits,
 Rude nature's product without help of art,
 Burn it with wood cut from unplanted trees ;
 Next towards the wind the sportive ashes cast
 Upon the sea ; thus they the dreadful ills,
 With which the city laboured, drove away (14).

(13) *Leviticus* xvi.

(14) *Tzetzes. Chil. Hist. v. c. xxiii.*

It was about this time that *Solon*, whom we before mentioned, began to shew himself to his countrymen, and to display those rare qualities which rendered him so deservedly beloved while living, and which have preserved uninjured, for so long a tract of time, the fame which he acquired. He was in every respect formed to make a figure in the *Athenian* commonwealth. He was noble by birth, if not more, for he descended lineally from *Codrus*; his mother was nearly related to the mother of *Pisistratus*, and he had a brother whose name was *Drepides*, who was archon the year after himself^y. We are told, that he was born at *Salamis*, however, we think, that may be doubted from certain verses of his, which we shall have occasion to quote. As honourable as his family was, the generosity of his father left *Solon* in no very happy condition; this, as it is generally believed, engaged him to merchandize, though he might otherwise have subsisted well enough by the assistance of his friends; but this did not suit that greatness of soul which he inherited, he chose therefore to travel and to merchandize, that he might live independently at home on his return, and not suffer that house to receive kindnesses, whose custom it had been to bestow them. It is plain, both

^y *DIOG. LAERT.* vit. *Solon*.

As to *Epimenides*, *Strabo* reports, that he made a great use of verses and of hymns in his purifications (15); and *Suidas* tells us, that he wrote in verse many rules and instructions for these sorts of rites (16). *Laertius* reports, that as he was about to mark out a place for a temple to three nymphs, a voice from heaven gave him this direction, *not to the nymphs, but to Jupiter*. Besides the prophecy beforementioned relating to the haven *Munychia*, *Epimenides* uttered another during his stay at *Athens*: For hearing, that the citizens were alarmed at the progress of the *Persian* power at sea, he advised them to make themselves easy; for that the *Persians* would not for many years attempt any thing against the *Greeks*, and when they did, they would receive greater loss themselves than they would be able to bring upon the states they sought to destroy (17). Having related such strange things of this prophet and philosopher, it will not be amiss to close this note with observing, that the sacred olive, mentioned above, was the tree produced by *Minerva* when she contended with *Neptune*, and that *Aristotle* was a downright infidel with respect to the stories of *Epimenides*'s foretelling future events; that famous sage being of opinion, our lustrator's talents lay quite another way, *viz* in discovering what old crimes had produced present punishments, and how atonement might be made, and those ills taken away.

(15) *Geogr. lib. x.*

(16) *In voce Επιμη.*

(17) *In vit Epimenid*
from

from his actions and his writings, that he was a disinterested patriot. The shameful decree, that none under pain of death should mention the recovery of *Salamis*, grieved him to the heart ; he therefore composed an elegy, consisting of an hundred verses, to inflame the minds of the people against the *Megarensians*, who had taken from them that island. Having digested this elegy thoroughly in his mind, he ran into the market-place as if he had been mad, with his night-cap on his head, and ascending the stool of the common cryer, he repeated with great vehemence the elegy he had composed to the people who had gathered round him ; that poem began thus :

From *Salamis*, behold a cryer come,

Who brings you news, in nervous verses home.

But the most moving strokes in this celebrated poem were contained in the following verses :

Rather than *Athens*, would I ow'd my birth,

To *Pholegondrian*, or *Sicinian* earth ;

Since men will say, wherever I am tost,

He's of that dastard race, who *Salamis* have lost.

It ended thus :

To *Salamis* let us renew our claim,

And, with the isle restor'd, restore our fame.

Pisistratus, who, as we before observed, was his near relation, mixed himself with the crowd which gathered round this pretended madman ; he by his persuasive eloquence, heightened that martial rage which *Solon* had kindled by his verses, so that of a sudden the sentiments of the *Athenians* were wholly changed, and they determined to assert their right to *Salamis*, and decreed a war accordingly (G). It is not easy to say who was

(G) The name of *Solon*'s father was *Euphorion*, or, as most writers affirm, *Execestides*, and we know nothing more of him, than that, notwithstanding his liberality and the nobility of his descent, he was far from being considerable in *Athens*. *Aristotle* reckons *Solon* himself among the inferior citizens, and quotes his own works to prove it ; the truth is, that *Solon* was never rich, it may be because he was always honest : something of this sort seems to be implied in the following verses, which are accounted excellent :

Many unjust grow rich, and pious poor ;

We would not change our virtue for their store ;

For constant virtue is a solid base,

Riches from man to man uncertain pass (19).

(19) *Plutarch. in vita Solonis.*

was appointed commander in chief of this expedition, some say *Solon*, and that *Pisistratus* accompanied him ; others say, that *Pisistratus* went general, and that *Solon* assisted him with his advice ².

THERE are various accounts of the manner in which *Salamis* was again reduced under the *Athenian* power : The most current story is, that *Solon* coming with *Pisistratus* to *Colias*, and finding the women busy there in celebrating according to the custom the feast of *Ceres*, sent a confident of his to *Salamis*, who, pretending to be no friend to that people, told the inhabitants, that if they had a mind to seize the fairest of the *Athenian* ladies, they might do it by passing over to *Colias*. The *Megarensians*, giving easy credit to what this man said, presently fitted out a ship, which *Solon* perceiving from the opposite shore, immediately dismissed the women, and having dressed a sufficient number of beardless youths in female habits, under which they concealed every one a dagger, he sent

² PLUT. DIOG. LAERT. PAUSAN. &c.

In his youth he was mightily addicted to poetry, and as he was in those days unconfined, and had no very weighty affairs upon his hands, he wrote and published a great many poems ; certain it is, that all he did in this way deserves the highest commendation ; his language is always pure, his thoughts alike delicate and clear, his subjects useful and sublime ; and therefore *Plato* had just reason to say, that if he had finished all his poems, and particularly the history he brought out of *Egypt*, and had taken time to revise and correct them as others did, neither *Homer*, *Hesiod*, nor any other ancient poet would have been more famous (20). As he was an excellent poet himself, he had a just and high idea of the power of verse, which he thought capable of making the strongest impressions on the mind of man ; yet he was a great orator, and wrote in prose with peculiar neatness of expression and perspicuity. It is evident, both from the life and writings of this great man, that he was a person not only of exalted virtue, but of a most pleasant and agreeable temper. He loved society, and made it his business to promote the welfare thereof, he considered men as men, he kept both their capacity for virtue and their proneness to evil in his view, adapting his laws so as to strengthen and support the one, and to check and keep under the other ; hence his institutions are as remarkable for their sweetness and practicability, as those of *Lycurgus* are for harshness and forcing human nature. The reader will excuse this short digression as to the character of *Solon*, since it is absolutely necessary for the forming a right idea of his conduct as a legislator.

(20) *In Timæo.*

them

them to the sea-side, to dance and divert themselves as the women were wont to do. When those who came from *Salamis* drew near the coast, and saw these young people skipping up and down, they strove who should leap first out of the vessel, and running one and all to catch these damsels their ship was surprised, themselves murdered, and the *Athenians*, imbarcking on board their vessel, sailed immediately to *Salamis* and took it. *Polyænus* has inserted this relation, and *Plutarch* also admits, that it was the current account of this business ; he tells us, however, that others had related it after this manner : The first thing *Solon* did, after he was appointed director of this expedition, was to consult the oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, from whom he received this response ;

Let sacrifice be to those heroes paid,
Who under the *Asopian* ground are laid,
And dead, are by the setting sun survey'd.

Solon took upon him to explain this dark prediction, and was so happy as to interpret it right. He guessed, that the heroes mentioned by the oracle were *Periphemus* and *Cybris*, he sailed therefore by night to *Salamis*, and offered at their tombs. This being performed, he gathered a body of five hundred *Athenian* volunteers, who, in case they succeeded, were to have the government of the island. These he imbarcked in a galley of thirty oars and in a considerable number of fishing boats, and setting sail in the evening, arrived the day following in a bay of the isle of *Salamis* which looked towards *Eubœa*. The next morning the whole island was alarmed, though they did not well know on what account ; at last the *Athenian* galley was descried, the *Megarensians* thereupon manned out a stout ship, which doubling the cape in order to attack the galley, was on a sudden surrounded by *Solon's* armed boats, and quickly taken. The *Athenians*, having put to death all the men surprised in this vessel, filled it with their choicest youth dressed in the *Megarensian* habits, which procured them an easy entrance into the port, where, when they arrived, they made all imaginable haste on shore, and attacked those who came to welcome them as their friends. In the mean time the remainder of the *Athenians* marched by land, and attacked the city on the other side with such fury, that it was speedily taken. In memory of this extraordinary event they instituted a solemn feast, during which an *Athenian* ship came as it were privately into the harbour, and the people running down to meet it, an armed man jumped on shore, and ran towards the promontory *Sciradium*, as if to join his companions who had marched by land. Near this place there stood a temple to *Mars*, which was supposed to have been

erected by *Solon* in memory of this victory which put the *Athenians* in possession of the whole island. The rest of the *Megarensians* retired to their own country in virtue of a treaty concluded with *Solon*. The *Megarensians* so highly resented the loss of *Salamis*, that notwithstanding the treaty they presently sent new forces thither, against whom the *Athenians* fought, sometimes with good, sometimes with ill fortune. At last it was decreed to leave this dispute to the *Lacedemonians*, who commissioned the five following persons, viz. *Critolaidēs*, *Amompharetus*, *Hypsechidas*, *Anaxilaus*, and *Cleomenes*, to hear both parties. *Solon* pleaded on this occasion the cause of his country, and some have suggested, that he practised a little fraud to make it go the better; they say, that finding the following verse in *Homer*,

Ajax from *Salamis* twelve frigats brought,
He added thereto,

And ranged his troops where the *Athenians* fought.

FROM whence he would have inferred, that *Salamis* even at that time belonged to the *Athenians*. But the friends of *Solon* assert, that this is an idle story, and that their great orator made use of quite another proof; he made it appear, say they, that *Philæus* and *Euryfaces* the sons of *Ajax* settled at *Athens*, and, being received into the number of citizens, gave up that island to the *Athenians*, *Philæus* becoming so considerable a person, that one of their wards took its name from him. He urged farther, that the persons buried in *Salamis* lay with their faces to the west agreeable to the custom of the *Athenians*, and directly contrary to that of the *Megarensians*, who turned the faces of their dead towards the east; and that moreover only one person was laid in a grave, which likewise corresponded with the practice of the *Athenians*, and differed from the *Megarensian* custom, which was to bury three or four in one grave^a. It would be needless to trouble the reader with any farther circumstances of this debate; let it suffice then to say, that we are informed by *Ælian*, *Solon* carried his cause not by the arts of a fallacious eloquence, but by the force of strong arguments, urged in plain and perspicuous terms^b.

ON the return of *Solon* to *Athens* he was highly extolled by the people, to whom he quickly afforded a new occasion of admiring his wisdom. It happened, that the inhabitants of *Cirrha*, a town seated in the bay of *Corinth*, after having by repeated incursions wasted the territory of *Delphi*, besieged the city itself from a greedy desire of making themselves mas-

^a PLUT. in vita SOLON. DIOGEN. LAERT. vii. cap. 19.

^b Var. Hist. lib.

ters of the mighty riches contained in the temple of *Apollo*. Advice of this being sent to the *Amphictyons*, who were the states-general of *Greece*, *Solon* advised, that this matter should be universally resented, and that all the *Greek* states should immediately join, in saving the *Delphic* oracle and punishing the impiety of the *Cirrheans*, with which the council immediately complied, and decreed a general war against that people. *Solon* was not, however, appointed general of this expedition, as *Hermippus* from another author relates, nor did he command the *Athenian* troops. *Clysthenes*, tyrant of *Sicyon*, commanded in chief, and *Alcmaeon* was general of the *Athenian* quota; *Solon* went, however, as counsellor or assistant to *Clysthenes*, and it was by his advice that the war was conducted to a prosperous issue. For when the *Greek* army had besieged *Cirrha* some time, without any great sign of success, *Apollo* was consulted, who answered,

In vain you hope to take the place before

The sea's blue waves roll o'er the hallowed shore.

THIS response struck the army with surprize, from whence *Solon* extricated them, by advising *Clysthenes* to consecrate solemnly the whole territories of *Cirrha* to the *Delphic Apollo*, whence it would follow, that the sea must wash the sacred coast. *Pausanias* tells us, that he made use of another stratagem, which was this, he caused the channel of the river *Plistus* to be turned, which ran through the city of *Cirrha*, hoping thereby to have distressed the inhabitants for water; but they having a great many wells, his scheme did not thoroughly succeed; which as soon as he perceived, he caused a vast quantity of hellebore roots to be sliced and thrown into the *Plistus*, and when the waters were thoroughly impregnated with the juice of these roots, he caused the river to be turned back into its old channel. The *Cirrheans*, overjoyed at the sight of running water, came down in troops and drank eagerly thereof, upon this an epidemic flux ensued, and the citizens being no longer able to defend the walls, the place was presently taken. Some authors have attributed this to *Clysthenes*, but that was because he commanded in chief, and *Solon* was no more than his counsellor. On the reduction of this place the inhabitants were severely punished, and *Cirrha* became thenceforward the arsenal of *Delphi*.^d

WHEN *Solon* returned home from this expedition, he found all things out of order, the remnant of *Cylon's* faction

^c PLUT. in vita Solon. ^d PAUSAN. in Phocicis. POLYÆN. Strat. lib. iii. c. 7. SUIDAS in voce Σολων.

* began

began to gather strength, and to excite mighty disturbances in the city. The pretence of religion enabled them to do all this. They gave out confidently, that all the misfortunes the republic had met with had their source from the anger of the gods, occasioned by the impious cruelty of *Megacles* and his faction. It happened, that the loss of *Salamis* a second time coincided with this clamour; and now, as many writers report, *Epimenides* came and lustrated the city, which is indeed highly probable, if there were but sufficient authority to fix his arrival at *Athens* so low as this sedition must have happened. But to return to the proper subject of our history: *Solon* interposed on this occasion, and persuaded those who were stiled execrable to abide a trial. To this when they had consented, three hundred persons were chosen to judge them, one *Myron* of the *Phlyensian* ward taking upon him to prosecute; which he did with such effect, that the three hundred condemned such of *Megacles's* faction as were living to perpetual banishment, and caused the bones of such as were dead to be taken up and cast without the limits of their country; thus this sedition was appeased, and *Athens* became once more at rest^c.

THE turbulent disposition of the inhabitants of *Attica* would not suffer them to remain long in quiet, they therefore began to be out of humour with their constitution, though they could not agree how it should be mended. These disputes divided the *Athenians* into three parties, the *Diacrii*, *Pediæi*, and *Paralii*; the first of these were the inhabitants of the hilly country, who declared positively for perfect democracy; the second, dwelling in the lower part of the country, and being far more opulent, were for an oligarchy, supposing, that the government would then be for the most part in their hands; the third party living on the coast were men of moderate principles, and in consequence thereof desired a mixt government. In the midst of these debates there sprang up a new cause of trouble, the rich, taking advantage of the laws, oppressed and enslaved the poorer sort in such a manner, that they were unable to bear it. The meaner people, as *Plutarch* tells us, being indebted to the rich, either tilled their grounds, and paid them the sixth part of their produce, or engaged their bodies for their debts, so that some were made slaves at home, and many sold abroad; nay, to such a pitch was this mischief grown, that many sold their children to pay their creditors, and others in

^c PLUTARCH. in vita Solon. DIOGEN. LAERT. in vita Solonis.

despair quitted *Attica* and went elsewhere. Such, however, as had more spirits than the rest were for throwing off a yoke too heavy to be born ; these began to look about for a leader, declaring openly enough, that they intended to make a thorough change in the government, to free such as their creditors had brought into bondage, and to make a repartition of lands. In this desperate situation the citizens in general cast their eyes upon *Solon*. Those who were in greatest fear of what might happen from present troubles were for exalting him to sovereignty ; nay, the most prudent *Athenians*, when they considered how difficult a thing it would be to reform so disordered a commonwealth by law and reason, inclined to have him created prince. It was likewise asserted, that the oracle of *Apollo* advised the same thing in the following response directed to *Solon* :

Assume the helm, the ship with prudence guide,
And thousands will assist to stem the tide.

WHAT rendered *Solon* so popular was a saying of his, which all liked and few understood ; it was this, *Equality breeds no strife* ; the rich interpreted this of dignity and power, the poor of riches and estate. Those therefore who agreed in nothing else, were unanimous in their respect towards him ; the rich were contented to submit to his decisions, because he was himself a man of fortune, and the poor dreaded nothing from one so mild in temper, and so remarkably honest. The private friends of *Solon* encouraged him to lay hold of so fair an opportunity, and to assume the regal dignity, adding that it was a shame so wise a man should be frightened with a name, and reject a legal sovereignty, because it resembled tyranny. This great man withstood alike the desires of the many, and the persuasions of the few : He assured the former, that he would never become master of his countrymen, and he told the latter, that how fair a spot soever tyranny might seem, it had this misfortune, that it had no passage out ; and when his intimates laughed at this resolution of his, and quoted the example of *Tynardas* tyrant of *Eubæa*, and *Pittacus* at that time prince of *Mitylene*, he contented himself with writing thus to *Phocus*, who it seems pressed him most, to shew that he was steady in his resolution :

That I have *Athens* spar'd, preserv'd my fame,
Nor soil'd my glory with a tyrant's name ;
That, when I might have kill'd, I chose to save,
I blush not, for I think the action brave :
And that I have done more than most men have. }

IT was upon this occasion that *Solon* shewed a spirit of patriotism, which perhaps never had its equal : He condescended so far as to make use of fraud for the good of others, and with a prodigious greatness of soul dissembled with, and cheated both parties, that he might save all. If he would have accepted the tyranny, he would immediately have acquired whatever he could wish, and might have done his country good too ; he refused this as far as it might have benefitted himself, and yet took upon him all the care and trouble of a prince to benefit the people ; thus he demonstrated, that neither fear nor indolence had any share in his resolution^f.

HE was chosen archon without having recourse to lots, and, when he was chosen, he disappointed the hopes of both parties ; wherever he found things tolerably well under the old constitution, he refused to alter them at all, and was at extraordinary pains to explain the reason and necessity of those changes he did make, laying this down as a maxim, *That those laws will be best observed, which power and justice equally support*. He was a perfect judge of human nature, and sought to rule men by shewing them it was their interest to obey, and not by attempting to force them upon whatever he esteemed right : And therefore he answered a person who asked him, *whether he had given the Athenians the best laws in his power ; I have established the best they could receive*. Knowing well, that it was an impossible thing to please all, he made it his utmost care not mightily to displease any ; whence it followed, that none sought to abrogate the laws he gave them.

Solon com-
poses the
dissention
of the A-
thenians.

As to the main occasion of the sedition, viz. the oppressed state of the meaner sort, he certainly took it away in a great measure by a contrivance which he stiled *Sisachthia*, i. e. a discharge ; but what this was authors are not agreed on, some say, that he released all debts then in being, and prohibited for the future the making of any man's body liable for a debt. Others affirm, that the poor were eased, not by cancelling their debts, but by lowering the interest, and encreasing the value of money, a *Mina* which before was worth seventy three drachms only, being by him made equal to a hundred, which was of great advantage to the debtor, and did the creditor no hurt at all. But after all, it is more probable, that the *Sisachthia* was a total discharge or remission, otherwise *Solon* would hardly have boasted in his verses, that by this means he had removed the many marks of mortgages which

^f PLUTARCH, ubi supra. DIOGEN. LAERT, ubi supra.

†

were

were every where frequent ; for the *Athenians* had a custom of hanging up billets to shew, that houses were engaged for such or such a sum of money ; that he had freed from apprehension such as were driven to despair ; called home exiles, whom the dread of their creditors had kept abroad till they had forgot their native language, and delivered from bondage such as were slaves in their native soil. In the midst of all his glory an unlucky accident befel him, which for a time hurt his reputation, and had almost overturned all his schemes. *Conon*, *Clinias*, and *Hipponicus*, his intimate friends, having been consulted by him on an oration he had prepared, to engage the people to consent to the discharge of debts, on a promise that he would attempt nothing as to lands ; these men, betraying the trust he reposed in them, borrowed great sums of money and purchased estates before the edict came out ; this was at first thought to have been the effect of connivance, but this aspersion was presently wiped off, when it appeared, that *Solon* himself was a sufferer, as some say, five talents, others seven, others fifteen, which he had lent out at interest, and which in consequence of his own law he lost : his friends, however, could never recover their credit, but were for ever stigmatized with the opprobrious appellation of *Chreocopidæ*, i. e. *Debt-sinkers* ^s.

THE *Athenians* were as little pleased with *Solon's* management as with their former condition, the rich and the poor were equally dissatisfied ; the former thought he had done too much in cancelling their debts, the latter thought he had done too little, because he had not divided the lands of *Attica* equally amongst them. It is from *Solon* himself that we have this account, and we have it in his usual manner, that is, in verse,

I was your darling heretofore, but now
You look upon me with contracted brow ;
Had any man but I obtain'd your grace,
He would have had a sal'ry with his place.

IN a short time, however, they had wit enough to discover that they were in the wrong, and *Solon* in the right, and they gave at least a more public, if not a more general, token of their repentance, than they had shewn of their displeasure ; for they instituted a solemn sacrifice in testimony of their acquiescing under his institution, and called it *Sisachthia*, at the same time they unanimously elected *Solon* legislator of *Athens*, giving him power, not only to make laws, but to alter and new-model their constitution as he thought proper ^h.

^s PLUTARCH. ubi supra. ^h PLUTARCH. ubi supra, &c.
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THE first thing this great man did, after his country had conferred upon him so extraordinary an office, was, to cancel the laws of *Draco*, excepting only those relating to murder. A proceeding perfectly right, since there is nothing more dishonourable, and at the same time more dangerous, to a state than latent laws, *i. e.* such as are disused, and yet in being, which was the case of *Draco's*; their severity rendered them hateful, but *Solon* took away their authority; nor would he suffer his institutions to bear the same name, as we have already shewn. It was the desire of *Solon* to act in all respects moderately, he therefore resolved to place the dernier resort, as we phrase it, or supreme power, in the people, and to leave the execution of the government to the nobles; with this view he divided the people into four degrees or ranks, the first of these consisted of such whose stock amounted to five hundred *Medimni* or measures of fruit, these he stiled *Pentacosiomedimni*, these paid a talent to the public treasury. The second class consisted of such as were able to keep a horse, or were worth three hundred measures, they were stiled *Hippodatelountes*, *i. e.* bound to find a horse; the third class was made up of such as were worth two hundred measures, they were stiled *Zengita*, which implies a middle rank, because they stood between the knights and the lowest order of the people, who were stiled *Thetes*; these were not admitted to any office, but each of them had his vote in the general assembly of the people, which was thought at first a matter of little consequence, so that the nobility gave themselves no pain about it, though in after-times it was found of the highest consequence, as *Solon* foresaw it would be; the reason of this was this: *Solon* purposely drew up his laws in obscure terms, and allowing in all cases an appeal to the people, doubts often arose, appeals were consequently frequent, and hence, though the common sort could not attain to magistracy, yet they had a mighty power in the state. *Solon* himself was so well satisfied with what he had done in this matter, that he celebrates it in these words, which shew at once what a regard he had for their antient constitution, and for the people in general.

The commons I sufficient weight allow'd,
 Honour from none I took, on none bestow'd;
 In power or wealth, those who the rest outshin'd,
 Within just bounds I by my laws confin'd;
 Thus I preserved, what did to each belong;
 That neither high, nor low, might suffer wrong.

HEREIN consisted the antient democracy of *Athens*; but because that kind of government is in its nature more apt to change than any other, *Solon*, in order to secure it, established

two checks, or, if we may be allowed to make use of his metaphor, threw out two anchors to secure it. The first of these was the court of *Areopagus*, which, though settled long before, had lost much of its power by *Draco's* preferring the *Ephetæ*. In antient times, and till *Solon* became legislator, it consisted of such persons as were most conspicuous in the state for their wealth, power, and probity; but *Solon* made it a rule, that such only should have a seat therein as had served the office of archon; this had the effect he designed, it raised the reputation of the *Areopagites* very high and rendered their decrees so wonderfully venerable, that none contested or repined at them through a long course of ages. The second stay of the *Athenian* commonwealth was the senate, which *Solon* made to consist of four hundred, a hundred out of each tribe. These had the prior cognisance of all that was to come before the people, and nothing could be proposed to the general assembly till digested by them; so that, as far as he was able, he provided against a thirst of arbitrary power in the rich, and a desire of licentious freedom in the commons; the *Areopagus* being a check upon the former, as the senate was a curb on the latter¹.

The general frame of the republic thus settled, he gave the *Athenians* next a body of laws, of which we have still some remaining; these were so much esteemed, that the *Romans* sent ambassadors to *Athens* to transcribe them for the use of their state. As these transcribed laws became the basis of the *Roman Jurisprudence*, which has since been received almost throughout *Europe* under the name of the civil law, we may with reason affirm, that many of *Solon's* constitutions are yet in force. Such as are ascribed to him by antient authors we shall give a concise account of in this place.

WE will begin with one of the most extraordinary statutes *The laws* enacted by this law-giver, and which has given politicians the *of Solon*. most trouble to understand; we are obliged to *A. Gellius* for preserving to us the very words of this law. It runs thus:
 “ If through discord and dissension any sedition or insurrection
 “ rend the people into two parties, so that with exasperated
 “ minds they take arms and fight against each other; he who
 “ at such a time, and in such a case, shall not engage himself
 “ on one side or other, but shall endeavour to retire and separate himself from the evils fallen on his country, let such
 “ a one, losing houses, country, and estate, be sent out an
 “ exile ”². *Cicero*, speaking of this law, by some slip of

¹ POLLUX. lib. viii. cap. 10. PLUTARCH. ubi supra. POTTER'S *Archæologia*. MÆURSIUS. in *SOLON*, &c. ² Noct. Attic. lib. ii. cap. 12.

his memory, makes the penalty capital ^l. *Plutarch* explains the reason of it ^m, as does the author first cited, who highly commends it and says, that though at first sight it may seem dangerous to the public peace, yet in truth it was calculated to support it; for the wise and just, as well as the envious and wicked, being obliged to choose some side, matters were easily accommodated; whereas, if the latter only, as is generally the case in other cities, had the management of factions, they would for private reasons be continually kept up, to the great hurt, if not the utter ruin, of the state ⁿ.

THE Rules which *Solon* gave for bestowing of heiresses, have been very harshly censured; we will put them together, that the reader may see the general intent of the legislator. The next of kin to an heiress may require her in marriage, and she may likewise require him; if he refuses let him pay five hundred drachms for her dowry. If he who possesseth such an inheritrix by law, as her lord and master, be impotent, let it be lawful for her to admit any of her husband's nearest kindred, and let him who has married an heiress be obliged to visit her thrice a month at least. The intent of these injunctions was, that neither a rich heiress might carry the estate out of her family, nor a poor one be in danger of marrying below her birth; as to allowing a woman to make choice of her husband's nearest relation, it might possibly be made *in terrorem*, to prevent persons who knew themselves to be impotent from marrying rich heiresses, whereby such a one defrauded him, to whom by this law the woman was to have recourse, of his due ^o.

HE enacted, that a bride should bring no more with her than three gowns and some slight household goods of little value, and that the bride and bridegroom should be shut into a room together, and there eat a quince; the bride likewise brought an earthen pan, wherein barley was parched, to the house of her husband. The meaning of all this was, that *Solon* desired, as much as in him lay, to render marriage no longer a mercenary business, but a contract of minds founded upon mutual affection; the eating of a quince implied, that their discourses ought to be pleasant to each other, that fruit making the breath sweet; the earthen vessel, which was called *Phrogteon*, signified, that she undertook the business of the house, and would do her part towards providing for the family ^p.

^l Ad Attic. lib. x. E. 1. ^m ubi supra. ⁿ A. GELLIIUS ubi
^o PLUTARCH. ubi supra. DIOD. SICUL. lib. xii. TERENT. Hecyr.
 Act. 1. Scen. ii. ^p PLUTARCH. ubi supra. POLUX, lib. i.
 cap. 2. 15. ISIDOR. Epist. lib. iii. E. 243.

HE ordained, that none should revile the dead, even tho' provoked by the children of the deceased. This law procured him great applause, and had certainly in it much both of humanity and policy. He directed, that none should revile any living person at sacred solemnities, in the courts of justice, or at public spectacles, on pain of paying three drachmæ to the person reviled, and two more to the public treasury. He likewise made a law against slander. This great man knew very well, that a general law against anger could never be put in execution. He therefore contented himself with providing, that the passions of private men should not dishonour religious ceremonies, the justice of the state, or public diversions, and that no passion should excuse calumny ⁹.

BEFORE *Solon's* time, citizens had not the power of making wills, but a man's goods and estates went, whether he would or no, to his heir at law; but *Solon*, having abrogated this custom, enacted, that such as had no children might leave their estates to whom they pleased, preferring friendship to family, and the ties of affection to consanguinity; but then he added this proviso to his law, that the maker of such a will should be in the full possession of his senses, not wrought upon by sickness, potions, bondage, or the blandishments of a wife; wherein he shewed his great wisdom by making no distinction between actual constraints and those imposed by art, both having the same power of putting a man out of his right mind. He likewise ordained, that adopted persons should make no will, but as soon as they had children lawfully begotten, then they were at liberty to return into the family whence they were adopted, or if they continued in it to their death, then they were to return back the estates to the relations of the persons who adopted them ^r.

WITH respect to women and their expences, he made the following laws; when a woman travelled, he permitted her not to carry with her above three gowns, nor to carry any provision above the value of an obolus, her pannier or basket was not to be above a cubit in bigness, nor was she allowed to travel in the night, but in a chariot, and with torch-light. He forbade them likewise to tear their cheeks to procure mourning and lamentation at the funerals of such as they had no relation to: he allowed not, that an ox should be sacrificed at funerals, nor that more than three garments should be buried with them, and he forbade women to approach the monu-

⁹ PLUTARCH. ubi supra. DEMOSTH. in orat. Leptin. ^r PLUTARCH. ubi supra. DEMOSTH. ubi supra.

ments of persons not related to them, except at the time of their interring; these laws were particularly transcribed by the *Romans* ^c.

THE liberty and other emoluments which were enjoyed at *Athens* drawing thither a great concourse of people from other parts, *Solon* foresaw, that this would have bad consequences, if some means were not devised to make these people industrious; he therefore established by law, that a son should be released from all obligation to maintain an aged father, in case that father had not bred him up to some trade. He vested the court of *Areopagus* with a power of examining how people lived, and of punishing idleness: he allowed every man a right to prosecute another for that crime, and in case a person was convicted thereof thrice, he suffered *Atimia*, i. e. *Infamy*. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* agree, that a law of this kind was in use in *Egypt*. It is probable therefore, that *Solon*, who was thoroughly acquainted with the learning of that nation, borrowed it from them; a practice for which the *Greeks* were famous, though at the same time they stiled those nations barbarous from whom their own laws and policy were borrowed ^d.

THE husband who surprised his wife in adultery, was allowed by *Solon* to kill the adulterer: whoever ravished a free woman was to be fined a hundred drachmæ. He who debased himself so low as to become a pander, except to a common woman, suffered a fine of 20 drachmæ; a man was forbid to put either his daughter or sister to the scandalous trade of prostitution, unless he first surprised her with a man: he enacted, that no adulteress should be permitted to adorn herself, and in case she did, he gave liberty to any that thought fit to tear her cloaths off her back, and beat her into the bargain ^e.

To the victor at the *Isthmian* games, *Solon* adjudged the reward of five hundred drachmæ. To the victor in the *Olympic*, he ordered that one hundred should be given. He contracted the rewards bestowed upon wrestlers, esteeming such gratuities useless and even dangerous, tending to encourage idleness, by putting men upon wasting that time in exercises which ought to be spent in providing for their families ^f.

He directed five drachmæ to be given to him who caught a he-wolf, and one to him who took a she-one, the former be-

^c PLUTARCH. ubi supra. CICERO. de Legib. lib. ii. ^d PLUTARCH. ubi supra. VITRUVIUS, præfat. lib. vi. HERODOT. lib. vii. DIOD. SICUL. lib. i. ^e PLUTARCH. ubi supra. LYSIAS, Orat. de cœd. Erat. ^f PLUTARCH. ubi supra.

ing the price of an ox, the latter of a sheep. *Attica* was at this time extremely infested by these creatures, of which this law occasioned a speedy destruction.

WATER being extremely scarce at *Athens* and in its neighbourhood, he ordained, that where there was a public well, all who lived within a *Hippicon*, i. e. *four furlongs* of it, should have leave to use it. They that lived farther off were bound to dig wells for themselves; but if a man digged ten fathom and met with no water, then he might fill a pitcher of six gallons twice a-day at his neighbour's well; and whoever sunk a well was to take care, that it was as far distant from his neighbours as it was deep. If a man planted a tree, he was to see that it was five foot distant from his neighbour's, and if a fig or olive-tree, nine; a hive of bees was to be thirty feet distant; all these tended to the same end, viz. to prevent one man from trespassing on the property of another ^y.

HE enacted, that whoever refused to maintain his parents, or had wasted his paternal estate, should be *atimos*, i. e. *infamous*. It seems *Solon* did not conceive, that a man could be privately bad and publicly good, that one who neglected his duty to his parents should preserve it to the state, or be frugal of his country's revenue when he had spent his own ^z.

SUCH as commonly frequented infamous women, he forbid to make orations, believing, that men without shame were not to be trusted to speak to the people: *Demosthenes* highly commended this law, and exhorted the *Athenians* to take care that it was put in execution, as the surest means to preserve the peace and honour of the republic ^a.

HE forbid a guardian to marry the mother of his ward, and permitted not the next heir to be admitted guardian of the infant; some say, that he forbid likewise a guardian to marry his son to the mother of his ward ^b. All these were beyond question made to hinder collusion, and to bar as far as possible the scandalous practice of cheating minors.

HE enjoined gravers to keep no impressions of the seal-rings they sold; if a man put out the eye of another who had but one eye, he directed, that he should lose both his; as to theft, *Demosthenes* gives us *Solon's* law in these words; "If any man
" steal in the day-time, he may be carried to the eleven offi-
" cers; if he steal any thing by night, it shall be lawful for
" any to kill him, or in pursuit to wound him, and to carry

^y PLUTARCH. ubi. supra. CAIUS de Legib. lib. iv. ^z LIBAN. Declam. xviii. DION. HALYCAR. lib. ii. ^a ÆSCHIN. in Timarch. DEMOSTH. in Androt. ^b DIOGEN. LAERT. ubi supra.

“ him to the eleven officers. Whosoever is convicted of
 “ such offences as are liable to chains, shall not be capable of
 “ giving bail for his theft, but his punishment shall be death;
 “ and if any one steal out of the *Lyceum*, or the *Academy*, or
 “ *Cynosarges*, a garment, or a small vessel of wine, or any
 “ other thing of little value, or some vessel out of the *gymnasia*
 “ or havens, he shall be punished with death; but if any
 “ man shall be convicted privately of theft, it shall be law-
 “ ful for him to pay a double value, and it shall be also at
 “ the pleasure of the convicter, besides payment of money,
 “ to put him in chains five days and as many nights, so as all
 “ men may see him bound” ^c.

By his laws, an archon taken in drink was to be punished with death, *Solon* wisely conceiving, that a magistrate guilty of such an offence must be rendered vile and contemptible in the eyes of the people. He decreed, that in case a man surprised his wife in adultery and lived with her afterwards, he should be deemed infamous; he compelled children to be dutiful to their parents, permitting the latter in case of disobedience to disinherit and turn them out of doors: he condemned such as avoided going to war, fled from the army, or shewed any other flagrant sign of cowardice, to be expelled the sanctified precincts of the forum, to be for ever debarred from wearing a crown or wreath, and from being allowed to enter any places of public worship. He appointed it for a statute, that a citizen of *Athens* should be tried no where but at *Athens*, and that the eldest citizens should first make orations, but with the greatest modesty, and without any endeavours to stir the passions of the people; afterwards he ordered, that all should speak according to their seniority, and have leave to deliver their opinions freely on any matter in debate; but he prohibited young men, however wise they might be esteemed, either to become magistrates, or to make orations to the people ^d.

It was a maxim established by this wise legislator, that the common people should be punished slowly, but magistrates and persons in authority suddenly, assigning for it this reason, that the former might be punished at any time, but that in correcting the latter there ought to be no delay. As to funerals, the expence of which was in his time excessive, *Demosthenes* recites his directions in these words; “ Let the dead bodies be
 “ laid out within the house, according as the deceased gave or-
 “ der, and the day following before sun-rise carried forth;
 “ whilst the body is carrying to the grave, let the men go be-

^c *DEMOSTH.* in *Timocr.*
 in *Chrysip.*

^d *DEMOSTH.* ubi supra. *ÆSCHIN.*

“ fore, the women follow : it shall not be lawful for any
 “ woman to enter upon the goods of the dead, and to follow
 “ the body to the grave under threescore years of age, except
 “ such as are within the degree of cousins” ^c. *Cicero* reports,
 that with respect to sepulchres, he enacted, no man should
 demolish them or bring any new thing into them, and that
 such should be punished as demolished any monument erected
 to the memory of the dead ^f. From these laws of his institu-
 ting it appears, that his philosophy did not lead him to trespass
 on those notions of humanity commonly received in his coun-
 try ; he sought to moderate the extravagance of their funerals,
 but at the same time permitted all reasonable honours to be paid
 to the memory of such as were defunct.

WE will conclude our account of *Solon*’s laws with two or
 three which had more regard to the society, than to the interest
 of private persons. He ordained, that if one citizen injured
 another, any *Athenian* might have his action against him ^g ;
 hence it is evident, he regarded each individual as a member
 of the body politic, which could not be hurt without affecting
 all the other members ; and thus he provided against the power
 of the great ; for though a poor man who was injured might
 think fit to acquiesce, yet a person of equal rank with the ag-
 gressor, might, either out of a principle of justice or of rival-
 ship, commence a prosecution on that account. *Solon* institu-
 ted feasts in the common halls under the title of *public Meals*,
 but he forbade, that the same person should be entertained often,
 and ordered such to be fined as did not come in their turns,
 ascribing the former offence to greediness, the latter to a con-
 tempt of the public ^h. He forbade any strangers to be natura-
 lized at *Athens*, who were not either perpetual exiles from
 their own country, or, out of love to *Athens*, had brought
 their whole families to settle there, so as to have no interest
 in another place ⁱ : he provided for the children of such as
 were slain in the service of the state, by directing, that they
 should be brought up and instructed at the public expence till
 they were twenty years old ^k. He made but few laws relating
 to religion, and against parricides he made none, assigning for
 it this reason, *that he scarce believed any Athenian would be so*
wicked ^l.

HE shewed the excellence of his knowledge by correcting
 the irregularity of months ; for considering that the course of
 the moon did not agree with the rising and setting of the sun,

^c Orat. in Macart. ^f De Legib. lib. ii. ^g PLUT. ubi supra.

^h Id. ibid. ⁱ MEURS. in Solon. ^k ARISTIDES in Panathen.

^l MAXIM. TYR. Diff. xxxix. CICERO. Orat. pro Rosc.

but that sometimes she overtook and passed him in the same day, he ordered such a day to be called the last and the first, attributing that part of the day which preceded the conjunction to the old moon, and that which succeeded it to the new. The next day he ordered to be called *Noumenia*, i. e. *the new moon*, and for these alterations he is reckoned by *Plutarch* to have been the first who understood a verse in *Homer*, wherein mention is made of a day *wherein one month ended, and the next began* (H).

HE

(H) It is a point worthy of observation, that the antient heroes gained their reputation as much from the strength of their wits as of their arms, and that though some excelled in valour, others in wisdom, yet in all there was a happy mixture of both. *Hercules*, so famed for his labours, instructed the *Greeks* in astronomy, which he learned from *Atlas*, and is thence said by the poets to have borne for a time the heavens upon his shoulders. *Numa*, as he gave laws to *Rome*, reformed the *Roman* kalendar, and in succeeding times, *Julius Cæsar*, when he had reduced his enemies, purged away those errors which were grown hoary among his countrymen, and is celebrated not as a lover only of this science of astronomy, but as a consummate master therein. Such also was *Solon* for the times in which he lived; for though some have pretended to ascribe the honour of introducing astronomy into *Greece* to *Oenopidas* of *Chios*, or *Anaxagoras* the *Clazomenian*, yet it is certain, that they were no more than the improvers of it; the first principles of this art came certainly into *Greece* with its first planters and were from time to time cultivated by such as either came out of *Egypt* or the east, and settled in *Greece*, or had at least travelled into those countries. *Thales* the *Milesian*, and *Pythagoras* the *Samian*, were the two great masters who brought the undigested notions of the heavenly system, which hitherto had amused the *Greeks*, into tolerable form; and this they did by dint of their acquaintance with the learning of foreign nations. As to *Homer*, in whose poems we meet with the first seeds of all the various kinds of ancient literature, we find, that he describes the heroical year, as divided not into months, but by the seasons. The returns of seed-time and harvest, the constant revolutions of labour and rest in consequence of the annual returns of fair and foul weather, served well enough to mark the succession of events, and therefore it was an act of judgement in this great poet to make use of these characters in his account of a battle (21), as he elsewhere introduces *Achilles* measuring the day, not by hours, but by the more obvious division of morning, noon, and evening (22). We are not to infer from hence, that years and months were not known in the time of *Homer*; the contrary appears from several passages in

(21) *Iliad*. λ. v. 84. (22) *Iliad*. φ. v. 3.

HE procured his laws to be ratified for a hundred years, and caused them to be conserved in different tables. Such as related

his poems, and particular'y from this very line which *Solon* is said to have been the first who penetrated its true sense :

Τῷ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνὸς τῷ δ' ἵσταμενοιο,

When one month ended and the next began (23).

Thales divided the year into twelve months, making each month consist of thirty days, and the year consequently of three hundred and sixty days; but finding, that this year did not answer the motion of the sun, he intercalated thirty days at the end of two full years; which intercalation, because it happened at the beginning of the third year, some have mistaken for a triennial period. It is easy to perceive, that this method of *Thales* must in a short time have introduced great confusion, there being a redundancy of almost ten days in a year (24). *Solon* discovered this, and not only discovered it, but discovered its cause, or at least its principal cause, which was *Thales's* maxim, that the moon performed her revolution in thirty days, which *Solon* found to be false, and that the true time was twenty-nine days and a half. This account sets what has been said above in a clear light, and shews with what justice *Solon* was applauded for his skill, as an astronomer; let us see with what dexterity he applied that skill as a legislator: he did not alter the number of months which *Thales* had fixed, but directed, that each of them should be accounted twenty-nine or thirty days alternately; by this means a lunar year was formed of three hundred fifty-four days; but perceiving, that this would leave things still in confusion, he invented a method of reconciling it to the solar year, which was thus; at the end of two years he directed a month of twenty two days to be intercalated, and at the end of a second two years he ordered, that a month of twenty-three days should be intercalated; now if we take all these sums together we shall find, that the number of days in *Solon's* cycle of four years was one thousand four hundred sixty one, the fourth part of which is three hundred sixty five and a quarter, the true solar year, as it was then accounted. *Solon* likewise engaged the *Athenians* to divide their months into three parts, stiled the *beginning*, *midling*, and *ending*; each of these consisted of ten days, when the month was thirty days long, and the last of nine, when it was nine and twenty days long. In speaking of the two first parts they reckoned according to the usual order of numbers, *viz.* the first day of the moon beginning, the second day of the midling moon, but with respect to the last part of the month they reckoned backwards, that is, instead of saying the first day of the ending moon, they said the tenth day of the ending moon, and instead of the second the ninth day, and so on to the last. This is a circumstance that must be carefully noted; for without being aware of it,

(23) *Odyss.* §. v. 161.

(24) *Diog. Laert. in vit. Thal.*

related to private actions in parallelograms of wood, with cases which reached from the ground and turned about upon a pin like a wheel, from whence they were called *Axones*, placed first in the citadel and then in the *Prytanæum*, that his people might see them when they pleased, and some remains there were of them even in *Plutarch's* time. Such as concerned public orders and sacrifices were contained in triangular tables of stone called *Cyrbes*^m; the *Athenian* magistrates were sworn to observe both; in time, these monuments of his wisdom became so famous, that all public acts were from them named *Axones* and *Cyrbes*, as we are informed by *Harpocration* and *Suidas*ⁿ.

AFTER his laws were promulgated, some or other were coming to him daily to have them explained, to know the reasons on which they were founded, and to advise him to alter this or that, according as their humour or interest led them, which importunities made him so uneasy, that to avoid them he resolved to travel. For he considered, that not to answer these people would argue pride, and that the answering them would beget great inconveniencies: with this view he bought a ship, and, pretending an inclination to trade, prevailed on the *Athenians* to permit him to be absent for ten years, during which space he hoped his laws would become familiar to them^o.

IT will not be amiss to interrupt the *Athenian* history here, in order to insert our promised account of the republic, a thing so necessary, that we could not proceed farther without confounding the reader. For the sake of perspicuity we shall not tie ourselves to the form settled by *Solon*, but give a concise history of the *Athenian* government, as it subsisted in succeeding times, that we may not be obliged at every turn to insert notes for the explaining those terms which may once for all be rendered familiar, by introducing such an account of the *Athenian* commonwealth in this place.

^m PLUT. ubi supra. POLLUX, viii. 10.
'Αξωνες & Κυρβες.

^o PLUTARCH. ubi sup.

ⁿ In vocibus

it is impossible to understand many passages in ancient authors. As for instance in *Aristophanes's* comedy of the clouds, a man speaking of the manner in which interest became due, reckons the days thus; *five, four, three, two, and the most abominable of all days that of the old and new moon*. Thus much as to *Solon's* knowledge in astronomy, we shall in its proper place give a farther account of the *Attic* year (25).

(25) *Conjarin. de Die Natal. Hen. Dodwell. de An. vet. Græc. Stanley's life of Solon cum mult. al.*

IN the first place it will be necessary to take a short view of the city of *Athens*. In the most early times, that which was afterwards called the citadel was the whole city, and went under the name of *Cecropia* from its founder *Cecrops*, whom the *Athenians* in after-times affirmed to have been the first builder of cities, and called this therefore by way of eminence *Polis*, i. e. *The city*. In the reign of *Erichthonius* it lost the name of *Cecropia*, and acquired that of *Athens*, on what account is not certain; the most probable is, that it was so named in respect to the goddess *Minerva*, whom the *Greeks* called *Athene*, who was always esteemed its protectress^p. This old city was seated on the top of a rock in the midst of a large and pleasant plain, which, as the number of inhabitants increased, became full of buildings, which induced the distinction of *Acro* and *Catapolis*, i. e. *of the upper, and lower city*; the extent of this citadel was sixty stadia, it was surrounded by olive-trees, and fortified, as some say, with a strong palisade; in succeeding times it was encompassed with a strong wall in which there were nine gates, one very large one, and the rest small. The inside of the citadel was adorned with innumerable edifices, concerning which the curious reader may thoroughly inform himself from the treatise written expressly on this subject by a learned person already mentioned^q (I).

The

^p ARISTID. Panathen. STEPHAN. voce 'Αθήνας. ^q PLUTARCH. in PERICL. PAUSAN. Atticis. HARPOCRAT. ARISTID. ubi supra.

(I) This learned person is the celebrated *John Meursius*, to whom the learned world stands indebted for the most laboured pieces which perhaps ever came from the pen of a critic; he was by birth a *Dutchman*, but he studied the civil law at *Orleans*, where he became very early remarkable for his love, or rather for his passion, towards *Greek* learning. Amongst other pieces he wrote that referred to in the text under the title of *Cecropia*, or, *the citadel of Athens*, and its antiquities in one book; this treatise consists of thirty-two chapters, and contains a prodigious display of its author's learning; almost every passage in the *Greek* authors, relating to the subject, is there to be found in the proper words of the author, with a very exact *Latin* translation, which was added, as the author tells us, in the second edition, at the desire of several ingenious persons in *Spain* and *Italy*, who had requested it by letter. Upon which *Meursius* makes this reflection, that, as things stood, it was indeed reasonable and necessary, since there were not many who affected the *Greek* learning, and of those the greater part rather loved than understood it. The inquisitive and intelligent reader may find a multitude of curious particulars accurately digested in
this

The most remarkable of these were, The magnificent temple of *Minerva*, stiled *Parthenion*, because that goddess was a virgin; the *Persians* destroyed it, but it was rebuilt with still greater splendor by the famous *Pericles*, all of the finest marble, with such skill and strength, that, in spite of the rage of time and barbarous nations, it remains perhaps the first antiquity in the world, and stands as a witness to the truth of what antient writers have recorded of the prodigious magnificence of *Athens* in her flourishing state. The temple of *Nep-tune* and of *Minerva*, for it was divided into two parts, one sacred to the god, in which was the salt fountain said to have sprung upon the stroke of his trident; the other to the goddess protectress of *Athens*, wherein was the sacred olive which she produced, and her image which fell down from heaven in the reign of *Erichonius*, both which edifices are still remaining. At the back of *Minerva's* temple was the public treasury, which was burnt to the ground through the knavery of the treasurers, who, having misapplied the revenues of the state, took this short method of making up their accounts^r. The lower city comprehended all the buildings surrounding the citadel, the fort *Munychia*, and the havens *Phalerum* and *Piræus*, the latter of which was joined to the city by walls five miles in length; that on the north was built by *Pericles*, but that on the south by *Themistocles*; but by degrees the turrets, which were at first erected on these walls, were turned into dwelling-houses for the accommodation of the *Athenians*, whose large city was now become too small for them. The city, or rather the lower city, had thirteen great gates, with the names of which it is not necessary to trouble the reader. Among the principal edifices which adorned it, we may reckon the temple of *Theseus* erected by *Conon*, near its centre adjacent thereto the young people performed their exercises. It was also a sanctuary for distressed persons, slaves or free: It remains intire to this day, and is used as a church, being dedicated to St. *George*. The *Olympian* temple, erected in honour of *Jupiter*, the honour of *Athens* and of all *Greece*;

^r PAUSAN. ubi supra. HARPOCRAT. &c. SIR GEORGE WHEELER's Travels.

this laboured history, or if he is not inclined to take so much pains, he may peruse a very succinct abridgment of *Meursius's* book in Dr. *Potter's* excellent antiquities of *Greece*, to whom we are in a great measure beholden for this part of our history of *Athens* (26).

(26) Vide Gronov. Thes. Antiq. Græc. Vol. IV.

the foundation of it was laid by *Pisistratus*, it was carried on but slowly in succeeding times, seven hundred years elapsing before it was finished, which happened under the reign of *Adrian*, who was particularly kind to *Athens*; this was the first building in which the *Athenians* beheld pillars. The pantheon, dedicated to all the gods; a most noble structure, supported by 120 marble pillars, and having over its great gate two horses carved by *Praxiteles*; it is yet remaining, as we shall have occasion to shew hereafter, when we come to speak of the present state of this famous city. In several parts of it were *Stoai* or porticoes, wherein people walked in rainy weather, and from whence a sect of philosophers were denominated *stoics*, because their master *Zeno* taught in these porticoes^f. There were at *Athens* two places called *Ceramicus* from *Ceramus* the son of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*; one within the city, containing a multitude of buildings of all sorts, the other in the suburbs, in which was the academy and other edifices. The *Gymnasia* of *Athens* were many, but the most remarkable were the *Lyceum*, *Academia*, and *Cynosarges*. The *Lyceum* stood on the banks of *Ilissus*, some say it was built by *Pisistratus*, others by *Pericles*, others by *Lycurgus*. Here *Aristotle* taught philosophy, instructing such as came to hear him as they walked, whence his disciples are generally thought to derive the name of *Peripatetics*^g. The *Ceramicus* without the city was at the distance of six stadia from its walls, the academy made part thereof, as to the name of which there is some dispute; some affirm, that it was so called from *Academus* an antient hero, who, when *Helen* was stolen by *Theseus*, discovered the place where she lay hid to *Castor* and *Pollux*, for which reason the *Lacedemonians*, when they invaded *Attica*, always spared this place^h. *Dicæarchus* writes, that *Castor* and *Pollux* had two *Arcadians* in their army, the one named *Echedemus*, the other *Marathus*, from the former of these he says this place took its name, and that the borough of *Marathon* was so called from the otherⁱ. It was a marshy unwholesome place, till *Cimon* was at great pains to have it drained, and then it became extremely pleasant and delightful, being adorned with shady walks, where *Plato* read his lectures, and from thence his scholars were stiled *Academics*^j. The *Cynosarges* was a place in the suburbs, not far from the *Lyceum*; it was famous on many accounts, but particularly for a noble gymnasium erected there, appointed for the special

^f ATHENÆUS. Deip. l. viii. ^g SUIDAS, & al. ^h PLUT. in vit. Thes.
ⁱ Poem. apud. Gronov. Thes. Græc. Vol. IV.
^j HORAT. Ep. lib. ii. E. ii. PLUTARCH. in vit. Thesci.

use of such as were *Athenians* only by one side ; in after-times *Themistocles* derived to himself ill-will, by carrying many of the nobility to exercise with him here, because being but of the half-blood he could exercise no where else ; in this gymnasium *Antisthenes* instituted a sect of philosophers, who from the name of this district, as many think, were stiled *Cynics*². The havens of *Athens* were three, first the *Piræus*, about 35 or 40 stadia from the city, till joined thereto by the long walls before mentioned, after which it became the principal harbour of the city ; it had three docks, *Cantharos*, *Aphrodisium*, and *Zea*, the first was so called from an antient hero, the second from the goddess *Venus*, who had there two temples, and the third from bread-corn. There were in this port five porticoes, which joining together formed one great one called from thence *Macra Stoa*, or *the long portico* ; there were likewise two great markets or *Fora*, one near the long portico, the other near the city. The second port was *Munychia*, a promontory not far distant from *Piræus*, a place very strong by nature, and afterwards rendered far stronger by art. It was of this that *Epimenides* said, if the *Athenians* foresaw what mischief it would one day produce to them, they would eat it away with their teeth. The third was *Phalerum*, distant from the city according to *Thucydides* 35 stadia^a, but according to *Pausanias* only 20^b. This was the most antient harbour of *Athens*, as *Pyræus* was the most capacious. As to the extent of this city and other particulars, the reader will meet with them at the bottom of the page (K).

THE

² PLUTARCH. in vit. Themist. DIOC. LAERT. in vit. Antisthen.
^a Bell. Pelop. lib. ii. ^b In Arcad.

(K) If *Athens* eclipsed other cities by her fame for arms and arts, she was no less conspicuous for her beauty, as appears from two authentic testimonies, the accounts given us by antient authors, and the relations exhibited by modern travellers ; we had once an intention of comparing these, but considering that it would have taken up a great deal of room, and have interrupted too much the course of the history, we have chosen to refer the description of *Athens*, as it now stands, till we come to speak of the present state of the *Moræa*. It may not, however, be amiss to observe, that *Aristides*, an author who wrote expressly on this subject, affirms, that *Athens* in her glory was a day's journey in compass ; those who have thought this account too general inform us, that it was one hundred seventy eight stadia in circumference, that is, something more than twenty two *Roman* miles. After it fell from its antient splendor, it endured great variety of fortune. *Sylla* destroyed it without mercy, made its streets overflow with blood, and taught its most superb buildings

THE people of *Athens* were *freemen*, *sojourners*, or *slaves*; the citizens, called in *Greek* *Politai*, were never very numerous, but what may seem strange were as many in the time of *Cecrops*, as in the most flourishing state of the commonwealth, hardly ever exceeding twenty thousand c. It was *Solon* who decreed, that none should be accounted free, but such as were *Athenians* both by father and mother. After his time it fell into disuse, till revived by *Pericles*, and again at his instance repealed. After the expulsion of the thirty tyrants *Solon's* law was restored. A person born of a stranger was stiled *Nothos*, a *bastard*, whereas the son of a free woman was called *Gnesios*, i. e. *legitimate*. There was in the *Cynosarges* a court of judicature, to which causes of illegitimacy properly belonged, and the utmost care was taken to prevent any from being inrolled *Athenian* citizens, who had not a clear title thereto d. The citizens, for at present we will not meddle with the strangers and slaves, were divided by *Cecrops* into four tribes, the first called *Cecropes* from *Cecrops*, the second *Autochthon*, from a king of that name, the third *Actai* from *Acteus* another king of *Athens*, or rather from *Acte* which signifies a *shore*, the 4th *Paraloi*; these names were altered by *Cranus*, and again by *Erichthonius*. In the reign of *Erethheus* they were again changed, the soldiers were cal-

c PLUT. in vit. Periclis. ATHENÆUS. Deipnos. lib. vi. d PLUTARCH. ubi supra. POLLUX, lib. iii.

buildings to submit to the flames. It provoked *Julius Cæsar* by an obstinate resistance, but when it submitted at last, he contented himself with saying, *That he pardoned the living for the sake of the dead*, and neither hurt the city nor its inhabitants. They sided with *Brutus* against the *Triumvirate*, and with *Anthony*, who called himself a *Lover of Athens*, against *Augustus*. *Tiberius*, or at least his son *Germanicus*, favoured them, but it was to *Adrian*, who had been archon of their city, that the *Athenians* owed the revival of their antient lustre. The succeeding emperors took a pleasure in adorning it, but the *Goths*, in the reigns of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, destroyed it as they did the other cities of *Greece*. *Theodosius* the second out of respect to his empress caused it to be re-edified. This may serve to make the description in the text perfectly intelligible; for as to its fortune in later times, that must be referred to the subsequent part of this history, of which it will be the proper subject; the curious reader may, however, if he pleases, consult the very learned *Meursius*, in his elaborate work referred to at the bottom of the page (27).

(27) Meurs. de Fort. Athen. apud. Gronov. Thesaur. Antiq. Græc. Vol. IV.

led *Oplitai*, the craftsmen *Ergatai*, the farmers *Georgoi*, the graziers and shepherds *Aigicorai*; in this state they were when *Solon* settled the commonwealth, and appointed the senate to be composed of four hundred, one hundred out of each tribe ^c. *Clysthenes* encreased the number of the tribes to ten, and made the senate consist of five-hundred, taking fifty out of each tribe; in succeeding times two other tribes were added, each tribe was subdivided into its *Demoi* or *wards*, and with respect to these it was that *Solon* instituted the public feasts beforementioned, at which sometimes the whole tribe assembled, sometimes several wards, and sometimes only the inhabitants^d of one ward. The second sort of inhabitants we mentioned were called *Metoicoi*, i. e. *sojourners*; these were persons who lived always at *Athens*, yet were not admitted free denizens; as for such as did not constantly reside in *Athens*, they were stiled *Xenoi*, i. e. *strangers*. The sojourners were obliged to choose out of the citizens protectors who were stiled *Patrons*; they paid several services to the state, and besides these an annual tribute of twelve drachms for every man, and six for every woman; but such as had sons, and paid for them, were exempted; if people fell to poverty and were not able to pay this tribute, they were seized by the tax-masters and actually sold for slaves, which, as *Diogenes Laertius* tells us, was the fate of *Xenocrates* the philosopher^e; the sojourners in *Attica* were under the same law as those in *Athens*; as to servants, they were freemen, who through indigency were driven to receive wages, and while they were in this state had no vote in the assembly; as to slaves they were absolutely the property of their masters, and as such were used as they thought fit; they were forbidden to wear cloaths, or to cut their hair like their masters, and, which is indeed amazing, *Solon* prohibited them to love boys as if that had been honourable: they were likewise debarred from anointing or perfuming themselves and from worshipping certain deities; they were not allowed to be called by honourable names, and in most other respects were used like dogs. They stigmatized them at their pleasure, that is, branded them with letters in the forehead and elsewhere; however, *Theseus's* temple was allowed them as a sanctuary, where if they were exceedingly ill-used they might fly, and thereby oblige their masters to let them be turned over; in this and many other respects the *Athenian* slaves were in a much better condition than those throughout the rest of *Greece*; they were permitted to get estates for themselves, giving a small

^c PLUTARCH. in vit. Solon. POLLUX, lib. viii. c. 9. ^e In vit. XENOCR.

premium to their masters, who were obliged to make them free if they could pay their ransom; they likewise obtained the same favour from the kindness of their masters, or for having rendered military services to [the state; when they were made free they were obliged to choose patrons, and had likewise the privilege of choosing a curator, who, in case their patrons injured them, was bound to defend them^s. Having thus spoken of the people in general, let us return to the consideration of the *Athenian* citizens in their political capacity (L).

THE

^s PLUTARCH. in vit. Solon. ARISTOPH. in Avibus. &c. POL-
LUX, lib. vii. PLAUTUS, &c. -

(L) In *Cecrops's* time the citizens were, as we have said above, twenty thousand; under the administration of *Pericles*, when the *Athenian* power was at its greatest height, they were not so many (28). When *Demetrius* the *Phalerean* presided over them there was an exact account taken of the several sorts of inhabitants within the city, as we are informed by *Athenæus*, from whence it appeared, that there were twenty one thousand citizens, ten thousand sojourners or foreigners, and four-hundred thousand slaves (29). The knowledge of this is a material thing, for without it it would be a difficult matter to account for the smallness of the *Athenian* armies. At the time of *Cecrops's* poll the whole number of his subjects was without doubt included; in early times they were glad of citizens; but when *Athens* rose in power and glory, she set a high value upon this dignity. *Menon*, who sent them a supply of two hundred horse, was refused the freedom of *Athens* when he desired it (30). *Perdiccas* king of *Macedonia*, who had done them great services, could obtain no more than a right of dwelling in the city with an exemption from taxes; but though they were thus stiff in respect to persons of high quality, they were more pliable towards men of distinguished merit. *Hippocrates* the physician was readily admitted a citizen of *Athens*, and the same favour was granted to all the inhabitants of *Platæa*, for their seasonable assistance in the *Persian* war. It was only the general assembly of the people which could confer this privilege. Nay, when it was conferred, the grant was not valid unless ratified in a second assembly, wherein six thousand citizens were present. And as this honour was generally sued for by persons of eminent distinction, the people gave their votes privately by putting little stones into vessels, that no sort of undue influence might reach them; if, after all these ceremonies, it appeared, that the person on whom it was conferred was unworthy, there was a power lodged of taking it away in the court of

(28 *Plutarch. in vit. Pericli.*
Potter's Arch. Vol. I. p. 44.

(29) *Deipnos. lib. vi.* (30)

THE general assembly of the people, which *Solon*, as we have shewn before, made the dernier resort, was called *Ecclesia*, and consisted of all the freemen of *Athens*, excepting such as were *atimoi* or *infamous*. The meetings of these assemblies were either ordinary or extraordinary. The ordinary were such as were appointed by law, the extraordinary such as necessity required. Of the first there were four in five and thirty days, for reasons which will be hereafter given. In the first assembly they approved or rejected magistrates, heard proposals for the public good, and certain causes. In the second they received petitions, and heard every man's judgment on the matters that were before them. In the third they gave audience to foreign ambassadors. The fourth was employed altogether in affairs relating to the gods and their worship. The extraordinary meetings were appointed by the magistrates when occasion required, whereas to the ordinary assemblies the people came of their own accord. The first were held either in the market-place, in the *Pnyx* a place near the citadel, and in the theatre of *Bacchus*; as to the latter, the magistrates who appointed the extraordinary meeting, appointed also the place where it should be held. If any sudden tempest rose, or an earthquake happened, or any sign notoriously inauspicious appeared, the assembly was immediately adjourned, to prevent the people

Areopagus; nor are instances of this sort wanting in the *Athenian* story (31). As to the foreigners or sojourners, though they were incapable of the honours belonging to free citizens, yet if they manifested an extraordinary love towards the state by any shining action, they had a sort of half-freedom bestowed upon them, whereby they were exempted from the taxes they bore before, and in respect to pecuniary matters, were on the same foot with free denizens; this they stiled *Ateleia* (32). Such *Athenians* as through poverty, became servants, were stiled *Pelatæ*; except the right of voting, they enjoyed all the rights of free citizens, they changed their masters when they thought fit, and in case they found themselves in a condition to live in a state of independency, they were restored to their votes, and their servitude was no more imputed to them as a bar to their preferment (33). As to slaves, they on their coming to a new place had a handsome entertainment given them, and sweetmeats thrown over their heads, as it were to welcome them to their service, which, if they fell into good hands, was sometimes easy enough, but for this they were obliged not to the gentleness of their laws, but of their masters.

(31) *Demost. Orat. in Neeram.*
Hyperides. (33) *Pollux. lib. iii. c. 8.*

(32) *Suidas. Harpocration.*

from apprehending unhappy consequences from their deliberations. But if the weather was fair and serene, and nothing happened out of the ordinary course of things, they proceeded to purify the place where the assembly was held, which was done by sprinkling it round with the blood of young pigs, then the cryer made a solemn prayer for the prosperity of the republic, and that heaven would bestow a happy issue on their councils and undertakings; he then pronounced a bitter execration against any who should in that assembly propound what might be disadvantageous to the state; these ceremonies over, they proceeded to business. There were several magistrates who had the overseeing and regulating of these assemblies; these were first the *Epistate*, or *president of the assembly*, who was chosen by lot out of the *Proedri*; his office was to give the signal for the peoples voting; next to him were the *Prytanes*, i. e. *a committee of the senate*, who of course were present on this occasion; by their order a *programma*, or *scheme* of the business to be proposed at the assembly, was previously set up in some public place, that every man might know what business to apply his thoughts to. The *Proedri* were nine in number, appointed by lots out of all the tribes to which the *Prytanes* did not belong; they had the right of proposing to the people what they were to deliberate upon, and their office ended with the assembly; there sat with them assessors, who were to take care that nothing they proposed was detrimental to the commonwealth; the first step to business was the cryer's reading the decree of the senate whereon the assembly was to deliberate; when he had finished this, he made proclamation in these words; *Who of the men above fifty will make an oration?* When the old men had done speaking, the cryer made proclamation again, that any *Athenian* might then offer his sentiments whom the law allowed so to do, that is, all such as were above thirty years old and were not infamous. If any other rose up to speak, the *Prytanes* interposed, and bid him be silent, and if he did not obey them, the *Lictors* pulled him down by force. When the debates were over, the president permitted the people to vote, which they did by casting first beans, but in aftertimes pebbles, into certain vessels; these were counted, and then it was declared, that the decree of the senate was either rejected or approved, after which the *Prytanes* dismissed the assembly ^b.

HAVING spoken of the people, their privileges, and assemblies, let us now proceed to the senate, which, as we

^b Vide SIGON. & URBO. EMERUS. Rep. Athen.

have already shewn, was instituted by *Solon* to prevent the dangerous consequences of leaving the supreme power in the people; at the time of his institution it was to consist of four hundred, a hundred out of each tribe, it was increased to five hundred, when the tribes were augmented to ten, and when they came to twelve, it was also swelled to six hundred. They were elected by lots after this manner: At a day appointed, towards the close of the year, the president of each tribe gave in a list of such persons belonging thereto, as were fit for and desired to appear for this dignity; these names were engraven on tablets of brass, and a number of beans equal to the number of the amount of them, among which were a hundred white ones, put into a vessel, then the names of the candidates and the beans were drawn one by one, and such as were drawn by the white beans were received into the senate¹. After the senate was elected, they proceeded to appoint the officers who were to preside in the senate: These were the *Prytanes* before mentioned, and they were elected thus; the names of the ten tribes were thrown into one vessel, and nine black beans and a white one into another vessel. Then the names of the tribes were drawn with the beans. The tribe to which the white bean answered presided first, and the rest according to the order in which they were drawn. The time in which they presided was thirty five days, and was called *Prytania*, the *Attic* year being by this means divided into ten parts. Some authors say, that the first four *Prytania* contained thirty six days in order to make the lunar year complete, which according to their computation consisted of 354 days; but others affirm, that these four days did not belong to any of the *Prytania*, but were spent in the election of magistrates, and that during this space the *Athenians* were without magistrates^k. The *Prytanes* while the senate consisted of five hundred were fifty in number; for the farther avoiding of confusion therefore, ten of these presided a week, during which space they were called *Proedri*, and out of these an *Epistate* or president was chosen, whose office lasted but one day, and by law no man could hold it more than once; the reason of this was, that he had in his custody the public seal, the keys of the citadel, and the charge of the exchequer^l. The reader must distinguish between the *Epistates* and *Proedri* last mentioned, and those spoken of in the former paragraph,

¹ STEPH. BYZANT. de Urb.
HARPOCRAT.

^k POLLUX, l. viii. c. 9.
^l POLLUX, ubi supra.

because

because though their titles were the same, their offices were perfectly distinct. The senate assembled by direction of the *Prytanes* once every day, excepting festivals, and sometimes oftener, in the senate-house, which was thence called *Prytanium*. When a member of the senate made a motion for a new law, it was immediately engraven on tablets, that the members when they came next might be prepared to speak to it; at the subsequent assembly the *Epistate* opened the matter, after which every senator that pleased delivered his sentiments, then any of the *Prytanes* drew up the decree, and repeated it aloud; after which they proceeded to vote, and if there was a majority of white beans, then it became *Psephisma*, and was afterwards propounded to the people; if they approved it, it became a law, otherwise it was of no force longer than the senate who decreed it subsisted. The power of the senate was very great, for they took the accounts of magistrates at the expiration of their offices; they directed the provision made for poor citizens out of the public treasure; they had the superintendency of public prisons, and a power of punishing such as committed acts morally evil, though not prohibited by any law; they had the care likewise of the fleet, and besides all these they had many other branches of authority, which it is not necessary for us to mention. Before they took their seats they were constrained to undergo a very strict examination, wherein the whole course of their lives was inquired into; and if the least slur on their reputation appeared they were set aside. When this examination was over they took an oath, whereby they bound themselves to promote in all their councils the public good, to advise nothing contrary to the laws, and to execute their functions exactly. The highest fine the senate could impose was five hundred drachms; if they thought the offender deserved a heavier mulct, they then transmitted the cause to the *Thesmothetæ*, who punished them as they thought fit. The senators, when their year was out, gave an account of their management to the people, but that they might have the less to do, they always punished such of their number as they found offended, by expulsion, and in this they were mighty exact; yet an expelled senator was notwithstanding eligible to any other office, the most trivial omission being sufficient to procure a dismissal from the senatorial dignity, and therefore when the tribes chose their senators they also chose a certain number of subsidiaries, out of which when a senator was expelled another was substituted in his

his place ^m. Each senator was allowed a *Drachm* every day, for it was a constant rule with the *Athenians* that the public ought to pay for every man's time, and therefore such of the poor *Athenians* as thought fit to demand it had three *Oboli* for going to the assembly. If during their administration any ships of war were built the senators had crowns decreed them; but if not they were forbid to sue for them. The senate, as we have before remarked, was looked upon as one anchor of the *Athenian* state, we will now speak of the other.

THE court of *Areopagus* was so called, because it assembled on a hill not far from the citadel called *Areos Pagos*, i. e. *Mars's hill*. Some say, that *Mars* was the first criminal tried in this court. It is not agreed who instituted this court; some ascribe it to *Cecrops*, others to *Cranaus*, and many to *Solon*, among whom though *Plutarch* and *Cicero* are reckoned, yet it is certain that they were mistaken, for *Aristotle* affirms directly the contrary; nay, *Plutarch* himself cites a law of *Solon's*, wherein the sentences of the *Areopagus* are mentioned as things of an old date ⁿ. The source of this error seems to be *Solon's* restoring the power of this court, and making it superior to the *Ephetae*, whom *Draco* had made superior to it. It is very difficult to ascertain the number of which this court consisted, because authors are much divided about it. Such of the archons, though some say only such of the *Thesmothetae*, as had given an account of their administration before the *Logistae*, and had obtained their approbation, were received into this senate; this was *Solon's* institution, and was strictly observed for a long course of years, whence it became the most sacred and venerable tribunal in *Greece*. A senator in this court was an officer for life, unless he was guilty of any immorality, and then he was immediately expelled; to laugh while the court was sitting was an unpardonable offence, and the members thereof were forbidden by law to write a comedy; nay, if an archon was seen to be sitting in a tavern or public-house, it was sufficient to bar his admission. *Demosthenes* affirms, that to his time no judgment of that court had ever been questioned ^o. They had cognizance of all capital causes, and with them the intent to murder was punished as severely as if it took effect; till *Pericles* lessened their power they were a check upon the people; they

^m *ÆSCHIN.* in *Timarch.* *ARISTOPH.* *Avibus.* *POLLUX*, ubi supra. *DEMOST.* *Timocrat.* ⁿ *MEURS.* in *AREOP.*

• *Aristocrat.*

could, if they thought fit, cancel the sentence of an assembly, where a criminal had been acquitted contrary to evidence; and they likewise rescued innocent persons in danger from the rash sentences of the people; they had the custody of the laws, the management of the public fund, the direction of youth, for which reason they were present at marriages and sacrifices, to see that all things were transacted with decency and sobriety; they had the power of punishing idleness; and, in consequence of this, they sent for any body they pleased, and examined him what he spent, and how he came by it, so that it was impracticable for a man to live dissolutely in *Athens* on ill got wealth, since on the first appearance of profusion such a person would have been convened before the *Areopagites*. Matters of religion, blasphemy against the gods, contempt of mysteries, all sorts of impiety, the consecration of new gods, erection of temples and altars, and the introduction of new ceremonies into divine worship, belonged wholly to this court. *Plato*, therefore, having learned in *Egypt* that there was but one god, was forced to conceal his knowledge for fear of being questioned by the *Areopagites*^p; and *St. Paul* was on this account arraigned before them as a setter-forth of strange gods, when he preached *Jesus* and *Anastasis*, i. e. *the resurrection*^q. As to state affairs, the court of *Areopagus* rarely meddled in them, unless in times of public calamity, when the citizens fled to them as to their last refuge. They met three times every month, viz. on the 27th, 28th, and 29th days thereof, if any sudden occasion required their assembling they were wont to meet in the royal portico. It is observable, that this court always sat in the open air; secondly, that they decided all causes in the dark, that seeing neither plaintiff nor defendant their passions might be uninfluenced. Causes of murder were introduced by the *Basileus* or second archon, who in right of his office had a seat amongst them; but before he took it he was obliged to lay aside his crown, which, as the mark of his dignity, he wore at all other times. As to the form of trials before the *Areopagus*, we shall not detain the reader here, but take a proper occasion to insert it in a note. All the great men of *Athens* paid a high regard to this venerable tribunal till *Pericles* rose, who, because he could not become a member thereof, having never been archon, took such a pique to them, that he left no means unessayed to diminish their authority and sink their credit, which by the help of *Ephialtes* he in a

^p JUSTIN. MARTYR.
VOL. VI.

^q ACTS, xvii. 18, 19.
G

great

great measure effected; causing most of the business which had been before them to be transferred to other courts, to which some authors, not without reason, have ascribed the sudden degeneracy of the *Athenians*, and, in consequence thereof, the ruin of this state^k.

WE come now, having spoken of the *Athenian* people, the senate, and court of *Areopagus*, to the magistrates. The chief of these were the *Archons* or *Archontes*; they were, as we observed, nine in number, and were chosen by lot; but after they were chosen they were obliged to undergo two examinations, one in the senate-house called *Anacrisis*, the other in the *Forum* called *Docimasia*; in these they were asked who were their ancestors, whether by three descents they were *Athenian* citizens, of what tribe and ward they were, whether related to *Apollo Patrius*, or *Jupiter Hercæus*, whether they had been dutiful to their parents, had served the appointed times in the wars, had the estate required by law, and whether they were perfect in all their limbs; these questions some think were put to every other magistrate: these demands being satisfactorily answered, they were conducted to the royal portico, where each of the archons took an oath in these words; *I will be punctual in the observance of the laws, and if I am deficient in this respect, I will for every such default consecrate a statue of gold as big as myself, to the Delphian Apollo*^l. These ceremonies over, the archons entered on their charge, some parts of which they executed separately, others belonged in common to them all; they had all the power of punishing with death such malefactors as deserved it; they were all crowned with wreaths of myrtle, and had the power of appointing certain under-officers, and of inquiring into the conduct of other magistrates. As the reward of their labour in the service of the public, they were free from all taxes whatsoever, and if any was so hardy as to strike or affront them, he was punished with infamy^m. The first of them was sometimes stiled *Eponymos*, because the year took its denomination from him; to him it belonged to determine all causes between men and their wives, all matters relating to posthumous children, dowries, legacies, and testaments. He had a right to appoint tutors and guardians to orphans, to decide such disputes as arose among neighbours, and many other things. The celebration of certain feasts and the regulation of stage-plays were also within his province, and he

^k PLUT. in vit. Periclis. MEURSIUS. Areop. lib. viii. cap. 9.

^m DEMOSTH. in Midian.

^l POLLUX.

had a particular court of judicature wherein he heard causes; If even by accident he was overtaken with liquor, he suffered death^a. The second archon, who was stiled *Basileus* or king, had his court of judicature in the royal portico; he decided all controversies among priests, took information on impiety, blasphemy, and such like crimes; he presided in all the great feasts, and assisted in all the public sacrifices for the prosperity of the republic. It was required, that his wife should be a citizen of *Athens* and a virgin, and she too was stiled by the *Athenians* *Basilissa*. Accusations of murder were first lodged in his court, and then he introduced them into the court of *Areopagus*^o. The *Polemarchos* or third archon had all sojourners and strangers within his jurisdiction; he was bound also to offer a solemn sacrifice to *Mars*, and another to *Diana*, and to take care, that the children of such as lost their lives in the service of the state should duly receive themaintenance settled on them by law. As it often happened, that these three magistrates, by reason of their youth, were not so well skilled in the laws and customs of their country, as to be able to execute punctually all the branches of their respective offices, they chose each of them two grave and distinct persons who underwent the like examinations with themselves, to sit with them as assessors, and they were accountable as well as the archon for their behaviour in their posts^p. The other six archons were stiled *Thesmothetæ*; they had one common tribunal where they heard causes of various kinds; they ratified all public contracts and leagues, settled the court-days in the several judicatories of *Athens*, took care that no laws should be passed contrary to the interest of the public, and prosecuted such as endeavoured to persuade the people to give their consent to any such laws; they were likewise obliged every year to examine the whole *Corpus Juris*, in order to discover whether there were any laws that contradicted each other, whether there was a multiplicity of statutes about the same thing, or whether there were any so doubtful as to render it impossible to know their true sense, which if there were, then the *Thesmothetæ* drew up a report, wherein was briefly contained the state of the case; this was hung up in a public place, and the next assembly of the people voted which of the laws should be preserved, and which repealed or altered^q. Inferior to the archons there were many public magistrates; 'twill be necessary to mention some of them,

^a POLLUX, ubi supra.^o DEMOSTR. in Near. & in Lacrit.^p POLLUX, ubi supra.^q ÆSCHIN. in Ctesiph.

because they will frequently occur in the course of this history. In the first place they had *Nomophylaces*, who were also stiled *the eleven*, because they were so many in number, one chosen out of each tribe, and a clerk or secretary who made up *the eleventh*. Their duty it was to look to the execution of the laws, they had authority to seize robbers and other capital offenders, and if they confessed to put them to death. Dr. *Potter* thinks they resembled our sheriffs^r. The *Phylarchi* were the presidents of the *Athenian* tribes; but in time this became a military title. The *Philobasileus* was an officer in each tribe who did the same things within his jurisdiction, as the *Basileus* did with respect to the state. The *Demarchi* were the principal magistrates in wards, the *Lexarchi* were six in number, and were bound to take care, that the people came duly to assemblies; in their custody was the public register of citizens names; they had under them *Toxatæ* who were lictors or bailiffs; they were sometimes a thousand in number; these men were necessary, but like most of their sort were in a manner infamous, as may be gathered from the comedies of *Aristophanes*; they were generally *Scythians*, raw-boned brawny fellows, ready to execute any thing they were commanded^r. The *Nomathetæ* were a thousand in number, their business was to watch over and inspect into the laws. There were two sorts of orators in the service of the state, some were appointed to defend an old law when a motion was made to repeal it; these had their fee from the state, but the same man was incapable of being elected twice. Besides these there were ten settled orators called *Retores*, elected by lots; their business was to plead public causes in the senate-house; for this they had their stated fees, and with respect to their qualifications the laws run thus; “ Let no
 “ one be a public orator who hath struck his parents, denied
 “ them maintenance, or shut them out of his doors, who
 “ hath refused to serve in the army, who hath thrown away
 “ his shield, who hath been addicted to lewd women, noto-
 “ riously effeminate, or has run out his patrimony. If any
 “ man who has been guilty of these crimes dare to deliver an
 “ oration, let him be brought to trial upon the spot^r. Let
 “ an orator have children lawfully begotten, and an estate
 “ within *Attica*”; if in his oration he talks impertinently,
 “ makes idle repetitions, affects an unbecoming railery, di-

^r CICERO de Legib. lib. iij. ^r ARISTOPHAN. ejusq; Schol. Acharn. & Thesmoph. ^r ÆSCHIN. in Timarch. ^r DINARCH. in Demosthen.

“ gresses from the point in question, or after the assembly
 “ is over abuses the president, let the *Proedri* fine him fifty
 “ drachmæ; and if that is not thought enough, let him be
 “ brought before the next assembly and fined again.” * We
 shall conclude this draft of the *Athenian* government with an
 account of their courts of justice, which, exclusive of the *A-*
reopagus, were ten in number; four had cognizance of criminal,
 and six of civil causes. These ten courts were numbered
 with the ten first letters of the alphabet, and were thence
 stiled *Alpha, Beta, Gamma, &c.* When an *Athenian* was at
 leisure to hear causes he wrote his own name, that of his
 father, and the ward to which he belonged, upon a tablet;
 this he presented to the *Thesmothetæ*, who returned it again
 to him with another tablet, with the letter which fell to his
 lot; then he went to the cryer of the court who presented
 him a sceptre, and gave him admission. When the causes
 were over, every judge went and delivered his scepter to the
Prytanes, and received a stated fee for every cause that was
 tried. But as this was intended only to compensate their loss
 of time, so that there might be no appearance of covetous-
 ness, a man was forbid to sit in two courts on the same day †.
 The first criminal court, after the *Areopagus*, was that of
 the *Ephetæ*, of the institution of which the reader has already
 had an account; it consisted of fifty one members, all upwards
 of fifty one years old; *Draco* gave it a very extensive juris-
 diction, but *Solon* took away from them the power of judg-
 ing in any other causes than those of manslaughter, acciden-
 tal killing, and lying in wait to destroy; the *Basileus* entered
 all causes in this court ‡. The second criminal court was cal-
 led *Delphinium*, because it was held in the temple of *Apollo*
Delphinus, it had cognizance of such murders as were con-
 fessed by the criminal, but at the same time justified under
 some pretence or other §. The *Prytaneum* was the third cri-
 minal court, it held plea of such cases where death ensued
 from inanimate things; causes were heard here with the same
 solemnity as in other courts, and on judgment given, the
 thing, whatever it was, that had occasioned the death of a
 man, was thrown out of the territory of *Athens*. This ju-
 dicature was as antient as the reign of *Erectheus*, and the
 first thing tried therein was an ox, wherewith one of *Jupiter’s*
 priests killed an ox which had eaten some of the consecrated
 cakes, and who, as soon as he had committed the fact, se-
 cured himself by flight ¶. The last criminal court was stiled

* *ÆSCHIN.* ubi supra. † *ATHEN.* *Deipnos.* lib. vi. ‡ *POLLUX*, lib. viii. c. 10. § *POLLUX*, ubi supra. ¶ *ÆLIAN.* *Hist. var.* lib. viii. c. 3. *POLLUX*, ubi supra.

Phreatum, it sat in a place not far from the sea-shore, and such persons were brought before this court, as had committed murders in their own country and fled to *Attica*; the proceedings of this court were so severe, that they did not permit the criminal to come on shore, but obliged him to plead his cause in his vessel, and if he was found guilty, he was committed to the mercy of the winds and seas ^c. Of the judicatures for hearing civil causes, the first was the *Parabaston*, so called, as some think, because in it no matter could be heard, if the cause of action was above one drachm ^d. The *Gaiwon* or new court was the second tribunal ^e. The third was stiled the court of *Lycus*, because it assembled in a temple dedicated to that hero, whose statue, which was represented with the face of a wolf, was set up in all the courts of justice ^f. The *Trigonon* was so called, because it was triangular in its form ^g. The court *Metidius* derived its appellation from the architect who built it ^h. The sixth and last court was called *Helicaea*, it was by far the greatest, and is generally conceived to have derived its name from the judges sitting in the open air exposed to the sun. All the *Athenians*, as we observed before, who were free citizens, were allowed by law to sit in these courts as judges. But before they took their seats were sworn by *Apollo Patrius*, *Ceres*, and *Jupiter the king*, that they would decide all things righteously, and according to law where there was any law to guide them, and by the rules of natural equity where there was none. The oath taken by the judges, who sat in the court last mentioned, is reported by *Demosthenes* in these words; “ I will give sentence according to the laws and the decrees of the people of *Athens*, and the council of five hundred; I will not consent to place the supreme power in the hands of a single person, or a few; nor permit any man to dissolve the commonwealth, or so much as to give his vote, or make an oration in defence of such a revolution. I will not endeavour to discharge private debts, nor to make a division of lands or houses: I will not restore persons sent into banishment, nor pardon those that are condemned to die, nor expel any man out of the city contrary to the laws and decrees of the people and council of five hundred, nor permit any other person to do it: I will not elect any person into any public employ, and particularly I will not create

^c SIGONIUS de Repub. Athen. lib. iii. c. 3. ^d PAUSAN. Atticis. ^e ARISTOPH. Vesp. ^f POLLUX, SUIDAS, ARISTOPH. ubi supra. ^g SIGON. ubi supra. ARISTOPH. ubi supra. ^h POLLUX, HARPOCR.

“ any

“ any man *Archon*, *Hieromnemon*, ambassador, public he-
 “ rald, or *syndras*, nor consent, that he shall be admitted
 “ into any of those offices, which are elected by lots upon
 “ the same day with the archons, who has undergone any
 “ former office and not given in his accounts ; nor that any
 “ person shall bear two offices, or be twice elected into the
 “ same office in one year : I will not receive gifts myself,
 “ nor shall any other for me, nor will I permit any other
 “ person to do the like by any means, whether direct or in-
 “ direct, to pervert justice in the court of *Heliaea* : I am
 “ not under thirty years of age : I will hear both the plain-
 “ tiff and defendant without partiality, and give sentence in
 “ all the causes brought before me : I swear by *Jupiter*,
 “ *Neptune*, and *Ceres* ; if I violate this oath or any part of it,
 “ may I perish with my whole family ; but if I religiously
 “ observe it, may we live and prosper”. The *Helæastic*
 court consisted at least of fifty, but its usual number was five
 hundred, judges ; when causes of very great consequence
 were to be tried a thousand sat therein, and now and then
 the judges were increased to fifteen hundred, and even to two
 thousand ; there were many inferior courts in *Athens* for the
 decision of trivial causes, but of these there is no necessity of
 speaking, since we design no more than a succinct view of
 the *Athenian* republic, as it was settled by, and in conse-
 quence of, *Solon's* laws.

WE left that great lawgiver at his departure from *Athens*
 to visit foreign climates for the sake of acquiring wisdom. He
 went first to *Egypt*, where he conversed with *Psenophis* the
Heliopolitan and *Sonchis* the *Saite*, the most learned priests of
 that age and country, from these he drew the knowledge of
 a multitude of things unheard-of by the *Greeks*, and particu-
 larly the situation and condition of the *Atlantic* isle, of which
 he wrote an account in verse, which *Plato* continued. From
Egypt he went to *Cyprus*, where he was extremely well en-
 tertained by one of the petty kings thereof ; this prince reign-
 ed in a little city called *Apeia*, i. e. *high*, built by *Demophoon*
 the son of *Theseus* on an eminence near the river *Clarius*, but
 in a soil craggy and barren. *Solon*, observing, that there was
 a very pleasant plain below, engaged the king to remove his
 people thither, and to build a new and larger city for their
 reception. *Solon* himself assisted in the execution of the un-
 dertaking which he had projected, and his scheme succeeded
 so well, that numbers of people, invited by the beauty of
 the place, came to settle themselves therein, whence the
 king, whose capital it was, changed its name out of grati-
 tude,

tude, and called it *Solos*. He is thought to have visited about this time *Thales* the *Milesian*, with whom it is certain he had an intimate acquaintance : *Plutarch* hath recorded a very singular passage which happened at this time ; *Solon* inquiring of *Thales*, why, considering the happy situation of his affairs, he had neither wife nor children, *Thales* for the present made him no answer. A few days after he introduced a stranger properly instructed, who said, that he came ten days ago from *Athens* ; *Solon* immediately asked him what news he brought from thence : “ I know of nothing extraordinary. “ (replied he), except that the whole city celebrated the funeral of a young man, the son of a citizen most eminent for his virtues, who, it seems, went abroad upon his travels”. *Miserable man*, cried *Solon* : *But did you not hear his name ? I did*, returned the stranger, *but I have forgot it ; this I remember, that he was particularly famous for his wisdom and his justice ; Was it Solon ?* (said our philosopher) *It was*, answered the stranger. Upon this our legislator began to beat his head, to weep, and to bemoan himself. But *Thales* interposing with a smile, addressed him thus : “ These, “ O *Solon*, are the things which make me afraid of marriage “ and children, since these are capable of affecting even so “ wise a man as you ; be not, however, concerned, for this “ is all a fiction”¹. Whether on this occasion, or on the real loss of a son, is uncertain, *Solon* being desired by a person not to weep, since weeping would avail nothing, he answered, with much humanity and good sense, *And for this cause I weep*. At *Delphi* he had an interview with the rest of the iophists, and the year following at *Corinth* by *Periander*’s invitation ; some think, that at this time also he went to *Crete* and visited *Epimenides*, he likewise conferred with *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, as has been before related in the history of that prince ^k (M).

WHILE

¹ PLUTARCH. & DIOGEN. LAERT. in vit. Solonis. HERODOT. lib. i. ^k See Vol. V. p. 414.

(M) As to the interview between *Solon* and *Cræsus*, there were in *Plutarch*’s time many who thought it a fiction ; and this great writer himself, though he thought it necessary to insert it in *Solon*’s life, owns, that none who mentioned it as a fact were able to solve the difficulties in chronology which attended it. The very learned M. *Dacier* has the following note upon that passage ; “ *Solon*, they say, was archon the third year of the forty sixth olympiad, and *Cræsus* was overthrown by *Cyrus* the second year of the

WHILE *Solon* was abroad *Athens* fell all into confusion again. The three factions before mentioned began to be more troublesome than ever; *Lycurgus* put himself at the head of the country people; *Megacles* the son of *Alcmæon* was the chief of those who lived upon the coast, and *Pisistratus* placed himself at the head of the poorer sort of people in the city, to protect them, as he pretended, from tyranny. The laws of *Solon* were indeed observed, because none of the factions found it for their interest to subvert them, but all looked for a change, and were uneasy till it was effected, though how to change for the better none of them knew, nor pretended to know; in the interim *Solon* returned, and his return seemed propitious for his country. All the factions paid their court to him, and affected to shew him the deepest reverence and

“ the 58th, which makes it impossible for *Solon* to be living at
 “ that time, that is to say, 47 years after his archonship. This
 “ they prove more strongly, by making it appear, that *Solon* died
 “ when *Hegestratus* was archon, in the second year of the 51st o-
 “ lympiad. Now *Cræsus* was not king till the first year of the
 “ 56th olympiad, which was twenty two years after the death of
 “ *Solon*. How then are we to make this voyage of *Solon* into *Lydia*
 “ fall in with the reign of *Cræsus*? Especially, if according to *Plutarch*,
 “ this voyage was performed even before the tyranny of *Pisistra-*
 “ *tus*. This is so full of difficulties and contrarieties, that it is im-
 “ possible to reconcile them, unless we agree with *Plutarch*, that
 “ the antient chronological tables are by no means exact, notwith-
 “ standing the great labour and pains several persons have been at
 “ to regulate them (28)”. Mr. *Stanley* (following *Laertius*) and
 many others have thought, that the placing this interview, not
 before, but after *Pisistratus* made himself master of *Athens*, would
 set this business quite right, and accordingly Sir *Isaac Newton* places
 this conference in the year after *Pisistratus* assumed the sovereignty,
 or rather in the same year, and makes this the year before the
 death of *Solon* (29). But to return from so perplexed a subject to
 the mention of a point or two not taken notice of in the account
 before given of this conference in our history of *Lydia*: *Plutarch*
 says, that *Æsop* the fabulist was at the court of *Cræsus* at the same
 time with *Solon*, and that he was extremely concerned when he
 saw how much the king slighted so great a man. He could not
 therefore forbear giving *Solon* the following short piece of advice,
Let your visits to kings be as seldom or as pleasant as you can. To
 which our *Athenian* answered, *No, rather let them be as seldom or*
as profitable as you can (30). The love of liberty was so strong in
Solon, that he could not gainsay, so much as in a compliment.

(28) *In vit. Solonis.*
Plutarch. ubi supra.

(29) *Short chronicle, p. 40.*

(30)

respect, beseeching him to resume his authority, and to compose the disorders of the state. But this, however, he declined on account of his age, which, as he said, rendered him unable to speak and act for the public benefit as he was wont. However, he sent for the chiefs of each party, and spoke to them in the mildest and most pathetic terms, beseeching them not to ruin their common parent, but to prefer the public good to their private interest¹:

Pisistratus among all the principal persons of *Athens*, seemed to be most affected with *Solon's* discourses. They were relations, intimate friends, and had a great similitude in their dispositions. *Pisistratus* was exceedingly courteous and affable, and as he was blessed with a fair estate, so he was generous without profusion, and beneficent without ostentation. He had always two or three slaves near him with bags of silver coin; when he saw any man look sickly, or heard that any were dead insolvent, he comforted the one with a proper sum, and buried the others at his own expence; if he perceived people melancholy, he enquired the cause, and if it was poverty, he furnished them with what might enable them to get bread, but not to live idly; in a word, he had, or seemed to have, all the virtues which could adorn a nobleman. he would not so much as suffer his servants to shut his garden or orchard gates, but allowed every body to go in and take what they pleased. His looks were easy and sedate, his language smooth and modest; he seemed a great lover of equality, and a zealous friend to the constitution. *Solon* penetrated all these appearances, yet he did not immediately break with him, but endeavoured to shew him the iniquity of his dissimulation, and would often tell him, *Sir, were it not for your ambition, you would be the best citizen in Athens*; and when he found this made no impression upon him, *Solon* said the same thing to others, that men might beware of his designs, and not suffer his virtues to be fatal to his country^m.

ABOUT this time *Thespis*, who is generally esteemed the inventor of tragedy, either introduced or reformed it at *Athens*, with which the people were mightily charmed. *Solon*, who piqued himself upon learning, even in his old age, went to see this new divertisement, and after the performance was over, addressed himself to *Thespis* in these words, “*I wonder you are not ashamed of telling lies before so great an audience*”: *Thespis* replied, *That there could be no harm in*

¹ PLUT. ubi supra. DIOGEN. LAERT. ubi supra. HERODOT. lib. i. ^m DACIER. Not. in vit. Solon. PLUT. ubi supra. CICERO. de Orat. lib. iii.

giving a specious form to falshood, so that it were in jest; Ah, cried Solon, striking the ground violently with his staff, if once we are pleased with your falshoods in jest, we shall soon have them creep into our more serious affairs ^a.

THE mischief, which Solon apprehended his kinsman *Pisistratus* would bring upon the state, was not long before it came to pass; that great politician, perceiving how much the people were at his devotion, resolved to seize the present opportunity to cheat them out of that liberty they neither knew how to use or to keep. With this view having wounded himself and (as *Herodotus* says) the mules that drew his chariot ^o, he lashed into the market-place as if pursued by his enemies, and shewing his bleeding body, besought the people to protect him from those whom his kindness to them had rendered his implacable enemies; they testifying loudly their concern, Solon, who was by this time come to the place, drew near him, and said, Son of Hippocrates, you do not act Homer's Ulysses well, since you deceive your fellow citizens; whereas he, when he had wounded himself, practised only on the enemies of his country. A general assembly was presently convened, wherein *Ariston* moved, that *Pisistratus* might have a guard of fifty persons armed with clubs. Solon opposed it; he told the citizens, that if misfortunes beset them, they must not charge the gods with them, but themselves, for that evils were not accidental, but punishments; that crafty persons knew how to dress lies in the vestments of truth, and that before they made innovations they should well consider the consequences. After him *Pisistratus* spoke, and the people receiving all he said with loud applause, Solon contented himself with saying,

“ You doat upon his words and soothing speech. ”

The meaner sort of people adhering unanimously to the proposition of *Ariston*, and the richest *Athenians* remaining silent when they saw how things would go, Solon took his leave, saying, that he was wiser than some, and stouter than others; wiser than those who did not penetrate *Pisistratus*'s design, and stouter than those who did not oppose it. When he was gone the assembly proceeded to vote *Pisistratus* a guard, but what number is not easy settled; it should seem from *Plutarch*'s account that he had but fifty ^p. *Herodotus* does not mention any number at all ^q. *Polyænus* makes them three hundred ^r, but Solon himself in his letter to *Epimenides* says expressly there were four hundred ^s; however it was, he made use of his

Pisistratus
assumes
the sove-
reignty.
Year of
the Flood,
2459.
Year be-
fore Christ
560.



^a PLUT. ubi supra. ^o HERODOT. lib. i. ^p PLUT. ubi supra.
^q lib. i. ^r Stratag. lib. i. c. 21. ^s Vide Epist. Solon. ad Epi-
men. post.

guard to seize the citadel, which having performed, he without more ado, according to *Herodotus*^r and *Plutarch*^u, assumed the sovereignty. But *Polyænus* hath given us a very singular account of the method which he took to put it out of the power of the *Athenians* to defend themselves, even against the small number of men under his command. He summoned an assembly to be held at the *Anacium*, and directed, that the people should come thither armed; when they were accordingly come together, *Pisistratus* harangued them, but in a very low voice; the people complaining that they could not well hear what he said, he pretended, that it was the clangor of their arms which drowned his voice, and advised them to lay them down in the portico of a temple. This they did, and *Pisistratus* then entertained them with a long and eloquent oration, to which while they listened with deep attention, *Pisistratus*'s guard conveyed away their arms, so that when he had done speaking, the *Athenians* saw themselves naked and all power of resistance taken from them*. All historians agree, that amidst the confusion which followed this transaction there was an assembly held, wherein *Solon* made a speech, inveighing against the meanness of his countrymen's spirit, and exciting them to take arms in defence of their liberty. When he found nothing would do, he set down his own arms, and contented himself with saying, *To the utmost of my power I have striven for my country and my laws*. *Plutarch* says, that he refused to leave his country, and that on *Pisistratus*'s sending to know what it was that inspired him with boldness enough to treat him in such a manner, he answered *My old age*^y. But other authors say, and with greater probability, that he immediately left the dominion of *Athens*. About this time it is most likely that he wrote the following letter to his friend in *Crete*^z.

Solon to Epimenides :

“ NEITHER are my laws likely to benefit the *Athenians*
 “ long, nor have you done the city much good by your ius-
 “ tration. For sacred rites and wise lawgivers cannot alone
 “ benefit cities, since it is of great consequence, of what
 “ disposition those are who influence the common people; sa-
 “ cred and civil laws, if such men execute them well, are
 “ profitable, but if not, are of little use. My laws are now
 “ in a very indifferent condition, those in whom the govern-

^r ubi supra.

^u ubi supra.

^x Stratag. lib i. c. 21. sect. ii.

^y ubi supra.

^z *DIAGEN. LAERT.* in vita *Solon*.

“ ment was lodged, making no opposition to *Pisistratus*'s
 “ designs, abandoned the state ; this, when I foretold, I
 “ could not be believed, the *Athenians* crediting rather his
 “ flatteries than my truth. Perceiving this, I laid down my
 “ arms before the magazine, and said, that I was wiser than
 “ those who did not see *Pisistratus* aimed at tyranny, and
 “ stouter than those who were afraid to resist him. For this
 “ they looked upon *Solon* as a madman ; however, I hesita-
 “ ted not to make this protestation before I departed ; Be-
 “ hold, O my country, *Solon* ready to vindicate thee in word
 “ and deed ; they again cried out that I was mad. Thus,
 “ finding myself alone in opposing *Pisistratus*, I left them ;
 “ let them still, if they please, guard with their arms this
 “ their tyrant, for you must know, my friend, that the man
 “ very artfully possessed himself of the sovereignty ; he com-
 “ plied at the first with the democracy, afterwards wounding
 “ himself, he came into the *Elioea*, exclaiming, that he was
 “ thus wounded by his enemies, desiring, that they would
 “ grant him a guard of four hundred men, which they, re-
 “ gardless of all I could say, complied with ; after this he
 “ dissolved the popular government. In vain I laboured to
 “ bestow freedom on the meaner sort of people, since
 “ now the people of all sorts are become *Pisistratus*'s ser-
 “ vants ”.

Pisistratus, in possessing himself of the supreme power in
Athens, did not overturn the laws established by *Solon* ; on the
 contrary, he did all that in him lay to provide for their better
 execution, and lost nothing of that moderation for which he
 had been before remarkable^a. With respect even to *Solon*
 himself, he preserved for him the highest veneration, and
 was so much disturbed at his leaving his country, that he
 wrote to him the following letter to engage him to return ^b.

Pisistratus to *Solon* :

“ I am not the only person among the *Greeks* who have
 “ acted in this manner, nor am I without right to the king-
 “ dom I possess, being the descendant of *Codrus*. That
 “ which the *Athenians* swore to preserve to *Codrus* and his
 “ heirs and yet took away, I have recovered. I offend nei-
 “ ther against God nor man. I take care to see those laws
 “ you framed for the *Athenians* strictly put in execution, and
 “ suffer none to do wrong, I claim no other privileges, though

^a PLUTARCH. ubi supra. ARIST. POLIT. lib. v. c. 12.
^b DIOGEN. LAERT. ubi supra.

“ a tyrant, than the honour and dignity, and accept no mor^e
 “ than what was thought, due to the antient kings. Th^e
 “ *Athenians* indeed pay the tenths of their estates, not to me,
 “ but for the defraying the expences of the public sacrifices,
 “ the other charges of the commonwealth, and that we may
 “ have wherewithal to carry on a war if we should be enga-
 “ ged in one. I do not at all blame you for discovering my
 “ intention ; you did it out of regard to your country, rather
 “ than out of hatred to me ; you were ignorant of the form
 “ of government I meant to establish : had you known it,
 “ you would perhaps have born it, and not have gone into
 “ banishment ; however, return, and believe me without an
 “ oath, *Solon* shall never suffer hurt from *Pisistratus* ; my
 “ very enemies have nothing to charge me with of that kind.
 “ If you will be of the number of my friends, you shall be
 “ the first, for I never observed any thing of fraud or falshood
 “ in you ; if you are resolved to continue otherwise, live at
 “ *Athens* as you will, only for our sake do not deprive your-
 “ self of your country ”.

Solon to Pisistratus.

“ I BELIEVE I shall not suffer any harm by you, for be-
 “ fore you were a tyrant I was your friend, and at pre-
 “ sent am no more your enemy than any other *Athenian* who
 “ dislikes tyranny. Whether it be better they be governed by
 “ a single person or by a democracy, let both parties deter-
 “ mine. I pronounce you the best of tyrants ; but to return to
 “ *Athens*, I think not fitting, lest I incur censure, who set-
 “ tled an equality in the *Athenian* common wealth, and would
 “ not accept of the tyranny ; by returning, I should seem to
 “ comply with thy actions ”.

Solon kept strictly to his word, and returned no more to
Athens, but died abroad. How old this great man was at the
 time of his decease was not agreed even in the days of *Plu-*
tarch ^c, who says, that *Heraclides Ponticus* affirmed, that *So-*
lon lived a long time after *Pisistratus* assumed the sovereignty,
 whereas *Phanias* the *Epheſian* reported, that he did not live
 after it quite two years ; *Ælian* agrees pretty well with this
 computation ^d, for he says he died a little after, being decre-
 pid with age ; *Diogenes Laertius* informs us, that he reached
 the age of fourscore ^e, but *Lucian*, however, will have it,

^c In vita Solonis, prope fin.

^d Hist. var. lib. viii. c. 16.

^e ubi supra.

that he lived a hundred and upwards ^f; where he died is another very disputable point; some say it was in *Cyprus* ^g, others not ^h; *Diogenes Laertius* informs us, that he directed that his bones should be burnt, and their ashes carried to *Salamis* and scattered over the island ⁱ. *Plutarch* treats this as a fable, but acknowledges at the same time, that many eminent writers had given into it, and mentions particularly *Aristotle* ^k. The *Athenians*, after the death of *Solon*, paid him the highest honours, and erected for him in the forum and at *Salamis* a statue in brass with his hand in his gown, the posture in which he was wont to speak; which he certainly deserved for the mighty services rendered by him to his country (N) ^l. But to return to *Pisistratus*:

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^f In Longævis. ^g *DIAGEN. LAERT.* ubi supra. *VALER. MAX.* lib. v. c. 3. ^h *PLUTARCH.* ubi supra. ⁱ ubi supra. ^k ubi supra. ^l *ÆSCH.* in *Timarch.*

(N) We have already said so much of the genius of *Solon*, that it would be tedious to dwell upon it here; we shall therefore take notice only of some remarkable passages which are related concerning his death, give a succinct account of his writings, and of the praises bestowed upon him by the most eminent among the ancient *Romans* as well as *Greeks*. The very last day of his life some friends of his sitting in the chamber fell into a discourse, to which he listened with great attention; being asked the reason, he answered, *I do this, that when I have learned whatsoever it is you dispute about, I may die* (31). A little before his last agonies, hearing his brother singing an ode of *Sappho*, he was so well pleased with it, that he called the young man, and had him teach it him; and the reason of this being also demanded, *It is*, returned he, *that I may learn while I am departing out of this life* (32). As to his writings we stand indebted to *Laertius* for the following account: his laws; orations to the people; poems; the *Atlantic* history, which was his last work and left unfinished; again attempted by his kinsman *Plato*, and by him also left unfinished; occasional epistles; amongst these there is the following one, preserved by *Laertius*, addressed to the tyrant of *Corinth*, who was esteemed one of the seven sages of *Greece*; it is very short, and therefore we did not think fit to omit it.

Solon to Periancler.

“ You send me word there are many who plot against you; if
 “ you should put them all to death, it would advantage you nothing;
 “ some one there may be of those whom you suspect not who plots

(31) *Valer. Maxim. lib. viii. c. 7.*

(32) *Stob. Serm. xxix.*

“ against

At the very beginning of his administration, *Megacles* and his family retired out of the territories of *Athens*, but they did this with a view only to preserve themselves from being cut off to render his principality the surer. They did not renounce all hopes of returning to their country, or all correspondence with their countrymen; on the contrary, he and his associates entered into a treaty with *Lycurgus* and his party, and having brought them into a scheme for overturning *Pisistratus*, they prosecuted this with such effect, that he found himself obliged to retire, and seek, as they had done, shelter in a foreign clime; and the *Athenians*, notwithstanding all the instances of love they had shewn him, were so far wrought on by his enemies, as to order his goods to be publicly sold. However, though this resolution was not only taken, but put into execution, there was no body but *Callias* who would venture to buy any of them; from an apprehension, no doubt, that one time or other he would be restored^m.

As *Megacles* and his party had negotiated with *Lycurgus* the ruin of *Pisistratus*, so some time afterwards, finding, that *Lycurgus* and his faction were not implicitly governed by them, they began to treat with *Pisistratus*, and to offer him, in case he would marry the daughter of *Megacles*, to reinstate

^m PLUT. ubi supra. HERODOT. lib. i.

“ against you, either fearing himself, or disdaining you, or desirous
 “ to ingratiate himself with the city, though you have done him
 “ no injury. It is best, if you would be free from jealousy, to ac-
 “ quit yourself of the cause; but if you will continue in tyrann-
 “ ny, take care to provide a greater strength of strangers than is
 “ in your own city; so shall you need to fear no man, nor put any
 “ to death (33)”.

Plato in various places, commends the wisdom, learning, and genius of *Solon* (34), so also does *Aristides* (35). *Dion Chrysostom* speaks of him with the greatest respect (36), as an orator and legislator, as a warrior and a patriot; *Demosthenes* has in few words celebrated his praises (37); *Cicero* affirms, that before the times of *Solon* and *Pisistratus* eloquence was unknown (38); *Seneca* mentions *Solon* with great respect (39), and *Valerius Maximus*, as he records many things relating to him, so he fails not greatly to commend him. In fine, antient and modern writers agree, that without flattery, *Solon* might be stiled brave, wise, and honest; how shall we commend him more?

(33) *Diogen. Laert. Vit. Solon.* (34) *In Amator. de Repub. &c.*

(35) *Orat. Parasth.* (36) *Orat. xxi.* (37) *In Amator.*

(38) *De Orat.* (39) *Epist. xc.*

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him in his principality, to which *Pisistratus* readily assented. It is easy to conceive, that this affair required rather fraud than force for its being conducted with success. *Pisistratus* and *Megacles* resolved to rest all upon an expedient which *Herodotus* styles a ridiculous project; but, ridiculous as it appeared, it succeeded. They found out a woman, whose name was *Phya* the daughter of *Socrates*, a man of mean family and fortune; this woman was it seems of prodigious stature, and otherwise very handsome; her they dressed in armour, placed her in a chariot, and having disposed all things so as to make her appear with all possible advantage, they conducted her towards the city, sending heralds before, with orders to speak to the people in these terms, “ Give a kind reception, O Athenians, to *Pisistratus*, who is so much honoured by *Minerva* above all other men, that she herself condescends to bring him back to the citadel.” When the heralds had published this in several places, the report was universally spread, that *Minerva* was bringing home *Pisistratus*; and in the city the multitude, believing this woman to be the goddess, addressed her with prayers, and readily received *Pisistratus*. When he had recovered the sovereignty, he married, as he had promised, the daughter of *Megacles*, and out of gratitude to *Phya* gave her in marriage to his son *Hipparchus* ⁿ.

It was not long *Pisistratus* enjoyed in quiet that authority to which he had been so oddly restored; we have already observed, that he kept his word to *Megacles* in marrying his daughter, and it seems *Pisistratus* conceived that his word bound him to nothing more. But considering that he had children by a former wife, and that *Megacles*’s family were held by the *Athenians* to be execrable, he never conversed with this new wife of his as a wife, which for a time she concealed; but at length mentioning it to her mother, the family so highly resented his proceeding, that *Megacles* instantly began to negotiate with the malecontents, which *Pisistratus* perceiving, and seeing what an effect it produced on the minds of the people, he once more quitted *Attica* voluntarily, and retired to *Eretria*. There, as soon as he found himself in safety, he consulted with his sons what course was fittest to be taken in the present situation of their affairs. *Hippias* proposed the reducing *Athens* by force, which was agreed to, and immediately *Pisistratus* applied to several of the *Grecian* cities to furnish him with men and money for

ⁿ HERODOT. ubi supra. POLYÆN. Stratag. lib. i. c. 21.
VALER. MAX. lib. i. c. 2.

the carrying this design of his into execution. Several yielded him their assistance as they were desired, but the *Thebans* exceeded all others in their liberality. Some troops of *Argives* were quickly levied by the help of these subsidies, and all things were much forwarded by the kindness of *Lygdamis*, a *Naxian*, who, as a volunteer, joined them with a considerable number of men, and advanced also a large sum of money. In the eleventh year of their banishment, says *Herodotus*, *Pisistratus*, with his family and the army he had drawn together, marched from *Eretria* and entered *Attica*. The first place they possessed themselves of was *Marathon*, and when they were incamped there they were joined by multitudes of *Athenians*, who loved the government of *Pisistratus* better than a democracy. It seems the government of that city had not taken any very vigorous steps, though they knew that *Pisistratus* was raising men and borrowing money; but when they heard he was marching directly towards *Athens*, they assembled all their forces to defend themselves and to repel the invader. In the mean time, *Pisistratus* advancing with his army from *Marathon*, arrived at the temple of the *Palaean Minerva*; and after they had placed their arms before the gates, *Amphilytus*, a prophet of *Acarnania*, by divine impulse went to him, and pronounced this oracle in *Hexameter* verse:

The net is spread, and dexterously thrown,
By the clear moon-light shall the tunnies come.

WHEN the prophet had delivered these words, *Pisistratus* comprehending the oracle, and saying he accepted the omen, broke up with his army. In the mean time the *Athenians* having drawn their forces out of the city and taken their dinner, betook themselves afterwards to dice or sleep. So that the army of *Pisistratus*, falling upon them by surprise, soon put them to flight; and as they were endeavouring to make their escape, *Pisistratus* contrived an artful stratagem in order to disperse them so intirely, that they might not rally again. He commanded his sons to ride before with speed, and in his name to inform all those they should overtake, that they had nothing to fear, and that every man might return to his own habitation *. Thus *Pisistratus* became a third time possessed of the sovereignty of *Athens*, out of which that he might be no more driven, he took a method di-

* HEROD. lib. i. c. 61.

rectly contrary to that which *Theseus* had made use of for aggrandizing his kingdom ; for whereas that prince made the inhabitants of *Attica* retire from the country, and live together in the city, *Pisistratus* obliged them to addict themselves again to agriculture, that they might not meet together in the market-places and cabal against him. By this means he greatly mended the state of the *Athenian* territories, and procured great plantations of olives to be made all over *Attica*, which before was not only almost void of corn, but also bare of trees ^p. He likewise commanded, that in the city men should wear a certain kind of sheep-skin vest reaching only to the knees, which in succeeding times became proverbially the habit of slavery ^q. The *Athenians* being so nice in respect to liberty, that if things right in themselves were commanded by persons void of lawful authority, they looked on obedience as the greatest misery : on this account it was, that *Pisistratus*'s laws against idleness were held tyrannical, though they were enacted merely in support of those of *Solon*. He received as prince of *Athens* the tenth part of every man's rents, and even of the fruits of his grounds, which, though applied, as the antient revenues were, viz. to the service of the state, seemed to the *Athenians* an intolerable grievance. It happened once, that *Pisistratus* being in the country, perceived an old man busy in creeping over the rocks and picking something. *Pisistratus* asked him what he was doing in that uncouth place, and what were the fruits of his labour. *Troubles and a few plants of wild sage*, replied the old man, *and of these Pisistratus must have the tenth* : to which *Pisistratus* made him no reply, but on his return to the city discharged him from paying this duty ^r. He endeavoured by all means possible to eradicate the fierceness of the *Athenians*, but to little purpose ; for as he was averse to severity, so it was a difficult thing for them to learn submission. Some young men, who had been drinking at a feast, in their return met his wife and insulted her grossly ; the next day, however, when their spirits were cooler, they went in the most humble manner to ask him pardon. *Pisistratus* heard their apology very graciously, and when they had done, *I would advise you gentlemen*, said he, *to behave for the future more modestly ; but as for my wife she was not abroad yesterday* ^s. He adorned the city with fine edifices, particularly the

^p DION. CHRYSOST. Orat. vii. MAXIM. TYR. Dissert. xiii.

^q SUIDAS in voce Κατονηκοι.

^r ZENODIUS. Cent. iv. Prov.

76. ^s PLUTARCH. Apophthegm.

temple of the *Pythian Apollo*; and when the *Athenians*, to shew their aversion to him, went and eased themselves there, he first endeavoured by gentle means to reclaim them from so scandalous a practice, and finding this had no effect, he commanded a herald to make proclamation, that such as for the future were guilty of that offence should suffer death¹. He laid the foundations of the famous temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, mentioned before in our description of the city of *Athens*. He was the first who built a library for public use, and directed, that *Homer's* poems should be digested into regular order as we have them at present. In all other respects he was a great encourager of learning, and conversed familiarly with *Crotoniates* the epic poet, who wrote the adventures of the *Argonauts*². As to his military virtues, we have already shewn what a share he had in the reduction of *Salamis*; he is also reported by *Herodotus* to have conquered the island of *Naxos*, which he put into the hands of *Lygdamis*; he also conquered the city *Sigeium*, and purified the island of *Delos*; so that on the whole, it seems he wanted nothing but a legal title to have rendered him an excellent prince³. He not only maintained the laws as became him in his station, but when he heard he was accused in the court of *Arcopagus* of a murder, he came like a private man and submitted himself to judgment⁴. At another time having some way offended certain *Athenians* of principal dignity, and they retiring to the castle of *Phylæ*, he went thither the next day with a cloak-bag on his back; when they asked him what he meant, Either, said he, to engage you to go back with me to *Athens*, or to slay with you myself, and therefore you see I am come provided⁵. From the time of his first possessing himself of the sovereignty to his death there intervened thirty three years, of which he reigned but seventeen, as we learn from *Aristotle*, and consequently his first and second exile included sixteen years; as to the latter, *Herodotus* tells us expressly, that it lasted eleven years; consequently his first exile was five years only⁶. He left behind him, amongst other children, two sons, both men of great capacity, viz. *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, but which of these was the eldest is a point never to be determined. *Thucydides* more than once affirms that it was *Hippias*, and charges such as believe the contrary with being in a gross er-

¹ AND. SCHOT. Append. Vatic. Prov. Cent. i. p. 82. ² SU-
PAS. VITRUVIUS. Præf. lib. vii. A. GELLIUS. Noct. Attic.
lib. vi. c. 17. ³ HERODOT. lib. i. ⁴ ARIST. POLIT. l. v.
c. 12. ⁵ PLUTARCH. Apophthegm. ⁶ POLIT. l. v. c. 12.
HERODOT. lib. i.

ror^b. *Polyænus* says the same thing^c, yet *Plato* is as positive that *Hipparchus* was the eldest^d. *Ælian* follows him, and *Heracledes Ponticus* seems to be of the same opinion. *Thucydides* supports his account of the matter by some arguments, which in the opinion of the learned *Meursius* are not very conclusive. Without troubling the reader farther with so perplexed a business, we will proceed to the relation of facts better asserted (O).

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^b Bell Pelop lib. i. & lib. vi.

^c Stratagem. lib. v. c. 14.

^d In Hipparch.

(O) It would have interrupted the current of our history too much to have dwelt therein on the family affairs of *Pisistratus*; and yet it is necessary, in order to have a perfect comprehension of the affairs of the *Athenians* during this space of time, that all the circumstances mentioned in antient authors relating to the *Pisistratidæ* should be somewhere preserved and explained. As to the descent of *Pisistratus* himself, we see from his own letter to *Solon* that he was of the house of *Codrus*, the last king of *Athens*. Antient authors assure us, that he was of the same family with *Nestor* (40), so that in point of nobility of birth, few princes have had greater cause to value themselves than *Pisistratus*. His father's name was *Hippocrates*, as we are more than once told by *Herodotus*; and as the antients were very circumspect in noting whatever had relation to the birth of their children, so as to the nativity of *Pisistratus* something very extraordinary is recorded. *Hippocrates*, being at the celebration of the *Olympic* games, caused a victim which he had slain there to be put into a cauldron of water, which immediately began to boil without the assistance of fire. *Chilon* the *Lacedemonian*, being present when this prodigy happened, immediately addressed himself to the *Athenian*, advising him not to marry any woman by whom he might have children; in case he was married to such a one to divorce her, or, if he had a son, to abdicate him; but *Hippocrates* did not take his advice, for his wife being not long after delivered of *Pisistratus*, he educated the child with great care; nor is it unlikely, that *Hippocrates* apprehended why the *Lacedæmonian* gave him this advice, since he called his son after the name of the son of *Nestor*, that he might continually remember his lineage, and be from thence excited to hope and to do great things (41). As to his mother, we are not acquainted either with her name or family, or indeed with any thing relating to her, except the following passage, which shews that she lived to be pretty far in years. When her son was possessed of the principality of *Athens*, she fell in love with a young man, with whom she conversed secretly, and with

(40) *Herodot. lib. v. c. 65. Eustath. ad Iliad. γ.*
Herodot. lib. i. Diog. Laertius in vita Chilonis.

(41) *He-*

THE brothers *Hipparchus* and *Hippias* shared, as most think, the supreme authority between them; some say, that the

great caution; however, *Pisistratus* had intelligence thereof, he therefore invited the young man to an entertainment, and when they rose from table, *What think you, my friend, said Pisistratus, of your treatment to day? That it was most excellent, Sir, answered he, Why then, replied Pisistratus, you may be assured, that you shall meet with the like fare every day, as long as you please my mother* (42). As to his affability and generosity, we have spoken sufficiently already; but it may not be amiss to note, that the wisest, both of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, have left us high panegyrics on the eloquence of *Pisistratus*, which they agree was the chief instrument he used in acquiring the dominion of his country (43). And that it was wonderfully great, appears from another testimony still stronger than the former, *viz.* from the mighty apprehensions the *Athenians* were in, that *Pericles* would attempt to make himself a prince, because in his countenance and manner of speaking he was said to resemble *Pisistratus* (44). *Cicero*, writing to *Atticus* concerning *Cæsar's* conquest of the commonwealth, tells him, that it was yet uncertain, whether the victor would prove a *Phalaris* or a *Pisistratus* (45), whereby he plainly means to delineate the worst of tyrannies and the best. It may therefore be affirmed of *Pisistratus*, that of all the sovereigns who illegally acquired their principalities, he governed with the greatest justice, since both *Solon* and *Cicero* testify as much, and since it was thought the highest compliment that could be paid *Cæsar*, that he governed like another *Pisistratus*. We have seen many instances of his humanity; there is yet another which ought not to be suppressed. *Thrasibulus* or *Thrasimedes* was in love with *Pisistratus's* daughter, and it seems was not hated by her. When therefore she was going in a public procession to sacrifice, the young man imprudently kissed her, with which *Pisistratus's* family was so much disgusted, that they entreated him to punish severely this insolent offender; to which *Pisistratus* mildly answered, *If we are severe to those who love us, what shall we do to those that hate us? Thrasimedes*, either encouraged by this, or distracted by his passion, drew in some young men of his acquaintance to assist him in carrying off the lady; this they performed as she came to the shore to offer sacrifice to the sea, and having conveyed her into a bark, made all the sail they could for *Ægina*. *Hippias*, being at that time employed in scouring the seas of pirates, without knowing any thing of what happened, boarded this bark and recovered his sister. When the delinquents were brought before *Pisistratus* and threatened with death, they could by no means be induced to acknowledge their

(42) *Plutarch. Apophtheg.* (43) *Dion. Chrys. Orat. xxii. Cicero, de Orat. lib. iii. c. 34. Isocrat. in Panathen.* (44) *Plutarch. in vita Periclis.* (45) *Lib. vii. epist. 20.*

the former only had the title, and others, that *Pisistratus* bequeathed his authority, not only to these two, but also to

offence. *Pisistratus*, when he had a while considered them, told *Thrasimedes*, that he bestowed on him his daughter in marriage, that no broils might be created among the *Athenians* on account of his family; and by this means bound the relations and friends of that young man for ever to his interest (46). Amongst the worthy acts of this great man, his collecting the works of *Homer* is generally looked upon as one of the chief. We think it therefore necessary to inform our readers how this was performed, the rather because it is contained in an extract from a *Greek* book, the whole of which is hitherto unpublished; and this very extract not easily met with. Our author says, that *Pisistratus*, considering the various ways by which *Homer's* poems had been corrupted, and fearing lest in the end they should be totally lost, he caused public notice to be given throughout *Greece*, that all who were possessed of any genuine works of *Homer*, should bring them to him, promising to give them so much a line, which he punctually performed, even where several persons brought the same verses; because to the first the money was due, and the latter he said deserved it for their good will; he caused the whole to be revised by the most experienced critics, amongst whom *Zenodotus* and *Aristarchus* were the chief (47). He is said to have had three wives, two before he arrived at the sovereignty, and the third the daughter of *Megacles*, whom, as we have shewn, he married merely to keep his word. By the first he had *Hipparchus*, whom *Justin* calls *Diocles*, and *Hippias*, but her name is not known; the second was called *Timonassa*, an *Argive* by birth, by whom he had *Jophon* and *Theffalus*; when he was about to marry this woman, his sons came to him and asked him, If any misbehaviour of theirs had induced him to think of another marriage? No, answered he, *I approve your conduct so much, that I would have more children like you* (48). Yet he refused to have children by his last wife, because her family, though noble, was stained with an indelible mark of infamy among the *Athenians*. The name of his daughter is not known. Besides these children by his wives, he had a bastard son, by an *Argive* woman, whose name was *Hegistratus*, to whom he left the principality of *Sigeium*, whither his son *Hippias* retired when expelled by the *Athenians* (49). As to the dates when the several memorable transactions above recited happened, authors are not thoroughly agreed about them; we shall therefore postpone what we have to say of them, till we come to the death of *Hippias*, and then consider the whole matter together.

(46) *Polyæn. Stratag. lib. v. c. 14.* (47) *Dionys. Thrac. de arte Gram. apud Mæurs. in Præfat. Gronov. Thes. Græc. Vol. IV.* (48) *Plutarch. de vita Caton.* (49) *Herodot. Thucyd. &c. ubi supra.*

his third son *Thessalus*^g; clear it is, that *Hipparchus* and *Hippias* lived and reigned together; as to the former, he was a person of great sweetness of temper, a mighty favourer of learning, and also himself a very learned man. He directed, that the rhapsodists, a sort of bards by profession, should at the great feast stiled *Panathenæa* sing all the poems of *Homer*, that the *Athenians* might be generally instructed both in the sciences and in the moral conduct of life. He treated *Simonides* the poet with great kindness, and kept him always near his person, and sent a galley on purpose to bring the celebrated *Anacreon* to *Athens*^h. *Onomacritus* was another of his favourites, but he having been caught in the fact of interpolating the oracles of *Musæus*, *Hipparchus* not only disinherited him his court, but banished him *Athens*ⁱ. So assiduous was this prince in cultivating the minds of the people, that he caused in city and country, but especially in the latter, statues of *Mercury* to be set up, and certain wise counsels in *Elegiac* verse to be inscribed on both sides of them. Sometimes there was only a short saying, such as, *This is the precept of Hipparchus, be thou strictly just, or deceive not thy friend*. On account therefore of these shining virtues he was greatly admired by his citizens, and the principality of the *Pisistratidæ* seemed to be thoroughly and quietly established^k. But when it was least expected, a conspiracy was formed for taking off both the brothers, which succeeded in respect to *Hipparchus*, and narrowly missed with regard to *Hippias*. Several authors report this fact with variety of circumstances; as to the most material, however, they are pretty well agreed, and they are these: There were two young men in *Athens*, *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, the former was exquisitely beautiful in his person, and on that account, according to the infamous custom of the *Greeks*, violently beloved of the other; this *Harmodius* was also beloved by *Hipparchus*, who, if we may believe *Thucydides*, forced him; *Aristogiton* grievously resented this, and with the injured youth determined to revenge it. Another accident concurred to heighten their resentment; *Hipparchus* finding that *Harmodius* endeavoured to avoid him, publicly affronted him, by not permitting his sister to carry the offering of *Minerva*, as if she was a person unworthy of that office. The two young men, not daring to shew any public signs of resentment, consulted privately with their friends, among whom

^g *ATTENÆUS* Deipnos. lib. xiii. *THUCYD.* ubi supra. *HERAC. PONT.* Fragm. ^h *PLATO*, ubi supra. ⁱ *HERODOT.* lib. vii. ^k *PLATO*, ubi supra.

it was resolved, at the approaching festival of the *Panathæna*, when the citizens were allowed to appear in arms, to attempt, by the death of both the tyrants, to restore *Athens* to liberty; the conspirators believing that the people would be unanimous in support of a design so manifestly calculated for their advantage. When the day came appointed for putting this design into execution, and the conspiracy appeared, as it had been agreed on, near the person of *Hipparchus*, they perceived at a distance one of their own number talking very familiarly with *Hippias*; this amazed them, they were afraid that he had discovered to him the conspirators, taking courage therefore from the supposed desperate state of their affairs, they instantly fell on *Hipparchus*, and with a multitude of wounds dispatched him. The people, however, did not second them in this exploit, but suffered *Harmodius* to be killed upon the spot by *Hipparchus*'s guard, and having seized *Aristogiton* themselves, delivered him upⁿ. *Herodotus*, who was very curious in picking up strange stories, relates a very odd one in relation to this transaction; *Hipparchus*, he tells us, in the night preceding the day on which he was killed, beheld in a dream a tall handsome youth standing by him, who repeated distinctly these obscure lines:

Lion unmov'd, sustain the greatest ill;
For punishment attends injustice still.

AT break of day he acquainted such as had skill in dreams with what he had seen; what their interpretation was, *Herodotus* does not inform us, he adds, that at length *Hipparchus*, despising this omen; went to celebrate the feast, and was there slain in the manner we have related^o. *Hippias* behaved on this occasion with great prudence; he dissembled his grief for his brother's death, that he might the better preserve himself and family: He approached the great crowd of people with his guards, and having picked out such as either their looks or their wearing daggers engaged him to believe conspirators, he dismissed the rest^p. As for the *Athenians* in general, though they seemed to have a high esteem for the *Pisistratidæ*, and had been governed by them with great gentleness for the space of a long series of years, and had not made any general insurrection in order to favour the attempt of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, yet they carried their respect for them after their deaths to a height scarce to be accounted

ⁿ THUCYD. lib. vi. PLATO, ubi supra. ÆLIAN. var. hist. lib. xi. 8.

^o HERODOT. lib. v.

^p THUCYDID. lib. vi.

for; they caused their praises to be sung at the *Panathenæa*^q; they forbade any citizen to call his slave by either of their names^r; they erected brazen statues for them in the forum, which statues, as *Pliny* informs us, were the work of *Praxiteles*^t; these statues *Xerxes* afterwards carried into *Asia*, from whence they were sent back to *Athens*, either by *Alexander*^u, *Antiochus*^v, or *Seleucus*^x; for authors do not agree which. They likewise granted several immunities and honorary privileges to the descendants of these patriots, and did all in their power to make their memory venerable, as we shall see elsewhere^y (P).

THE supreme power being now in the hands of *Hippias*, he began to alter his conduct towards the people, and to treat them with a severity unknown to his family before, and which was the worse born, because himself had been so mild a prince. The first effects of this change in his temper fell upon those concerned in the late conspiracy, he ordered *Aristogiton* to be put to the torture, in order to extort from him

^q DION. CHRYS. Orat. xi. PHILOST. in vit. Apoll. lib. vii. c. 2.
^r LIBAN. Declam. xxix. ^t H. N. lib. xxxiv. c. 8. ^u AR-
 RIAN. Exped. Alex. lib. iii. ^v PAUSAN. in Atticis. ^x VAL-
 MAX. lib. ii. c. 10. ^y DEMOST. Orat. in Leptin.

(P) The history of *Hipparchus*'s murder is variously reported. *Thucydides* says expressly, that *Harmodius*, who was in the flower of his age, was beloved by *Aristogiton* a citizen of the middle rank, and ascribes the murder of *Hipparchus* to his rival's hatred (50). *Aristotle* calls *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton* lovers (51), and so does *Maximus Tyrius* (52). *Justin* differs from every body, and gives quite another turn to the whole affair. After *Pisistratus*'s death, *Diocles*, one of his sons, says he, having ravished a virgin, was killed by the brother of the maid (53). He had this probably from *Trogus Pompeius*, whose work he abridged; but where he had it is not known. *Aristogiton* is said by some authors to have been an humble dependant on *Harmodius*, and his mistress *Leæna* no better than a singing-woman who used to attend at feasts (54). On the whole therefore, whatever honours the *Athenians* thought fit to decree these men, their conspiracy seems rather the effects of passion, than any desire to do their country good; or at best, the latter was pretended to cover the former; but it suited the *Athenians*, who were violent enemies to the government of a single person, to magnify this action as glorious, and to give the actors therein the title of heroes.

(50) *Thucyd.* lib. vi. (51) *Rhetor.* lib. ii. (52) *Maxim.*
Tyr. dissert. (53) *Lib.* ii. c. 9. (54) *Plin.* lib. vii.
 cap. 23.

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the names of those who were privy to this transaction. This man, as soon as he began to feel the torments which were prepared for him, named some of *Hippias's* best friends, who were immediately put to death. He then named more, who received the same fate, and when *Hippias* asked him if there were not still some others, he replied smiling, *I know of none now, but yourself, that deserves to suffer death*². But it was not *Aristogiton* only who triumphed over the cruelty of *Hippias*; a woman he kept, whose name was *Leæna*, behaved with no less intrepidity than he. *Hippias* having directed her to be tortured in order to extort discoveries, she bore it patiently as long as she was able, but when she found she could endure it no longer, she bit off her tongue, and spit it out, that it might not be in her power to declare any thing to the prejudice of the man she loved. The *Athenians*, conceiving it indecent to set up the statue of a lewd woman in their citadel, contented themselves with erecting that of a lioness without a tongue, alluding to her name, on which was engraven these words, *Her tongue herself bit off*³. This conspiracy being, as *Hippias* conceived, thoroughly quashed, he took all the measures, which human policy could suggest, to secure himself in the possession of his dignity; he contracted leagues with foreign princes, he increased his revenues by various methods, though till then he had been contented with the twentieth part of every man's annual income; he obliged the *Athenians* to bring in their silver coin at a certain price, and coined new. These violent methods soon put an end to a government, the lenity of which had alone preserved it so long. *Hippias* held the sovereignty only three years after the demise of his brother, and in the fourth was expelled^b (Q).

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² POLYÆN. Stratag. lib. i. c. 22.³ PLUT. de Garr.^b HERODOT. lib. v. c. 45.

(Q) It may seem a little strange, that in speaking of the government of the *Pisistratidæ* we have asserted, that they did not greatly violate the laws or constitution of their country. In order to explain this, we must descend a little into the particulars of *Pisistratus's* policy. He pretended, as we see in his letter to *Solon*, to act as a lawful monarch, yet he did not degrade any of the magistrates of the commonwealth, but suffered them to continue vested with the same power they had before, taking care, however, that the archon should be either of his family, or one whom he could depend on; so that he at once preserved that superiority over his countrymen which he affected, and that form of rule which

The Pisistratidæ expelled Athens, and the democracy restored.

WE have already observed, that *Megacles*, who was of the family of *Alcmaeon*, left his country, when *Pisistratus* was a second time restored, but he and those who were with him carried away a great sum of money ; the *Alcmaonidæ*, for so the family of *Megacles* from their great ancestor *Alcmaeon* were styled, settled at *Lipjædrum* in *Pæonia*, and there gave refuge to all who fled from *Athens*, which were not a few ; for *Pisistratus*, as some say, or as others report, *Hippias*, banished all that depended on that family, and suffered not so much as the dead to rest in their graves, on the old superstitious account, it may be, of their being thought execrable. This family residing, as we have said, at *Lipjædrum*, busied themselves intirely in contriving means for expelling the *Pisistratidæ*, and at last devised a method which proved not unsuccessful. They agreed with the *Amphictyons* or states-general of *Greece* to rebuild the temple of *Delphi* ; as they were possessed of great riches, they executed what they undertook with much greater magnificence than they were tied to by their contract, and particularly faced the frontispiece with *Parian* marble instead of common stone, to the use of which only they were obliged. While they were thus employed in the public service of *Greece*, they served themselves too a lit-

c SUIDAS.

was so pleasing to them. That all the family of *Pisistratus* had in their turns a share in the administration, might be made appear from various testimonies ; at present we will insist only on one. *Pisistratus*, the son of *Hippias*, and grandson of the great *Pisistratus*, as we learn from *Thucydides* (55). placed, during the time that he was archon, an altar in the forum of the twelve gods, and another in the temple of the *Pythian Apollo* ; the inscription on the former the *Athenians* demolished, but that on the latter they suffered to remain, which ran thus : *This monument, during the time of his magistracy, Pisistratus the son of Hippias placed in the temple of the Pythian Apollo.* It is true, his name is not found in the table of archons, because the year in which he was archon could not be settled, however, the authority before produced may be assuredly relied on. The excesses committed by *Hippias*, after the death of his brother, are evident proofs of the mildness of the administration preceding it ; for few things that he did would have been thought extraordinary in another king. We will conclude this note with observing, that *Augustus Cæsar* affected, like *Pisistratus*, to leave the popular magistrates and the senate in the nominal possession of their authority, though at the same time he held the supreme power himself.

(55) *Thucyd. lib. vi.*

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tle; for they corrupted the *Pythia*, i. e. she who gave out the oracles, and engaged her to exhort all the *Lacedemonians* who came to consult the oracle, either on behalf of the state or on their private account, to deliver *Athens*. This had the effect they expected, for the *Lacedemonians*, finding this admonition incessantly inculcated, sent *Anchimolius*, a man of great quality, at the head of an army into *Attica* to perform what the oracle had directed, notwithstanding the *Pisistratidæ* were at that time their good friends and allies^d. *Hippias*, however, receiving advice of these proceedings, sent to the *Thessalians*, who were his confederates, to demand their assistance, who readily sent him a thousand horse under the command of *Cineas* one of their princes. A short time after, *Anchimolius* with his fleet arrived on the *Athenian* coast, and immediately after the army landed and incamped. The *Pisistratidæ* did not, however, abandon *Athens*, but *Hippias*, having cleared the adjacent country in such a manner that the *Thessalian* horse might act with ease, attacked the *Lacedemonians* suddenly, routed them with a great slaughter, slew their general *Anchimolius*, and obliged the shattered remains of his army to betake themselves to their ships. The body of the *Spartan* general was honourably interred near the temple of *Hercules* in the *Cynosarges*. The *Lacedemonians*, incensed at this unfortunate expedition, determined to send another army into *Attica*, which accordingly they did under their king *Cleomenes*, who marched by land, and having at his entrance into the *Athenian* territories defeated the *Thessalian* horse, who thereupon retired precipitately into their own country, he made use of this opportunity to besiege *Hippias*, who had retired within the *Pelasgic* wall; this siege, however, could not have produced any great matter, *Hippias* and his forces being well provided with all things within, *Cleomenes* and his army destitute of all things without; but an accident changed the scene, and constrained *Hippias* to abandon *Athens*. The *Pisistratidæ* were so careful of their children, that to prevent any unlucky accident from befalling them, they attempted to send them out of *Attica*; which measure of theirs, though intended for the preservation of their offspring, proved the ruin of themselves, their children falling into the hands of the *Lacedemonians*. The *Pisistratidæ*, retaining still the same affection for their children, agreed by treaty to retire in five days out of *Attica* in order to redeem them^e. This accordingly they did, nor were they in any

^d HERODOT. ubi supra.
in LACON.

^e ARISTOPH. *Lysistr.* PAUSAN.

danger of wanting a place of refuge : The princes of *Thessaly* invited them into their country, the king of *Macedon* offered them a city and territory if they would retire into his dominions †. But *Hippias* and his family chose rather to go to the city of *Sigeium*, which *Pisistratus* had conquered and left behind him to his posterity, *Herodotus* says to *Hegistratus* his natural son. From this time forwards the *Athenians* pursued this family with implacable hatred, retaining such a sense of their usurpation, that, lest other eminent persons should imitate them, and through their interest in the people assume the sovereignty, they were most ready to banish even the most worthy of their citizens, that at all events they might be safe, as we shall have frequent occasion to shew in the succeeding pages of this history.

THE *Athenians* did not enjoy an uninterrupted quiet, as they expected, after the expulsion of the *Pisistratidæ*. The people were quickly divided into two factions, at the head of the one was *Clysthenes*, the most eminent of the *Alcmæonidæ*, and at the head of the other *Isagoras* the son of *Tirfander*, a man of great quality and in high esteem with the nobility of *Athens*. *Clysthenes*, who was a person of great parts, as we may guess from his having a principal hand in corrupting the *Pythia*, which was the prime cause of *Hippias*'s expulsion, applied himself chiefly to the people, and, in order thoroughly to engage them in his interest, sought by all methods possible to encrease their power. With this view he altered many things in *Solon*'s scheme of government ; for whereas till this time the *Athenian* tribes had been but four in number, he augmented them to ten, and encreased the senate from four hundred to five. *Isagoras*, penetrating his design, and readily conceiving that by this course he would get the better of him and his faction, immediately resolved to seek aid from the *Lacedæmonians*. This seemed to him the more easy, because in their last expedition he had contracted a strict friendship with *Cleomenes* their king ; he likewise devised a very proper expedient for the expulsion of his rival, viz. the so often mentioned story of the putting to death *Cylon*'s associates after their taking sanctuary in the temple of *Minerva* ; but, as we have heretofore observed, the *Alcmæonidæ* were of the same family with *Megacles*, who was principally concerned in that transaction : the *Lacedæmonians* readily came into *Isagoras*'s proposition, and *Cleomenes* suddenly dispatched a herald to *Athens*, with a declaration of war in case the *Alcmæonidæ* were not immediately banished. The *Athenians*, either dreading

† HERODOT. ubi supræ.

the *Lacedemonian* power, or being tired already of *Clyſthenes*, made no great difficulty of the thing; but to avoid a war banished their benefactors. The worst of it was; that this did not answer their end, for *Cleomenes*, at the head of a *Spartan* army, soon after entered *Attica*. On his arrival at *Athens* he drove seven hundred families into banishment, exclusive of those whom the *Athenians* had before banished with *Clyſthenes*; after this he would have dissolved the senate, and have vested the government in three hundred of the principal persons of *Isagoras's* faction; this was pushing the matter too far; the *Athenians* therefore, perceiving that either they must submit to slavery or resist the *Lacedemonian*, immediately took up arms, and constrained *Cleomenes* and his troops to retire, together with *Isagoras* and his friends, into the citadel, where they besieged them for two days. On the third the king of *Lacedæmon*, being now convinced that force would do nothing with the *Athenians*, surrendered upon these terms, that all who were in the citadel should have leave to retire out of *Attica* unmolested. The *Athenians*, however, fell upon such as were separated from the army, and put them to death without mercy; amongst these was *Timesthucus* the brother of *Cleomenes*, so that the *Athenians* no longer kept any measures with the *Lacedemonians*, looking upon them as avowed enemies, who above all things sought to subvert that democracy, of which they were so fond, and to constitute an aristocracy, which in truth was ever the aim of the *Spartans*, who, wherever they had authority, set up that form of rule. One reason of which among others was this, that they could better depend on the friendship of such states than such as were governed by the people, who very seldom know their true interest, and are frequently prevailed on to change their counsels. But to return to the current of our history.

Cleomenes and his *Spartans* had no sooner quitted the *Athenian* territories, than the people of that country recalled *Clyſthenes* and all the families they had sent into exile, that they might be the better able to support a war which they foresaw they should be engaged in. Their conjectures were perfectly well founded, *Cleomenes* raised forces throughout all *Peloponnesus*, though without declaring positively his intention, which was to make *Isagoras*, who was still with him, tyrant of *Athens*. When all things were ready, the *Lacedemonian* king engaged the *Bæotians* on one side, and the *Chalcidians* on the other, to attack the *Athenians*, while he at the head of the grand army entered the country of *Eleusis*. The *Athenians*, knowing that it was impossible for them to set on foot armies sufficient to look all their enemies in the face, resolved to leave
their

their territories to the mercy of the *Bæotians* and *Chalcidians*, and with all the forces they could draw together to march against *Cleomenes*. This resolution of theirs they carried accordingly into execution; but before the armies were ready to engage, the *Corinthians*, who were among the forces of *Cleomenes*, began to doubt the justice of their cause, and, thinking it safest not to act where they were doubtful, marched back to their own country. *Damaratus* the son of *Ariston*, the other king of *Sparta* and colleague of *Cleomenes*, was also against this expedition; and his opposition was the more remarkable, because till then he had never differed with his colleague. The confederates observing, that neither the *Lacedæmonian* princes could agree amongst themselves, or prevail upon the *Corinthians* to remain with the army, began to distaste this business, and, dropping off by degrees, put the *Athenians* out of fear.

WHEN the *Spartans* and their allies were withdrawn, the people of *Athens* determined to revenge themselves upon the *Chalcidians*, against whom the army marched immediately; but finding the *Bæotians* had assembled a considerable body of forces between them and the *Euripus*, they determined to attack them, which they did accordingly with such success, that the *Bæotians* were intirely routed, a great number of them slain, and seven hundred taken prisoners. This victory opened a free passage into *Eubæa*, whither the *Athenians* passed over the same day, and falling upon the *Chalcidians*, obtained a glorious victory over them, taking a vast number of prisoners, whom with the *Bæotians* they carried back with them to *Athens*, leaving in *Eubæa* four thousand men. All the prisoners taken in this battle the *Athenians* put in irons, though they afterwards set them at liberty on receiving two *Minæ* for each man by way of ransom. The fetters, however, they hung up in the citadel, and having consecrated the tenth part of what they received for their ransom, they purchased therewith a chariot with four horses a-breast, which they set up in the portico of the citadel with this inscription:

Warm with just rage, when the *Athenian* youth
O'ercame *Bæotian* and *Chalcidian* bands;
Their foes in fetters bound, to *Pallas* then

These as the tenth of all their spoils, they plac'd.

THIS happy success of the *Athenian* arms falling out in a short time after the expulsion of the *Pisistratidæ*, *Herodotus* makes the following observation thereupon; “ thus the affairs of
“ the *Athenians* flourished, yet they are not the only example
“ of this kind. For all places abound in instances of the
“ prosperity that attends an equal distribution of power. Un-
“ der

“ der their tyrants indeed they were not inferior in war to
 “ any of their neighbours: But they had no sooner freed
 “ themselves from that servitude, than they far surpassed all
 “ the rest, and became the principal nation of *Greece*; which
 “ manifestly shews, that as long as they were oppressed they
 “ acted remissly, and would not exert their courage to the
 “ utmost, because they knew their victories could only re-
 “ dound to the advantage of their masters; whereas, after
 “ they had recovered their liberty, every man contended who
 “ should do best, because they fought for themselves. And
 “ such was the state of the *Athenian* affairs” &c. That *Hero-*
dotus had reason to introduce this reflection here, appears from
 the subsequent conduct of the people of *Athens*, who, no
 longer passive under any affronts, took up arms frequently a-
 gainst her insulting neighbours, and forced them to be both
 quiet and submissive.

THE *Bæotians*, stung with the indignities offered to their
 countrymen, when made prisoners by the *Athenians*, resolved
 to revenge themselves; and, as the custom of those times was,
 before they began the war, sent to consult the oracle at *Delphi*.
 Having received its answer, and having spent a considerable time
 in consulting on its meaning, they at last resolved to engage the
 inhabitants of *Ægina* to invade *Attica* at the same time, which
 it was easy for them to do, lying but a few miles from that
 coast. This nation, having an hereditary hatred to the *Athe-*
nians, and being elate on account of their great wealth, rea-
 dily embraced the proposal; and, while the people of *Athens*
 bent all their attention towards the *Bæotian* war, landed a con-
 siderable army on the opposite side, and wasted all the sea-coasts.
 The *Athenians* immediately took fire at this, but sending to
 and fro to *Delphi* before they equipped a fleet against *Ægina*,
 they had suddenly a new affair upon their hands.

Cleomenes, when he returned to *Sparta*, after his unsuc-
 cessful expedition, produced certain oracles, which he said he
 had found in the citadel of *Athens*, while he was besieged
 therein; the purport of these oracles was, that *Athens* would in
 time rival *Sparta*. On the back of this came out the discovery
 of *Clysthenes*'s confederacy with the priests of *Apollo*, where-
 by the *Lacedemonians* had been engaged to drive the *Pisistrati-*
dæ out of *Athens*, or, in other words, to sacrifice their fast
 friends to such as by their interests were bound to be their e-
 nemies. The *Spartans*, repenting sorely of the folly they
 had committed, sent for *Hippias* from *Sigeium*, in order to
 restore him to his principality. He readily obeyed their summons;

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and, though it cost him a long voyage by sea, came in person to *Lacedæmon*, where the kings of *Sparta*, and the deputies of the states in alliance with them, were in deep consultation. *Soficles* the *Corinthian* made a long harangue against the proposition for restoring *Hippias*, which had such an influence on the deputies from the rest of the confederates, that the *Lacedæmonians* found it impossible to engage them in this design, and were therefore constrained to abandon it themselves, so that *Hippias* was obliged to return to *Sigeium*, without relinquishing, however, his hopes of one day reducing *Athens*.

The Ioni-
an war.

Aristagoras the *Milesian* having set on foot a revolt in *Ionia*, and having failed in his attempt to engage the *Lacedæmonians* to abet it, came to *Athens*, and, as *Herodotus* observes, found it easier to manage all the citizens thereof by his eloquence, than to persuade the *Lacedæmonian* king. In consequence of his fine speeches, they decreed, that twenty ships should be sent to the assistance of the *Ionians* under the command of *Melanthius*, an *Athenian* nobleman universally esteemed; by the assistance of which fleet the *Ionians* did many great exploits, and amongst the rest sacked *Sardis*; of which when the *Persian* king had advice, he declared himself the sworn enemy of *Athens*, and solemnly besought God, that he might one day have it in his power to be revenged of them. This was the source of those wars which followed afterwards between the *Persians* and the *Greeks*, and which were so fatal to both nations. In the end, however, the *Ionians* were unsuccessful, and the *Persians* reduced them again under their yoke.

WHEN the *Ionian* war was ended, the *Persian* king sent to demand *Earth* and *Water*, as tokens of submission, from the *Greeks*, to which, out of fear of his mighty power at least, most of the islanders yielded, and amongst the rest the inhabitants of *Ægina*. The *Athenians*, as soon as they received notice of this, took it into their heads, that this nation had submitted themselves to the great king, that they might be at liberty to act against the *Athenians*, under colour of their being subject to the *Persian* crown. On this account they, that is the *Athenians*, sent ambassadors to *Sparta* to accuse the inhabitants of *Ægina* of treachery towards the *Greeks*. The *Spartans* upon this complaint sent their king *Cleomenes* to *Ægina*, who on his arrival attempted to seize the persons principally concerned in making their submission to the *Persians*. But when he attempted this, *Crius* the son of *Polycritus* interposed, and told him, he should not carry away any of his countrymen, because he apprehended what he did was of his own head, and not by any commission from the *Lacedæmonians*. This exceedingly irritated *Cleomenes*, who notwithstanding

was

was constrained to return without effecting what he designed, his colleague *Damaratus* having accused him at home. But having after he came back procured his colleague to be deposed, and his own kinsman *Leotychides* to be crowned in his stead, he brought the last mentioned prince with him into the island of *Ægina*, and having seized ten of the principal persons of that island, and amongst them *Crius* before mentioned, he brought them away prisoners, and delivered them up to the *Athenians*. Not long after having in his phrenzy killed himself, all his tyrannical acts were disapproved by the *Spartans*, who, on the inhabitants of *Ægina*'s accusing *Leotychides* for the injury he had done them, delivered up that prince to them, who, however, desired nothing more of him, than that he would go with them to *Athens* in order to solicit there the release of *Crius* and his associates. When they arrived there the *Spartan* king made a long oration, in which he endeavoured to shew, that the hostages were only deposited by him and his colleague in *Athens* that they might be safe, and that, now, when he came again to demand them, it was their duty to deliver them up. But this either the *Athenians* did not, or would not, understand, so that the war between them and the people of *Ægina* was still carried on with various success. The latter being informed, that the *Athenian* galley, which went annually to *Delphi*, lay at anchor at *Sunium*, they resolved to intercept it, which they did, and took many persons of distinction aboard it. The *Athenians*, to revenge this indignity, entered into a treaty with one *Nicodromus*, a person of great interest in *Ægina*; he had been formerly banished his country by those who then governed it, and in order to be revenged on them resolved to betray it to the *Athenians*. The *Athenians* for this purpose fitted out a considerable fleet, but not thinking it sufficient for their purpose, *Ægina* being then mistress of those seas, they had recourse to the *Corinthians* for their assistance; this state, being the fast friend and ally of *Athens*, did not give her a denial, but alledged a law of theirs, whereby they were forbidden to lend their ships; but with much ado an expedient was found, whereby the *Athenians* obtained what they wanted; and yet the *Corinthians* did not break their law, the latter yielding to the former five of their ships in consideration of their paying them five drachmæ for each. The length of this treaty frustrated the *Athenian* hopes, for *Nicodromus*, depending on their arrival, on the day prefixed seized on the old town and declared for the *Athenians*; but he and his party, not being able alone to resist the whole force of the island, were obliged to secure themselves by flight, which they did the very day before the *Athenian* and *Corinthian* fleet appeared before *Ægina*. This

defection of *Nicodromus*, however, proved very beneficial to the *Athenians*; for they having assigned to him and his associates land on the shore opposite to *Ægina*, they from thence committed continual piracies and depredations upon their countrymen. What the issue was of this war, *Herodotus* does not inform us: It is generally conceived, that its continuance was a thing fortunate for the *Athenians* and for *Greece* in general; for it exercised that people in maritime affairs, and taught them the use and consequence of a naval force, which hitherto they had little understood. When the first news came, that the *Persian* had in view the conquest of *Greece*, the *Athenians* and the inhabitants of *Ægina*, as well as the rest of the *Grecian* states, compromised their differences, that they might be the better able to resist the power of the great king, who threatened at least the liberties of the *Greeks* in general, in revenge for the *Athenians* assisting the *Ionians* when they fought to recover their freedom *.

Hippias
endeavours
to be resto-
red to the
principali-
ty of A-
thens.

WE have already taken notice of the displeasure which *Darius* had taken against the *Athenians* on account of the sacking of *Sardis*; but we hitherto forbore to mention the intrigues of *Hippias* in order to obtain by force the principality of *Athens*, from whence, as we have before related, thro' the assistance of the *Lacedemonians*, he had been expelled. This old man, after his returning from *Lacedæmon* to *Asia*, went to *Artaphernes*, governor of the adjacent provinces for the *Persian* king, and excited him to make war upon his country, promising, that himself would be obedient to *Darius*, and greatly further all his designs, in case he could be restored to that authority which formerly he had enjoyed at *Athens*. The *Athenians* were not ignorant, either of his journey, or of the propositions he had made to *Artaphernes*, they therefore sent ambassadors to this nobleman, to entreat him not to give any heed to *Hippias's* proposals, but to suffer the people of *Athens* to remain free and quiet as they were. But *Artaphernes*, conceiving that it would be more for his master's interest to have a prince governing *Athens*, than to leave it under a democratic form of rule, answered the *Athenians* haughtily, that if they would have peace with the great king, they must receive *Hippias* and obey him; but this was so distasteful to that generous people, that they immediately resolved to give the enemies of *Darius* all the assistance they could, and to endeavour, if it were possible, to cut him out so much work near home, that he might have no opportunity

* HERODOT. ubi supra,

to attempt any thing either against them or *Greece*: At last, however, *Darius* commissioned *Mardonius* to revenge him of the insults which he conceived had been put upon him by the *Greeks*; but *Mardonius* and his troops, through a storm at sea and other accidents, having been able to do nothing, *Datis* and *Artaphernes* the son of *Artaphernes* were commissioned to do what he was to have done ^h.

THE misfortune which the *Persians* had had in suffering shipwreck, when their fleet doubled the promontory of *Athos*, made such an impression on the commanders last mentioned, that they resolved to avoid that dangerous navigation, by drawing their forces into the plains of *Cilicia*, and passing over from thence through the *Cyclades* to *Eubœa* in order to destroy *Eretria*; and from thence to proceed to *Athens*, they having it in charge from *Darius* to ruin both places, and to bring away the inhabitants, that they might be at his disposal. The *Eretrians*, as soon as they had advice of the arrival of the *Persian* fleet among the *Cyclades*, sent to demand assistance from the *Athenians*. That state, with a magnanimity scarce to be paralleled, ordered the four thousand men whom they had left in the *Chalcidian* territory to advance to the aid of the *Eretrians*, which they did. But the inhabitants of that city were neither steady nor honest; one party was for receiving the *Athenian* succours into the city, and holding out to the last extremity; a second was for abandoning the city, and retiring to the mountains of *Eubœa*: A third party sought to betray their country to the *Persians* for the sake of private advantage. *Æschines* the son of *Nothos*, a man of principal authority among his countrymen, perceiving the situation things were in, generously informed the commanders of the *Athenian* troops, and advised them to return home: in consequence of which advice they immediately retired to *Oropus*, and thereby escaped that total destruction which would have befallen them, if they had remained in the neighbourhood of *Eretria*. For that city, being betrayed to the *Persians* by some of its inhabitants, was pillaged, burnt, and its inhabitants sold for slaves, according to the command of *Darius*.

THE *Athenians*, who, as we have often remarked before, were generally divided among themselves, and persecuting one another when they wanted foreign wars to employ them, united now with great zeal and earnestness, when they heard that the *Persians* were so near them. They raised with the utmost expedition all the forces they were able, and yet could not

^h Id. *ibid*.

draw together above nine thousand men. These, with a thousand *Plateans* who afterwards joined them, were commanded by ten general officers, who had equal power. Among these were *Miltiades*, *Aristides*, and *Themistocles*, all men of distinguished valour and great abilities. But it being generally conceived, that it would be impossible for them, with their small forces, to give any interruption to the *Persians*, they sent *Phidippides* to *Sparta* to intreat the immediate assistance of that state. This man, as *Herodotus* informs us, affirmed afterwards to the *Athenians*, that passing by mount *Parthenius*, he heard himself loudly called by his name, upon which turning about, he beheld the god *Pan*, who, after asking him why the *Athenians* held him in no greater esteem, assured him, that he had deserved very well of their state, and would continue to do so; of which when the people of *Athens* had information, they caused a temple to be erected to his honour near the citadel, and honoured him thence forward with annual sacrifices, and a lamp continually burning. *Phidippides*, after this strange adventure, arrived on the second day at *Sparta*, where he communicated his business to the senate in the following terms: *Men of Lacedæmon, the Athenians desire you to assist them, and not to suffer the most antient of all the Grecian cities to be enslaved by the Barbarians. Eretria is already destroyed, and Greece consequently weakened by the loss of so considerable a place.* The *Lacedæmonians* readily agreed to what he proposed, and ordered their troops to be ready to march, but at the same time declared, that they would not depart in less than five days, one of their laws forbidding them to begin an expedition, but at the full of the moon, of which it was then but the ninth day. The *Persians* in the mean time being informed by *Hippias*, that the plains of *Marathon* would be the most advantageous place for them to engage in, because it would afford them room to act with their horse; they following his advice, after the destruction of *Eretria*, made all the haste they possibly could thither, of which when the *Athenians* had advice, they immediately ordered their forces to march to *Marathon* also. An act of amazing confidence, considering the mighty disproportion between the *Persian* and *Athenian* army.

The battle of Marathon. THE *Athenians*, being encamped at the temple of *Hercules*, were there joined by a thousand men, the whole strength of the little city of *Platæa*, which she now hazarded in the cause of *Athens* out of gratitude for former favours (R). A council

Year after the flood, 2509. Before Christ 490.

(R) The city of *Platæa* was in old times free. *Herodotus* has given us a very full account of the reasons which induced its inhabitants

council of war being held here, the generals were very much divided in their opinions; some were for fighting, others not; *Miltiades*, observing this, and considering the great importance of the matter in debate, addressed himself to *Callimachus* of *Aphidna*, who was *Polemarch*, and whose power was equal to that of all the other generals, in these words;

“ You alone, O *Callimachus*, must now determine, either
 “ to see the *Athenians* reduced to the condition of slaves,
 “ or, by preserving the liberty of your country, have an eternal monument of your fame, surpassing the glory of
 “ *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. For the *Athenians* were ne-

bitants to raise their utmost force in the cause of *Athens*. We cannot therefore deliver it better to our reader than in his words;

“ The *Plateans* were already under the protection of *Athens*, and
 “ the *Athenians* had gone through many dangers in their defence.
 “ For when the *Plateans* saw themselves oppressed by the *Thebans*,
 “ they first offered their submission to *Cleomenes* the son of *Anaxandrides* and to the *Lacedemonians*. But they rejected the offer
 “ in these terms: *We are placed, said they, at such a distance from*
 “ *you, that in time of necessity our succours will prove ineffectual.*
 “ *For your country may be frequently ravaged before we can be informed of your danger. We advise you therefore to put your selves under the protection of the Athenians, who are your neighbours, and sufficiently able to defend you.* This counsel the *Lacedemonians*
 “ gave, not out of any good will to the *Plateans*, but because they
 “ were desirous to see the *Athenians* weakened by a war against the
 “ *Bæotians*. However, the *Plateans*, approving their advice,
 “ went to *Athens*, and arriving there, when the *Athenians* were
 “ met to sacrifice to the twelve gods, they sat down by the altar in
 “ the posture of suppliants, and made their submission to that
 “ place. Which when the *Thebans* heard, they sent an army against *Platæa*, and at the same time the *Athenians* marched to
 “ assist the *Plateans*. But as they were ready to engage in battle,
 “ the *Corinthians*, apprehending the consequences, interposed their
 “ good offices to reconcile the contending parties, and, with the
 “ consent of both sides, determined the dispute on this agreement;
 “ *That the Thebans should permit all those Bæotians, who would no*
 “ *longer be accounted members of Bæotia, to do as they thought most*
 “ *convenient for themselves.* After this reconciliation the *Corinthians*
 “ returned home, and as the *Athenians* were retiring likewise, the
 “ *Bæotians* fell upon them in their march, but were repulsed with
 “ loss. Upon which success the *Athenians* enlarged the frontiers of
 “ the *Plateans*, and instead of that appointed by the *Corinthians*,
 “ fixed the limits of the *Thebans* at *Asopus* and *Hysia*. In this manner the *Plateans* came under the protection of the *Athenians*,
 “ and joined their forces at *Marathon* (55)”.

“ ver in so great danger from the time they were first a peo-
 “ ple. If they fall under the power of the *Medes*, one may
 “ easily imagine what usage they must expect from *Hippias* :
 “ But if they conquer, *Athens* will be the principal city of
 “ *Greece*. To let you know then by what means these things
 “ may be effected, and from what cause the fate of *Athens*
 “ is now in your hands, I shall acquaint you, that we are at
 “ this instant divided in opinion touching a battle; some of
 “ us proposing to fight, and others advising the contrary. If
 “ we decline a battle, I foresee some great dissention will shake
 “ the fidelity of the army, and induce them to a compliance
 “ with the *Medes*. But if we fight before the corruption
 “ slides into the hearts of the *Athenians*, we may hope from
 “ the equity of the gods to obtain the victory. All these
 “ things are in your power, and entirely depend upon the
 “ resolution you shall take. For if you would support my
 “ opinion with the accession of your vote, you will see your
 “ country free, and *Athens* the most illustrious city of *Greece* :
 “ But if you join with those who would dissuade us from a
 “ battle, you can expect no other consequences, than such
 “ as are most contrary to these hopes”. *Callimachus*, whose
 voice was decisive according to the *Athenian* laws, joined di-
 rectly with *Miltiades*, and declared for giving battle immedi-
 ately. Each of the captains commanded in chief by turns,
 but *Aristides* giving up his day to *Miltiades*, the rest did so
 too. That excellent person accepted this compliment for the
 good of his country, but he would not fight till his own pro-
 per day of command came about, for fear that, through any
 latent sparks of jealousy and envy, any of the generals should
 be led not to do their duty. But when the day before-menti-
 oned came, he, without waiting for any farther succours,
 disposed the troops in order of battle, placing the chief of his
 strength in the wings. *Callimachus*, as *Polemarch*, command-
 ed on the right, the *Platæans* were posted on the left, and the
 sacrifices being offered, they began instantly to advance with
 inexpressible ardour towards their enemies. The *Persian* ar-
 my was ranged in battalia near a mile off, and when they be-
 held the *Athenians* running towards them, they imputed it to
 folly and ignorance of military discipline, and were convinced of
 this, when they observed that they had neither horse nor pike-
 men. However, they soon found their error when the charge be-
 gan: For the *Athenians* and *Platæans* fought with such obstinate
 valour on the right and left, that the *Barbarians* were forced to
 fly on both sides. The *Persians* and *Saccæ*, however, perceiv-
 ing that the *Athenian* centre was weak, charged with such force
 that they broke through it: This those on the right and left perceiv-

ed, but did not attempt to succour it, till they had put to flight both the wings of the *Persian* army; then bending the points of their wings towards their own centre, they enclosed the hitherto victorious *Persians*, and cut them to pieces. This put an end to the engagement, for the remains of the army fled, as fast as they could, to their fleet, whither the *Athenians* pursued them. When therefore the *Persians* in haste hurried on board the booty they had acquired in *Eretria*, and sought to escape by sea that ill fate which attended them on shore; the *Athenians* in order to hinder this, began to set the ships on fire, and to board such as lay nearest the shore; in which bold attempt, though they had some success, yet the *Persians* at last got under sail, and bore away for *Athens*^l. It was reported in those times, that the *Alcæonidæ* encouraged the *Persians* to make a second attempt, by holding up, as they approached the shore, a shield for a signal; however it was, the *Persian* fleet endeavoured to double the cape of *Sunium*, with a view to surprize the city of *Athens* before the army could return. But *Miltiades* seeing the danger his countrymen were in, leaving *Aristides* with a thousand men to guard the prisoners and the spoil, marched at the head of the other nine thousand with such diligence, that they arrived at the temple of *Hercules* in *Cynosarges*, which was but at a small distance from the city, before the *Barbarians* were in a condition to attack it. Which when the *Persian* admiral had notice of, he sailed from the port of *Phalerum* for *Asia*, and so put an end to a very unfortunate expedition^k.

THE battle of *Marathon* makes deservedly a great figure in history; *Cornelius Nepos* assigns a just reason, because never before had so small a body of forces overcome so vast a host^l. *Herodotus* tells us, that six thousand three hundred of the *Persians* were slain there, and of the *Athenians* one hundred ninety two^m, which is infinitely more probable than what *Justin* relates of the *Persians* losing two hundred thousand men in the battle and by shipwreckⁿ. The same author says, that the *Athenians* took many of the ships, and destroyed many more; *Herodotus* says, there were only seven ships taken. Certain it is, that the *Athenians* behaved with amazing intrepidity, and that several amongst them distinguished themselves in a most extraordinary manner. *Calli-*

^l HERODOT. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. in vit. Arist. CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Miltiad. VALER. MAX. &c. ^k PLUTARCH. in vit. Arist. ^l ubi supra. ^m ubi supra. ⁿ lib. ii. c. 9.

machus the *Polemarch*, after having done all that a brave and wise officer could do, lost his life in the field; *Stasileus* the son of *Thrasilus*, one of the ten commanders, was also killed; *Cynegyrrus* the son of *Euphorion* laid hold on the prow of one of the *Persian* ships with both his hands, and having them struck off by an ax died of his wounds; this is *Herodotus's* account. *Justin* carries matters much farther; he says, that *Cynegyrrus*, having done wonders in the fight, pursued the *Persians* to the shore, and laid hold on a ship ready to sail with his right hand, when that was cut off he seized it with his left, of which being likewise deprived, he caught hold of it with his mouth, his spirit being such, that, untamed by long fatigue and the loss of both his hands, he, with the rage of a wild beast, fought at last with his teeth. *Herodotus*, who speaks so modestly of *Cynegyrrus's* bravery, tells us a very extraordinary tale of one *Epizelus* the son of *Cephagoras*; he says, that fighting in his rank with a becoming valour, he of a sudden lost his sight without receiving any blow, and continued blind all the rest of his life. This would not have been worth repeating, if *Herodotus* had not affirmed that he heard this man declare, that he thought he saw a man of uncommon height standing by him in complete armour, holding a shield, which was covered by his beard; and that this phantom afterwards, passing by him, killed the person who was posted next to him. Whatever we may think of the *Athenian* story, this must be admitted an indubitable proof, that *Herodotus's* account of this battle deserves credit in all probable circumstances, since what he relates he had from the mouths of those who were eye-witnesses. The number of the *Persians* is very differently reported; *Justin* says, that they were six hundred thousand, *Cornelius Nepos* makes them ten times the number of the *Athenians*, that is one hundred thousand, which is probably not far from the truth^o.

AMONGST the many eminent persons who were present in this famous engagement, was *Hippias* the son of *Pisistratus*, who hoped through the power of the *Persians* to be restored to the principality of *Athens*. He it was, who, as we have said before, conducted the *Barbarians* into the plains of *Marathon*, when, as *Herodotus* tells us, he dreamt one night that he lay with his mother, and from thence concluded, that he should be restored and die peaceably at home in his old age; but a day or two after, when he was busy giving direction as to the disposal of the booty taken at *Eretria*,

• In vita Miltiad.

and

and putting the *Persian* troops in order on the shore, he was seized with such a fit of coughing and sneezing, that most of his teeth grew loose, and one of them fell out of his head upon the strand, for which when those about him had long fought in vain, *Hippias*, fetching a deep sigh, said, *This country neither belongs to us, nor will ever be subdued by us, and I shall have no other part here than that where my tooth lies.* This was his second, and, as it happened, the more just construction of his dream^p. As to what became of him in the battle, both *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* are silent thereupon. *Justin*^q and some other later authors say, that he was killed there; if he was, the *Athenians* lost in him an implacable enemy, very capable of contriving mischiefs against them, and one who was alike indefatigable in thinking and in acting (S).

Aristides

^p Ubi supra.

^q Ubi supra.

(S) We have more than once in the text promised to speak of the family of *Hippias*; he married *Myrrhine* the daughter of *Calias*, by whom he had five children (56); he had also another wife of extraordinary beauty, the daughter of one *Charinus* (57). Amongst these children was *Pisistratus* junior, whom we have before mentioned; he had also a daughter whose name was *Archidice*, who married the son of the tyrant or prince of *Lampsacus*. This lady was honoured with a fine tomb, whereon was an inscription to the following effect: *This earth covers Archidice the daughter of Hippias, a man in his time famous throughout Greece, who though her father, husband, and brothers were princes, suffered not her mind to be elated therewith* (58). *Hippias* visited her before he went to the *Persian* court, in order perhaps to take his leave of her, from an apprehension that the expedition, in which he was about to embark, might some way or other prove fatal to him. The dream above recorded was certainly, according to the usual rules of interpretation, fortunate, and so it was accounted to *Julius Cæsar* (59); but it may be that this interpretation was with a restriction, that the person dreaming was to have been on good terms with his country, whereas *Hippias* at the time of this dream was in the *Persian* host warring against his country. There is yet another account of this matter, if a dream deserves any farther account, *viz.* that among the *Persians* it was held ominous, and a sign that a man would repent what he was about (60). As to his death, *Cicero* speaks of it in these terms, *Nefarius Hippias Pisistrati filius, qui*

(56) *Thucyd. lib. vii.*

(57) *Clidem. ap. Athen. lib. xiii.*

(58) *Thucyd. ubi supra. cap. vii.*

(59) *Suetonius in vita J. Cæsaris.*

(60) *Achem. Oenacrit. cxxviii.*

Aristides, who remained on the field of battle while *Miltiades* marched back to *Athens*, discharged the trust reposed in him with the greatest integrity; for though there was much gold and silver in the *Persian* camp, and though the tents and ships they had taken were full of riches of all sorts, yet he neither took any thing himself, nor omitted to the utmost of his power the necessary precautions to prevent other peoples meddling therewith. Yet some there were, who, in spite of his orders and his care, found means to enrich themselves by private plunder, particularly *Callias the torch-bearer*, *Aristides's* cousin german (T). For this man having

in Marathonica pugna cecidit, arma contra patriam ferens (61). *Tertullian* speaks of it likewise (62); yet *Suidas* tells us quite another story; he says, that the *Barbarians* being routed, *Hippias* retired to *Lemnos*, and there laboured under a very grievous malady, which at length made him blind, and the blood flowing through his eyes, brought on a miserable and painful death, which he reckons a punishment for his having conducted the *Persian* forces into the plains of *Marathon*. The reader will pardon the length of our history of the *Pisistratidæ*, when he considers, that, from the time of *Pisistratus* his assuming the sovereignty to the death of *Hippias* at the battle of *Marathon*, there intervened upwards of four-score years.

(T) *Torch-bearers*, stiled in *Greek* *Daduchi*, were persons dedicated to the service of the gods, and admitted even into the most sacred mysteries. On this account, *Pausanias* speaks of it as a great happiness to a woman, that she had seen her brother, her husband, and her son, successively enjoy this office (63). We have observed in the text from *Plutarch*, that *Callias* was mistaken for a king, because of his flowing hair bound with a fillet, which was not unlike the royal ornaments in use among the eastern nations; the reason of this was, that amongst the antients it was an opinion almost universally received, that there was a very near affinity between the offices of king and priest; on this account the *Romans* preserved the title of *Rex* among their sacred officers when they expelled the *Tarquins*, and the *Athenians*, as we have heard, stiled their second archon, who presided in the public sacrifices, *Basilcus*; so that in affairs relating to the gods, both the *Athenians* and the *Romans*, though they hated monarchy, made use of kings. The same notion prevailed through the east, for we find *Jeroboam* standing by the altar at *Bethel*, when the prophet came to denounce its ruin (64). And *Uzziah* king of *Judah*, when he had been victorious over the *Philistines*, *Arabians*, and *Amonites*, was lifted up in his heart, and desired to add to his royal dignity the honour of being priest of the most High God (65).

(61) *Ad Attic. lib. ix. cap. 10.*

(62) *Adv. Gentes.*

(63) *In Atticis.*

(64) *1 Kings xiii.*

(65) *1 Chron. xxvi. 16.*

long

long hair and a fillet about his head, one of the *Persians* took him for a king, and falling down at his feet discovered to him a vast quantity of gold hid in a well; *Callias* not only seized it and applied it to his private use, but most inhumanly put to death the poor man who shewed it him, to prevent his discovering what he had done. By this action he not only blemished his own reputation, but transmitted infamy to his posterity, who, notwithstanding their eminency in the state, were stiled by the comic poets *Laccopluti*, i. e. *enriched by the well*^r, an example which merits consideration perhaps as much as any other recorded in history. The *Athenians* in token of their respect towards those brave men who fell in this engagement, erected for them public monuments in the field of battle, with inscriptions containing their names and the names of their tribes and families. At some distance they erected other monuments for the *Platæans*, *Bœotians*, and slaves, who were slain here. They likewise caused this battle to be painted in the *Pæcilian* portico, where the *Platæan* auxiliaries were represented, as well as the *Athenian* soldiers, and at the head of these their ten captains, *Miltiades* holding the first place^f, which was all the reward they bestowed upon them.

It cannot seem strange, that the *Athenians* were highly elate on this victory. In the first transports of their joy they granted all the *Platæans* the freedom of their city; as for *Miltiades*, *Aristides*, and *Themistocles*, who had exceedingly distinguished themselves in the service of their country, they were for the present treated with all the marks of gratitude and respect they could have wished, though in their turns we shall see them all slighted, prosecuted, and condemned. While *Miltiades* was thus high in the peoples favour, he proposed in a general assembly of the people, that he should be intrusted with a fleet of seventy ships well manned and provided, promising them, that he would put them in possession of great riches, and make the expedition in other respects turn to vast account. The *Athenians* readily embraced this project, and fitted out such a fleet as he desired, of which *Miltiades* taking the command sailed to *Paros*. The reason he pretended for invading this island was, that the inhabitants thereof had assisted the *Persians* with ships in the expedition of *Marathon*, but the true ground of his hatred to that people was, that one *Lysagoras* a *Parian* had done him ill offices with *Hydarnes* the *Persian*. As soon as he arrived on the island, he sent heralds to the capital thereof, requiring a hun-

^r PLUTARCH. ubi supra.^f CORN. NEPOS, in vita Miltiad.

dred talents to be paid him, threatening in case of refusal to besiege the city, and, in case he took it, to give it up to the plunder of his soldiers. The *Parians*, however, were not to be terrified, they refused so much as to deliberate on his proposition, but, on the contrary, provided themselves the best they could for an obstinate defence. *Miltiades* caused the place to be invested, and carried on the siege with great vigour, till one *Timo* a *Parian* woman, who was a priestess, pretended to inform him how he should take the city. In consequence of what this woman told him, he went to the temple of *Ceres the lawgiver*, and not being able to open its gates, he got to the top of the wall, and from thence leaped down; but being seized with a sudden horror and resolving to go back, he re-ascended the wall, and from thence leaped down, but his foot slipping he fell, and either broke his thigh, or dislocated his knee-pan; however it was, he was constrained to raise the siege, after having lain twenty six days before the town, and to return, wounded as he was, without effecting any thing to *Athens* ^u. An unfortunate man was never welcome there! The whole city began to murmur, and *Xanthippus* the father of the famous *Pericles* accused him to the general assembly for deceiving the *Athenians*, as *Herodotus* says; of treason, as *Cornelius Nepos* informs us; or rather of peculation, as *Justin* from *Trogus Pompeius* acquaints us, for that is much the most probable opinion, and for this he demanded that they should pass upon him sentence of death. The unhappy *Miltiades* was in no condition to defend himself, nature had already passed that judgment which his enemies sought; his wound perhaps through lowness of spirits had induced a mortification, so that he could not be moved out of his bed. His brother *Tisagoras* spoke for him; he represented to the *Athenians*, that this *Miltiades*, who had failed in his last expedition, had saved *Athens* at *Marathon*, and had conquered for them the island of *Lemnos*; he therefore entreated them to remember his past services, as well as his present error, and to pity him to whom they owed the power of deliberating, whether they would pity him or no. Having heard both parties, the people declared that he had not deserved capital punishment, but at the same time fined him fifty talents, which was the whole expence of the *Parian* expedition; and because he was unable to pay this great sum, they put him into a goal, says *Cornelius Nepos*, where he died; but *Herodotus* says, that his son *Cimon* paid the fine, which is true, but not till after his father died in prison, him-

^u *Idem* ubi supra.

self being also sent thither on the same account, and remaining confined, till *Callias* furnished him with the money to pay his fine in lieu of his wife *Elpinice*, who was also his sister by the one side *. Such was the gratitude of the *Athenians* towards *Miltiades* and his family. If the nature of this work would have allowed it, we should have digressed in favour of so great a man, who, out of his passion for his country, quitted sovereignty to serve the *Athenians*; but considering that this manner of writing would protract the *Athenian* history exceedingly, we have contented ourselves with throwing into a note at the bottom of the page such circumstances relating to *Miltiades* as are necessary to be known (U).

THE

* HERODOT. ubi supra. JUSTIN ubi supra. CORNELIUS NEPOS in vit. Miltiad. & Cimon.

(U) The history of the family of *Miltiades*, and their becoming princes is related by *Herodotus*; he says, that the *Thracian Dolonces*, inhabiting a part of *Chersonesus*, and having suffered much in a war against the *Abfynthians*, sent to inquire of the oracle at *Delphi* whom they should elect king, to which they received for answer, that they should invite him to lead a colony into their country, who should first invite them into his house, after their leaving the temple in order to return home. Accordingly the *Dolonces* passed by the sacred way, through the territories of the *Phoceans* and the *Bæotians*, and receiving no offer of entertainment, turned into the road of *Athens*. In that time *Pisistratus* had indeed the supreme power, but *Miltiades* the son of *Cypselus* was not without authority in *Athens*, being of an illustrious family antiently descended from *Æacus* and *Ægina*, and afterwards established among the *Athenians* by *Philæus* the son of *Ajax*, the first of that blood who settled there. This *Miltiades* sitting before his gates, and seeing the *Dolonces* passing by cloathed and armed in a different manner from the *Athenians*, called out to them, and upon their coming to him desired they would be his guests, and accept the entertainment of his house. They accepted his invitation, and after they had been hospitably entertained acquainted him with the oracle, and requested him to act in conformity to the admonition of the god. *Miltiades* hearkened to their proposition, and complied with more readiness, because he grew impatient of the government of *Pisistratus*, and desired an opportunity to withdraw. In these sentiments he went to *Delphi* to consult the oracle, whether he should yield to the request of the *Dolonces*, and received an encouraging answer from the *Pythian*. Upon which *Miltiades* the son of *Cypselus*, who had formerly been victorious in the *Olympian* chariot-race, taking with him all such *Athenians* as were willing to join in his expedition, set sail with the *Dolonces*, and arriving in their country was invested with the sovereign power. The first thing he did

The con-
tests be-
tween A-
rillides and
Themisto-
cles.

THE people of *Athens*, being now released from all apprehensions of foreign war, fell as usual into dissensions among themselves; did was to build a wall upon the isthmus of *Chersonesus*, from the city of *Cardia* to that of *Pontya*, in order to prevent the *Absynthians* from infesting the country for the future with their incursions; this isthmus is thirty six stades in breadth; and the whole length of *Chersonesus* beginning in that place is four hundred and twenty stades. When *Miltiades* had built this wall on the neck of *Chersonesus*, and by that means excluded the *Absynthians*, he in the next place made war upon the *Lampsaceni*ans, and falling into an ambuscade was taken alive by the enemy. *Cræsus*, king of *Lydia* being informed of this event, threatened the people of *Lampsacus* with his displeasure, in case they did not release *Miltiades*; which they taking into consideration, and being afraid to disoblige so great a monarch, restored *Miltiades* to freedom. Thus having escaped by the means of *Cræsus*, and afterwards dying without children, he left his dominion and riches to *Stesagoras* the son of *Cimon*, his brother by the same mother. The *Chersonesians* honour him with sacrifices, as the founder of their city, in the accustomed manner, having instituted gymnastic and equestrian exercises on that occasion, in which no *Lampsaceni*an is permitted to contend for the prize. During the war which still continued against the people of *Lampsacus*, *Stesagoras* likewise died without children; being killed by the blow of an ax he received on the head from the hand of one who, pretending to be a deserter, was indeed a most cruel enemy. After his death the *Pisistratide* sent *Miltiades*, the son of *Cimon*, and brother of *Stesagoras*, to *Chersonesus* with one ship to take upon him the government, having been already favourable to him in *Athens*, as if they had not had any part in the murder of his father *Cimon*, who was assassinated by their order. Arriving in *Chersonesus*, he kept himself retired under colour of honouring the memory of his brother *Stesagoras*; which the *Chersonesians* hearing, the principal persons of every city assembled together, and coming to his house with intentions to condole with him, were all seized and imprisoned. By this means *Miltiades* made himself master of *Chersonesus*, entertained five hundred auxiliaries for his guard, and married *Hegesipyle* daughter to *Olorus* king of *Thrace*. But he had not been long in possession, before he met with greater difficulties than he had yet experienced. For in the third year of his government he fled out of the country, not daring to wait the coming of the *Scythian Nomades*, who having been irritated by the expedition of *Darius*, had assembled their forces, and advanced to the frontier of *Chersonesus*. Nevertheless upon the departure of the *Scythians*, he was again restored by the *Dolones*; and in the third year after this, hearing that the *Plæmicians* were at *Tenedos*, he put all his riches on board five ships and sailed for *Athens*. The reader may possibly think this note very long, but there was a necessity for it, since so eminent an author as *Cæcilius Nepos* hath rendered the history of this great

themselves ; they were divided on the old subject, whether all things should be in the power of the people, or whether the state should be governed only by the best. *Aristides*, whom we have already often mentioned, was at the head of one party, and *Themistocles* was chief of the other. It will be necessary to say something of the character of each of these great men, that the nature of their disputes and the consequences of them with respect to the state may be the better known. *Aristides* was the son of *Lyfimachus*, of the tribe of *Antiochis* and ward of *Alopece*. *Themistocles* was the son of *Neocles* of the tribe of *Leontes*, by his mother's side a stranger, neither of them of any extraordinary family ; *Plutarch* tells us, that they were boys together, and that they were always at variance, not only in serious matters, but even in their sports and plays ; nor could it well be otherwise, for *Aristides* is said by him to have been firm and steady in his behaviour immoveable in every thing that appeared just, and incapable of using the least falshood, flattery, or deceit, even in jest ; whereas *Themistocles* was of an impetuous nature, full of spirit, subtle, daring, complaisant, and in fine one who could put on any appearance to carry his point ; he spent even his times of recreation in study, and was wont to divert himself with composing orations, in which he either excused or accused some of his companions, whence his schoolmaster pro-

great man unintelligible by confounding him with his grandfather, and attributing promiscuously the deeds of one to the other. As to his putting *Lemnos* into the hands of the *Athenians*, it happened thus : The inhabitants of that island, having had long differences with the *Athenians*, and being admonished by the *Delphian* oracle to compromise them, they sent to *Athens* to know upon what terms it might be done ; the *Athenians* offered them no other than the absolute surrender of their country, to which the *Lemnian* deputies answered, that they would obey when a ship from the *Athenian* dominions should come with a north-wind in one day into a haven of *Lemnos*, which because *Attica* was situated to the south of *Lemnos*, they conceived impossible ; but *Miltiades*, being possessed of the *Chersonesus* and sailing from a port in the *Hellepont*, arrived in one day at *Lemnos*, driven thither by a strong north-wind, upon which he immediately demanded that the island should be given up to him, which partly through terror, partly by force, he obtained, and united it to the *Athenian* territories. As to the imprisonment of his son as well as himself, and the manner in which his fine was at last discharged, *Cornelius Nepos* expressly asserts it, as delivered in our text, whereas the account given of it by *Plutarch* is neither clear nor consistent.

nounced thus of him ; *Boy, thou wilt never prove an ordinary person, but will at some time or other become either a mighty blessing, or an outrageous curse to thy country.* As they grew up, they differed still the more in their sentiments and conduct ; *Aristides* studied the laws of *Lycurgus*, and by the reasoning of that great man became a favourer of aristocracy. *Themistocles*, rather out of spleen to him than any other motive, favoured exceedingly the cause of the people : and thus childish quarrels, ripening into a strong aversion in the breasts of two private men, created great disorders in a potent state, and shook the very constitution of *Athens*².

How much soever the dissensions between *Aristides* and *Themistocles* might in fact injure the *Athenian* state, and how ready soever they might be to oppose each other, even in points where they were conscious that what they opposed was right, yet it must be owned, that they sincerely loved their country, and were ashamed and sorry for the very things they did. *Aristides* was the honestest man of the two, and therefore the more frank. When *Themistocles* had one day proposed to the assembly of the people something much for their advantage, *Aristides* made a long oration against it, which so far misled the people, that they rejected what *Themistocles* had proposed. *Aristides* was, however, so much affected with what he had done, that when he went out of the assembly he could not help saying, *The Athenians can never be perfectly safe, till they have sent Themistocles and me to goal*^a. We have before shewn, how not only men of rank in *Athens*, but all *Athenian* citizens, had seats in courts of judicature. As these rivals differed in every thing, so they were opposite in their notions of what a man's duty was in such a station. *Aristides* conceived, that he ought to be inflexibly upright, and to be void alike of affection and passion ; whereas it was a common saying with *Themistocles*, *God forbid, that I should ever sit on a tribunal, where my friends should not have more favour than strangers.* *Aristides's* conduct was certainly the more laudable, and he piqued himself so much upon acting strictly up to the maxims he laid down, that he acquired the surname of *just*, and was looked upon as the most worthy and virtuous of the *Athenians*. *Themistocles*, instead of repining, rejoiced at this, for knowing well the nature of the people, he conceived it an easy thing to destroy a rival arrived at so high a reputation^b. The *ostracism* was already introduced

^a PLUT. & CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Aristid. & Them. ^a PLUT. ubi supra. ^b PLUT. in vit. THEMIST. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Arist.

into the *Athenian* state, though it is not certain by whom, some say by *Pisistratus*, or rather by his sons ; others by *Clysthenes* ; but this not being clear, we did not think fit to attribute it to him, or to mention the *ostracism* till we come to a particular instance of it. By this men, eminent to such a degree as to threaten the state with danger, were banished for ten years. *Plutarch* says, this exile was not a punishment for any crime, but a kind of honourable retirement, used as the curb of too great power, and the remedy of the people for those apprehensions with which they were so often taken. The method in which they proceeded to inflict the *ostracism* was this ; every citizen took a piece of a broken pot or shell, on which having wrote the name of the person he would have banished, he carried it to a certain place of the market-place which was enclosed with rails ; then the magistrates began to count the number of the shells ; for if they were less than six thousand, the vote did not take place ; but if they surpassed that number, they laid every name apart, and the man whose name was found on the greatest number of shells was of course exiled for ten years, with free leave, however, to make what use he thought fit of his estate (X) c.

It

c PLUT. in vit. Arist.

(X) The *Ostracism* makes so great a figure in all the *Greek* history, and occurs so often in that which we are now writing, that it is fit, that we should give the reader a more particular account of it in a note, than we found it proper for us to do in the text. It derived its name from *Ostrakon*, which signifies *a tile*, because at first the names of persons banished in this manner were wrote on pieces of tiles, or broken earthen vessels (66). *Diodorus Siculus* says, that such as were ejected from their country by the *Ostracism* were allowed to return in five years (67) ; but in this he is mistaken, for all writers agree that the time limited was ten years (68), and the time allowed him on whom this punishment fell to quit the *Athenian* territories was ten days (69). The fundamental rule of telling the gross number of the shells, and rendering the *Ostracism* void, if they did not amount to six thousand, was a great point in favour of eminent persons, since in a city where there were not above 18 or 20,000 free citizens, it must have been a very difficult thing to engage a third part of them to enter upon such a design. It may seem strange, that the author of so extraordinary a law as this should not be known ; and yet it is

(66) *Suidas. Hesychius.*
Plutarch. in vit. Arist.

(67) *Biblioth lib. xi.*

(68) *Pollux.*

(69) *Scholiast. Aristophan. ad Equit.*

It may seem strange, that *Themistocles* could raise the popular resentment against a man amiable from peaceable virtues ; yet he effected it by causing it to be whispered about, that *Aristides*, having assumed the name of *just*, and acting frequently as an umpire between contending parties, had insensibly erected a monarchy, though without pomp or guards ; for what (said the agents of *Themistocles*) constitutes a tyrant but giving laws ? On a sudden, and when it was least expected, citizens and countrymen flocked to the *forum*, and demanded the *Ostracism*. One of the clowns from a borough in *Attica*, who could neither write nor read, brought his shell to *Aristides*, and said, *Write me Aristides upon this*. *Aristides* surprised asked him, if he knew any ill of that *Athenian*, or if he had ever done him hurt. *Me hurt !* (said the fellow) *no, I don't so much as know him, but I am weary and sick at heart on hearing him every where called The just*. *Aristides* therefore took the shell, and wrote his own name upon it. This was certainly a strong proof of his firmness of mind, but he gave yet a greater. When the magistrates signified to him that the *Ostracism* fell upon him, he retired modestly out of the *forum*, and as he went out he lifted up his eyes to heaven and said, *I beseech the gods, that the Athenians may never see that day which shall force them to remember Aristides* †.

† PLUTARCH. & CORN. NEPOS in vit. Arist. & Themist.

certain, that about no historical point authors differ more. *Ælian* ascribes it to *Clysthenes* beforementioned (70) ; *Diodorus Siculus* says it took place under the *Pisistratidæ* (71), and many are of that opinion besides him. For *Plutarch* reports, that *Hipparchus* was banished under their administration (72). *Heracledes* fixes this general assertion to *Hippias*, whom he expressly declares the author of this severe practice (73). *Photius*, in his extracts from *Ptolemy Hephestion*, ascribes it to *Achilles* the son of *Lyson* (74) ; but *Suidas* and *Eusebius* both set it far higher than the days of the commonwealth, viz under the reign of *Theseus*. However uncertain its beginning is, there is no dispute, that it ended in the banishment of *Hyperbolus*. This practice *Aristotle* seems to ascribe to all the democracies of his time (75), and we are assured by various authors, that the *Argives*, *Milesians*, *Megarensians*, and *Syracusians* had the same law, though under different titles, amongst them.

(70) *Var Hist. lib. xiii. c. 14.*
In vit. Niciæ. (73) *De Rep.*
Polit. lib. iii. c. 13.

(71) *Biblioth. lib. xi.* (72)
 (74) *Biblioth. lib. vi.* (75)

THE



THE war against the inhabitants of *Ægina* revived after the battle of *Marathon* and was carried on by both parties with great animosity; the nobles and their party had fallen upon the remains of *Nicodromus's* party, and put many of them to death, with such circumstances, as not only irritated the exiles, but made many of their own citizens uneasy. The *Athenians* had revenged the death of their confederates in several expeditions, but the inhabitants of *Ægina* had in their turn done the subjects of *Athens* considerable damage, which was entirely owing to their great power at sea, their fleets being more numerous, and their ships better, than their neighbours. *Themistocles* considering this, continually exhorted the *Athenians* to observe and weigh it in their minds. He also gave them to understand, that in his opinion the *Persian* war was so far from being ended that it was but begun, because it was unreasonable to suppose, that *Xerxes*, who succeeded his father in his empire, would not also succeed him in his hatred to the *Grecians*, from whom the honour of his empire had suffered so much. Having often insisted on these topics, he had at last the boldness to move, that the money produced by the silver mines, which hitherto the *Athenians* had divided amongst themselves, should be applied to building ships, with which, being thoroughly possessed of the nature of the thing, they complied, and a hundred galleys were immediately put upon the stocks; and this sudden increase of the *Athenian* fleet, with their addicting themselves continually afterwards to maritime affairs, proved the means of preserving, not only *Athens*, but all *Greece* in the enjoyment of its liberties, as *Themistocles* rightly foresaw it would^b.

By this time, that is, about three years after the banishment of *Aristides*, the *Athenians* found, that *Themistocles* had spoke the truth, when he affirmed that the *Persian* war, instead of being ended, was but just begun; for *Xerxes*, after having made prodigious preparations for the total conquest of *Greece*, sent messengers with a *Greek* interpreter to its several republics to demand *Earth* and *Water*. *Themistocles*, desiring to make the breach still wider between these two nations, engaged the *Athenians* to seize the interpreter, and put him to death, for presuming to publish the decrees of the king of *Persia* in the language of the *Greeks*. This act of severity was followed by another; one *Arthmius* of *Zele* a town in *Troas* had settled at *Athens*, and had an half freedom granted

^b HERODOT lib. vii. PLUT. in Themist.

him;

him ; this man, having received large sums of money from the king of *Persia*, endeavoured to corrupt some of the principal persons of the city therewith, for which *Themistocles* procured him to be banished *Attica* by sound of trumpet, and his family to be degraded. Lastly, with the assistance of *Chileus* the *Arcadian*, he engaged the several states of *Greece* to lay aside their quarrels, and to provide for their mutual defence ^h.

WHEN it came to be debated who should be appointed the general of the *Athenians*, in case the *Persians* should invade them, one *Epicydes*, a great orator, but a man otherwise little capable of the charge, influenced the people so much by his speeches, that it was generally believed he would be elected to that important office. *Themistocles*, seeing the danger of his country, and knowing the man to be covetous, strained his own circumstances and bought him off. By engaging him to desist, he made way for his own election, for there was no body then left capable of contending with him, so he was presently elected ⁱ.

WHEN news came to *Athens*, that the *Persians* were upon the point of invading *Greece* by the streights of *Thermopylæ*, and that to this end they were transporting their forces by sea, *Themistocles* advised his countrymen to quit their city, embark on board their gallies, and go and meet their enemies, yet at a distance ; to this they would by no means yield. He then put himself at the head of their army, and having joined the *Lacedemonians* marched towards *Tempe*. But when advice came, that the streights of *Thermopylæ* were forced, and not only *Thessaly* but *Bæotia* had yielded to the *Persians*, the army returned without effecting any thing ^k.

The responses of the Delphian oracle. THE *Athenians* in this distress sent messengers to the *Delphian Apollo*, who, on their arrival having performed the usual ceremonies, sat down in the sanctuary, and there received from *Aristonica*, who was at that time priestess, the following oracle.

^h *ÆSCHIN.* cont. *Ctesiph.* *PLUT.* in vit. *Themist.* ⁱ *PLUTARCH.* in vit. *Themist.* ^k *Id.* *Ibid.*

Fly to the farthest regions of the earth,
 Unhappy men, and shun th' impending ill.
 Fly from your houses, and desert your walls ;
 For total ruin shall subvert that place.
 An angry *Mars* in *Asia* born shall come,
 And all your stately piles, and temples burn.
 I see the sacred walls trembling for fear,
 The lofty roofs covered with sweat and blood.
 Depart, and be prepar'd to bear your fate ¹.

THE *Athenian* deputies were extremely amazed at this answer ; they therefore humbled themselves in a most extraordinary manner before the god, holding olive-branches in their hands, beseeching a better answer, or vowing to remain in the temple till they died. The priestess, feeling herself a second time inspired, delivered at length the following response :

Pallas in vain has used her utmost art,
 To pacify the wrath of angry *Jove*.
 So that my present answer must again
 Of almost adamantin hardness be.
 Yet for *Minerva's* sake the god will give
 A safe protection under walls of wood
 To all that lies contained within the bounds
 Of *Cecrop's*, or *Cithæron's* sacred hills
 These, these alone impregnable shall prove,
 But never stay to fight the dreadful troops
 Of horse and foot, advancing thro' the plains :
 If e'er you see them, save yourselves by flight,
 The divine *Salamis* shall lose her sons ;
 Tho' *Ceres* be brought home, or left abroad ^m.

THE *Athenian* deputies having wrote down this answer brought it away, and produced it to the general assembly at *Athens*, where the people were mightily divided about its true sense and meaning : Many were of opinion, that by walls of wood the citadel was to be understood, because, as we observed before, it was palisaded, but others imagined, that it could intend nothing but ships, and therefore advised their countrymen to place all their hopes in their fleet ; but the maintainers of the former opinion urged against such as supported the latter, that the two last lines of the oracle were

¹ HERODOT. ubi supra.^m HERODOT. ubi supra.

directly

directly against them, and that they without question portended the destruction of the *Athenian* fleet near *Salamis*. *Themistocles*, however, declared for trusting in the fleet, and in answer to what was urged from the last lines of the oracle, alledged, that if the oracle had intended to foretel the destruction of the *Athenians*, she would not have called it the divine *Salamis*, but the unhappy ; and that whereas the unfortunate in that oracle were stiled the sons of women, it could mean no other than the *Persians* who were scandalously effeminate. All discreet people concurred in their sentiments, that *Themistocles* had most judiciously interpreted the oracle, and that the *Athenians* could only hope for freedom by following his advice. The many, however, had much ado to be reconciled thereto ; the leaving their country and estates bore hard upon them ; their forsaking their houses and employments still harder ; their leaving the tombs of their ancestors and the temples of their gods hardest of all. But *Themistocles* had a set of arguments in store for them, he made the very notions which would have kept them, contribute to drive them away ; for having drawn over the priests who attended in the temple of *Minerva*, he caused them to give out that the dragon refused to eat ; that the offerings set before him were found untouched ; that at last it disappeared ; so that without doubt the goddess had quitted the city, and taken her flight before them towards the sea. By degrees the populace were so intoxicated with these pious frauds, that they made no manner of question of the *Persians* being defeated, and that *Salamis* would be the place. They therefore decreed, that the city should be recommended to the protection of *Minerva*, that all such as were of age to bear arms should embark on board the fleet, and that all possible care should be taken for the preservation of children, women, and slaves. One *Cyrillus* an orator vehemently opposed the decree, he urged all the common topics of love to the place of one's birth, and affection for wives and helpless infants ; but the *Athenians*, conceiving that the falling in with his proposition would betray a mean desire of preserving life, tho' at the expence of liberty, stoned him in the midst of his discourse, and the women to shew how little they relished such arguments, and how far they were from desiring that the cause of *Greece* should suffer for them, stoned his wife. And thus *Themistocles* not only persuaded his countrymen to do what he conceived was expedient for their safety, but even infused into them the same spirit with which he himself acted ⁿ.

ⁿ PLUTARCH. in vit. Arist.

WHEN they began to prepare for this extraordinary embar-
kation, they had recourse to the council of *Areopagus*, who, from funds to us unknown, distributed eight drachms to every man who went on board; but this sum not being sufficient, *Themistocles* with his usual quickness devised an expedient for furnishing the rest of the money. He gave out, that in the present hurry somebody had stolen from the statue of *Minerva* her shield, whereon the head of *Medusa* was engraven, and having authority granted him to search for it, under colour of this he took away all the money he could lay his hands on, and applied it to the use of the public. The people, in this their great distress, began to lament the loss of *Aristides*, and to express their apprehensions, lest he, to revenge himself of the ingratitude of his country, should go over to the *Persians*. *Themistocles* thereupon proposed a decree, that all who were banished might return again in order to assist the *Greeks* with their counsels and persons; thus he who had been banished by the artifices of *Themistocles* was recalled by his virtue. *Aristides*, on his return, behaved himself with more than ordinary civility to *Themistocles*, and did not suffer any aversion to that general's person to influence him in his conduct as to public affairs. (Y).

NOTWITHSTANDING

Id. ib.

(Y) At the same time that the *Greeks* thought of defending the pass of *Thermopylae* by land, they sent a fleet to hinder the passage of the *Persian* navy through the straits of *Eubœa*, which fleet rendezvoused at *Artemisium*. We have taken no notice of this in the text, because we shall be obliged to enter into a detail of this matter elsewhere; but inasmuch as the *Athenians* sent a squadron of ships, and on board them *Themistocles*, to this place, we are obliged to take some notice of his conduct here. The *Eubœans*, not being able to prevail with *Eurybiades* to remain on their coast till they could carry off their wives and children, addressed themselves to *Themistocles*, and made him a present of thirty talents. He took the money; with five talents he bribed *Eurybiades*. Then *Adiamanthus* the *Corinthian* being the only commander who insisted on weighing anchor, *Themistocles* went on board him, and told him in few words, *Adiamanthus*, you shall not abandon us, for I will give you a greater present for doing your duty than the king of the *Medes* would send you for deserting the allies. Which he performed by sending him three talents on board. Thus he did what the *Eubœans* requested, and put 22 talents into his pocket. In the succeeding engagement *Themistocles* and all the *Athenians* behaved with extraordinary bravery, for which they received the applause of all *Greece*. At length, when it was thought necessary to retire from *Artemisium*, *Themistocles* caused certain stones to be set up in all the ports, with

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Athenian* fleet was superior to that sent by any of the confederates, nay to all the rest of the fleet taken together, yet such was the power of the *Lacedemonians*, that the command thereof was committed to *Eurybiades* a *Spartan*, a man either unskilful, or wanting fortitude enough for such an undertaking ; for he, when danger approached, was for standing away for the gulph of *Corinth* in order to join the land army ; which when *Themistocles* vehemently opposed, *Eurybiades* was pleased to say, *Such as rise up before the rest at the olympic games are lashed.* To which the *Athenian* wisely answered, *But they that are left behind are never crowned.* *Eurybiades* at this lifting up his baton, as if he would have struck him, *Themistocles* cried out, *Ay, strike if you will, but hear me ;* upon which *Eurybiades* laid down his staff, and patiently attended to his discourse. One of the *Lacedemonians*, however, who had not so much sense as the admiral, replied to *Themistocles*'s oration, that it did not become such, as had neither house nor home of their own, to endeavour to prejudice others by hindering them from returning to their habitations. *Themistocles*, taking fire at this, said, “ We have indeed, base fellow, left our houses and our walls, not thinking it fit to become slaves, for the sake of those things that have neither life nor soul, and yet our city is the greatest of all *Greece*, as consisting of two hundred gallies, which are here to defend you, if you please ; but if you run away and leave us, as you did once before, the *Greeks* will soon perceive, that the *Athenians* can find for themselves as fair a country, and as large and free a city, as that they have left ”. In a word, he took such pains to demonstrate to this assembly, and to the general in particular, that it would be madness to think of fighting any-where but where they were, that the wisest of the *Grecian* captains concurred with

inscriptions intreating the *Ionians* either to desert the *Barbarians* and join the *Greeks*, who were fighting for their liberty, or at least to act but faintly in the cause of their master, remembering, that they were originally *Greeks* themselves, and that this very quarrel began on account of the assistance given by the *Greeks* to them. This he did with double intent ; first to influence the *Ionians* to act as he desired ; secondly to give the *Persian* monarch a jealousy of them, that he might be the less inclined to trust those in whose power it was to do him most service, since the *Ionians* were by far the best seamen in his fleet (76).

(76) *Herodot. lib. vii.*

him:

him. The chief of his arguments were these : He shewed them, that if once they retired from *Salamis*, the fleet would never fight at all, because being made up of quotas from different states, the several squadrons would immediately sail back to their own ports, and leave the common cause of *Greece* without defence ; that fighting before the isthmus, which was the scheme of the opposite party, would be attended with two dreadful consequences ; the one, that *Salamis* and *Ægina*, with all the women and children in them, would be abandoned to the enemy ; the other, that with a small fleet they would be obliged to engage a very great one, and that in an open sea ; that, on the contrary, if they fought in the channel of *Salamis*, the *Persians* would not have near so great an advantage from the number of their ships, because the front of the line would be on both sides nearly equal ; that fighting here would effectually save *Poloponnesus*, whereas retiring to the coast thereof would draw the *Persians* thither, and induce all those consequences which those that proposed it sought to shun. As to the wall built cross the isthmus upon which some depended, he shewed, that it was a foolish and ridiculous defence, in case they yielded the superiority of the sea to the *Barbarians*, who would then make their descents on every side of it without being obliged to force the wall at all. These arguments, with the dread *Eurybiades* was in, that, in case he took other measures, the *Athenians* would desert him and sail to *Italy*, as *Themistocles* had hinted, engaged that general to declare for fighting, and in this resolution they remained for some time P.

THE courage of the *Athenians* on this occasion can never be enough commended, since the chief cause of that fear which spread itself among the rest of the *Greeks* was the miserable destruction of the city of *Athens*. We have already given so full an account of this matter in the *Persian* history, that there is no necessity of repeating it here. We shall content ourselves with noting two or three things, which will illustrate the history now before us. Such of the *Athenians* as had fled to the *Acropolis* or citadel, out of a fond opinion that it was the place pointed at by the oracle, were all put to the sword. The *Persians*, with whom the descendants of *Pisistratus* returned, shewed no mercy to such as obstinately refused to submit themselves again to their obedience. As to pillaging the temples and setting fire to all the sacred things, which gave such high offence to the *Greeks*, these were not so properly to be ascribed to the barbarity of their enemies, as to

* HERODOT. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra.

their zeal ; for we have shewn before, that the *Persians* were *deists* in the strictest sense, and looked upon temples, images, and altars, as they were the marks of *polytheism*, to be so many indignities offered to the Supreme Being, which was the cause that they destroyed them without pity, as their resentment of the injuries done them by the states of *Athens* engaged them to shew no mercy to such of its people as fell into their hands.

Debates amongst the generals of the Greeks.


WHEN *Xerxes* drew down all his land-forces to the sea-side, and at the same time cauled his fleet to approach that of the *Greeks*, the *Peloponnesians*, who were in that navy, fell again into their old opinion of leaving all to preserve *Peloponnesus* from being ravaged. To this end a council of war was summoned, for their murmurs ran so high, that *Eurybiades* was afraid of their deserting ; in this council their opinion prevailed, for they would neither listen to arguments, nor pay any respect to authority. *Themistocles* therefore, seeing his opinion set aside by the *Peloponnesians*, resolved to take measures for forcing them to stay ; for, as *Herodotus* informs us, withdrawing privately from the assembly, he sent away a man to the enemy's fleet in a small vessel, properly instructed ; the name of this man was *Sicinus*, he was tutor to *Themistocles*'s children, and every way capable of being made the instrument of great things. When he arrived in the *Persian* fleet, he was conducted to their council of general officers, to whom he delivered the following message, as from *Themistocles*. “ The
 “ general of the *Athenians*, who is in the interest of the king,
 “ and desires your affairs may prosper rather than those of
 “ *Greece*, has sent me privately away with orders to let you
 “ know, that the *Grecians* in great consternation have deter-
 “ mined to betake themselves to flight, and that you have
 “ now an opportunity of atchieving the most glorious of all
 “ enterprizes, unless your negligence opens a way to their es-
 “ cape. For being divided in their opinions, they will not
 “ oppose your forces ; but you will see those who are your
 “ friends fighting against those who are not of your party ”. This message had its desired effect ; the *Persians* conceived, not without some shew of reason, that the *Athenians*, finding it to no purpose any longer to oppose the great king, were resolved by this piece of intelligence to make their peace with him at once, and thereby procure their city and country to be restored ⁹. They therefore made all the preparations necessary for shutting up the *Grecian* navy, and reckoned that they were already so many prizes, and that now they should

⁹ HERODOT. lib. viii.

regain their honour, and compensate themselves for the loss which they had sustained at *Artemisium*. *Aristides* was the first who perceived what the *Persians* aimed at ; he immediately went to *Themistocles*, and when they were alone he addressed him, if we may believe *Plutarch*, who in the mean time is supported by *Herodotus*, in these terms : “ If we are
 “ wise, *Themistocles*, we shall now for ever lay aside that
 “ vain and childish contention that has hitherto been between
 “ us, and begin a more safe and honourable emulation, by
 “ contending which of us two shall do most towards the
 “ safety of *Greece* ; you by performing the part of a wise and
 “ great general, and I by obeying and assisting you with my
 “ person and advice. I understand, that you alone have de-
 “ termined rightly, advising to engage in the straights with-
 “ out delay. Your allies are of a different opinion, but the
 “ enemies themselves seem to confirm and strengthen your
 “ advice ; for the sea all round us is covered and shut up by
 “ their fleet, so that they who have opposed coming to an
 “ engagement must be forced to fight, and shew themselves
 “ men of courage, there being no room left for flight ”. To
 “ this *Themistocles* replied, I am ashamed, *Aristides*, at your
 “ having got the start of me in this noble emulation ; I shall
 “ use my utmost endeavours to outdo this beginning, which
 “ is so much to your honour, and to obscure, if possible, this
 “ glorious step of yours by the lustre of my future actions ”.
 At the same time *Themistocles* acquainted him with the strata-
 gem made use of to compel the enemy to take the measures
 they did, and which in fact compelled also the *Grecians* to take
 those which were most adviseable for their own interest, and
 to which he had so often pressed them, though to little purpose.
 Thus ended the interview between these two rivals for reputa-
 tion, whose new cemented friendship proved of the utmost con-
 sequence to the cause of *Athens* and of *Greece* .

THE detail of the battle of *Salamis* is unnecessary here since the reader has met with it before in our account of the *Persian* affairs. We shall therefore content ourselves with observing, that the *Athenians* reaped the highest honour from their behaviour on that remarkable occasion, though *Herodotus* is for bestowing the palm on the inhabitants of *Ægina*. We have more than once noted, that till *Themistocles* persuaded the *Athenians* to apply themselves to maritime affairs, the people of this little isle were lords of the sea. It is not therefore to be wondered, that their long experience enabled them to perform great things in a sea-fight, of which the *Persian* emperor

The battle of Salamis
 Year of
 the flood,
 2519.
 Before
 Christ,
 480.



’ PLUTARCH. in vit. Aristid.

was

was a spectator in person, and on the event of which their own liberty, and that of all their confederates depended. The Athenians, after the Persian fleet was once broke, drove their scattered ships towards the coast of Attica. The squadron of Ægina, stretching out to sea, got on the other side of the flying Persians, and sunk many of those vessels which outsailed the Athenians. Thus the skill and conduct of these two nations preserved all their confederates, and not only carried away victory from the prodigious fleet of their enemies, but likewise obliged the Persians to account it a great happiness, if after this extraordinary defeat they preserved any part of that navy which had so lately darkened the coasts, and struck a panic through Greece.

THE morning after the battle of Salamis, the Greeks, perceiving the enemy's land-forces still encamped in the same place, conjectured, that their fleet was retired into the Phalerum, one of the ports of Athens; but they were mistaken, for Xerxes had given orders, that they should sail with the utmost diligence to the Hellespont, while himself with his land-forces pretended to throw up an artificial Isthmus in order to unite the island of Salamis to the continent of Attica. The Greeks in the mean time were for pursuing the Persian fleet, in hopes of taking straggling ships in order to increase their booty; but coming to Andros without discovering any of the enemy's ships, they there called a council of war, in which Themistocles gave it as his opinion, that they should shape their pursuit by the way of the islands, and make all the sail they could for the Hellespont, in order to destroy the bridge which Xerxes had thrown over it, and thereby cut off that monarch's communication with Asia. Plutarch says, that he communicated this to Aristides, who opposed it; but Herodotus, with greater probability, ascribes this opposition to Eurybiades. That Themistocles communicated his sentiments to Aristides might be, but that he informed Eurybiades of them is morally certain, because he commanded in chief. It is therefore more likely, that he and not Aristides opposed the carrying them into execution, because he thought, that shutting Xerxes into Europe with such a mighty army would be to compel him to repair his former omissions, and to exert himself with vigour against the Greeks. When Themistocles perceived that this reasoning prevailed, and that the Grecian chieftains were likely to come into it unanimously, he formed another scheme, which, Plutarch says, he likewise communicated to Aristides, and that was this; he sent a trusty messenger to Xerxes to inform him, that the Greeks intended to break down his bridge over the Hellespont; wherefore he advised him to march back with

with the utmost speed, promising to delay, as much as he was able, the intended project of his countrymen. *Herodotus* says that he actually advised the *Athenians* to give over the pursuit, in order to return to their country and rebuild their houses, into which they readily gave, as it was natural for people to wish for a quiet retreat, after having so long endured so violent a tempest; but at the same time our author intimates, that *Themistocles* had in view the safety of the *Persians*, and not the interest of the *Athenians*, which he attributes to his fore-sight of following misfortunes, and his willingness to secure an asylum, when the envy of his countrymen should doom him to banishment. These sort of censures are the tribute paid by the great for the lustre of their actions. Whether *Themistocles* really intended his country ill or no is what none can tell; that he generally meant its good is universally allowed, and that this advice suited his scheme of making *Xerxes* of his own accord abandon the war in *Greece*, is plain from the nature of the thing. It is hard therefore to tarnish his glory by receiving such insinuations, and we had better suppose, that he did not foresee his disgrace, than by a conjectural magnifying of his prudence diminish the reputation he acquired as a true patriot^c.

Herodotus relates another thing of *Themistocles*; he says, that while the *Grecian* fleet and army were employed in besieging *Andros*, this general sent to *Paros* and other islands, and threatening the inhabitants of them, that the *Greeks* would invade their country, extorted from them vast sums of money, which he insinuates he applied to his own private use. *Plutarch* relates another passage, which must have happened pretty near this time, viz. that when the *Grecian* fleet was arrived at *Pegasa*, a maritime town of *Magnesia*, where it wintered, *Themistocles* made an oration to his countrymen, in which he declared, that he had it in his mind to do something which would prove of infinite consequence to *Athens*; but that it was of such a nature, that he could not communicate it to the assembly. Upon this the *Athenians* directed him to communicate it to *Aristides* only; and in case he approved it, to put it in practice. When therefore these great men were alone, *Themistocles* discovered in few words, that his scheme was to burn the rest of the *Grecian* fleet, which would leave *Athens* mistress of the seas. *Aristides* made his report to the people, that what *Themistocles* intended was indeed the most advantageous thing that could possibly happen to them, but at the same time it was the most unjust; upon which they readily

^c *HERODOT. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. in vit. Themist.*

directed

directed him to think no more of it, esteeming it far better to sacrifice their interest to their fame, than for the sake of present advantage, how great soever it were, to hazard the censure of succeeding ages, and the stain of infamy never to be blotted out.

WHEN the fleet was returned to *Salamis*, and the booty was divided amongst all who had served on board it, the *Greeks* resolved to sail to the isthmus in order to confer there the customary honours on him, who by the free votes of their chiefs had deserved best; and these being assembled in the temple of *Neptune*, and directed to write down his name who deserved best; and also his who deserved next, each chief put down his own in the first place, and the name of *Themistocles* in the second, whereby, without designing it, they unanimously proclaimed him the most worthy of the *Greeks*. From thence he went to *Lacedæmon*, where he was received with the greatest honour and respect, and the *Spartans*, partial as they were to their own countrymen, after decreeing the prize of valour to *Eurybiades*, assigned that of prudence to *Themistocles*, and crowned him with a wreath of olive; they presented him also with the most magnificent chariot in *Sparta*, and when he returned to *Athens* he was escorted by five hundred horse, an honour never paid to any stranger but him.

The Persians attempt to treat with the Athenians

ON *Themistocles*'s coming back to *Athens*, there were not wanting some who endeavoured to insinuate, that his receiving such high honours from the *Lacedæmonians* was injurious to his country; but he, confiding in his innocence, treated these clamours with contempt, and contented himself with exhorting the people, not to entertain any doubts of their confederates; but to be careful in maintaining the mighty reputation they had acquired and the respect paid them by all the states of *Greece*. About this time some of the families of the *Athenians* returned from *Salamis* to *Træzene*, where they had taken refuge while the *Persians* ravaged *Attica*; the former belonged to the *Athenians*, but the latter was free. They gave, however, a very kind reception to the women and children committed to their charge, they appointed them a maintenance out of their public funds, and paid also the best school-masters they could find for taking care of their youth; such a high regard had the generosity of the *Athenians*, in abandoning all for the sake of liberty, drawn from every state in *Greece*. The *Persians* themselves were no less ready in preferring them to all the *Greeks*: *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had left to command the army destined for carrying on the war, chose to treat with the *Athenians*, rather than to fight with them; to this end he made use of *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, a person

†

well

well known and highly respected at *Athens*. Him, as a tributary and ally of the *Persian* king, he sent to make proposals of peace, not in his own name, but in that of his master. When he arrived the *Athenians* entertained him like a friend, but delayed giving him audience, from a foresight, that the *Lacedemonians* would not be long after hearing this news before they sent ambassadors, which accordingly came to pass. They then appointed a day for *Alexander* to have audience of the people, on which, as *Herodotus* informs us, he spoke to this purpose: “ *Athenians*, I am sent by *Mardonius* to tell
 “ you, that he has received a message from the king in these
 “ words: I forgive the *Athenians* all the injuries they have
 “ done me, and therefore, *Mardonius*, observe the follow-
 “ ing orders: Reinstate them in the possession of their own ter-
 “ ritories; give them moreover whatever other country they
 “ shall choose; let them govern by their own laws; and re-
 “ build all their temples which I have burnt, if they will
 “ come to an agreement with me. Having received these
 “ orders, I am obliged to put them in execution, unless you
 “ prevent me; and now I myself would ask you, what mad-
 “ ness pushes you on to make war against a king you will
 “ never conquer, nor always be able to resist? You are not
 “ ignorant of the numerous forces and great actions of *Xer-*
 “ *xes*; you have heard of the army I have, and if you should
 “ happen to be victorious and to defeat us, which you can
 “ never hope so long as you have the use of reason, ano-
 “ ther much more powerful will come against you; suffer
 “ not yourselves then to be dispossessed of your country,
 “ and continually alarmed for your own lives, by measuring
 “ your strength with the king; but be reconciled to him,
 “ since you have now so favourable an opportunity in your
 “ hands from the present disposition of *Xerxes*. Enter there-
 “ fore into an alliance with us sincerely and without fraud,
 “ and continue to be a free people. These, O *Athenians*,
 “ are the words which *Mardonius* ordered me to say to you:
 “ For my own part, I shall not mention my constant affec-
 “ tion to your state, because you have had sufficient proof
 “ of that in former time. I beseech you then, hearken to
 “ the counsel of *Mardonius*; for I see you will not always
 “ be able to make war against *Xerxes*. Had I not known
 “ this, I should never have undertaken to bring you such a
 “ message; but the king’s power is incomparably greater than
 “ that of all other mortals, and his reach so extensive, that,
 “ unless you immediately accept the favourable conditions he
 “ offers, I dread the consequences to you, who lying in the
 “ way of danger more than any other of the confederates,

“ and possessing a country placed as a prize between the con-
 “ tending parties, must be always most exposed to ruin. Let
 “ these reasons prevail with you, and consider the im-
 “ portant advantages you will receive, if the great king
 “ forgives you alone among all the *Grecians*, and becomes
 “ your friend”. The *Lacedemonian* ambassadors spoke in
 their turns, as soon as *Alexander* had made an end of his ora-
 tion ; they said, “ that they were commissioned to exhort the
 “ *Athenians* not to listen to the proposals of the *Barbarians*,
 “ because it was a thing unreasonable on many accounts ;
 “ *First*, because the original quarrel was between the *Persi-*
 “ *ans* and *Athenians*, into which the rest of the *Greeks* were
 “ drawn merely through their respect to them : *Secondly*,
 “ that the *Athenians* were always wont to be the foremost in
 “ the cause of liberty, which it would not become them now
 “ to desert : *Thirdly*, that there were no grounds to believe
 “ the *Persians* would observe any terms with a people they so
 “ much hated, when occasion would serve ; that the *Spartans*
 “ were exceedingly grieved for their misfortunes, and as a
 “ mark of their regard would in conjunction with their al-
 “ lies take care of their wives and children till this war was
 “ at an end, and give them what other assistance was in their
 “ power”. The *Athenians*, having deliberated on this pro-
 position, answered first that of *Alexander*. They said,
 “ they were well acquainted with the great power of the king,
 “ but that they were also well assured of the justice of their
 “ own cause ; that as long as the sun and moon endured they
 “ would never desert the cause of *Greece*, nor forget the in-
 “ juries done them by the *Persians*”. To the *Lacedemonians*
 they answered, “ they were sorry they should conceive so
 “ meanly of them, as to think they would ever compare in-
 “ terest with glory ; that they would continue firm to their
 “ confederates without being a burden to them ; but that,
 “ it being probable *Mardonius* would be ready for action in
 “ the spring, they hoped the *Lacedemonians* would think it
 “ more reasonable to meet him with united forces in *Bæotia*,
 “ than to suffer him to ravage *Attica* again”.

Athens a
 second
 time de-
 stroyed.

WHAT the *Athenians* foresaw came exactly to pass ; *Mar-*
donius, according to the orders of his master, marched direct-
 ly into *Attica*, and began to waste and plunder the country,
 levelling even the ruins of ancient buildings, and throwing to
 the ground such as the *Athenians* had either erected or repaired.
 He proceeded to *Athens*, which its inhabitants were a second
 time forced to abandon, the *Spartans* sending help so slowly,

HERODOT. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. in. vit. Aristid. & The-
 mist. JUSTIN. lib. ii. that

that the enemy arrived long before their confederates, so that the *Athenians* were constrained to retire with their families to *Salamis*, and to send the army which they had raised, under the command of *Aristides*, to join that of the *Spartans* and other states of *Greece*, which, under the conduct of *Pausanias* tutor of king *Plishtarchus*; the son of *Leonidas*, was preparing to resist the *Persians*. This army soon after advanced into *Bœotia*, where they fought the famous battle of *Platæa*, in which they made a far greater slaughter of the *Persians* than they had ever done before. It would be foreign to our present purpose to say any thing more of this battle here, because it was fought out of the territory of *Athens*, and the *Lacedemonians* had the supreme command. It will be necessary, however, to observe, that *Aristides*, with the body of troops under his command, behaved with such bravery and resolution, as procured them the praise of all the *Greeks* who were their cotemporaries, and hath transmitted their fame, both for valour and prudence, even to this far distant age. The same day that the battle of *Platæa* was fought in *Greece*, the *Persians* were also defeated at *Mycale* in *Ionia*. The *Grecian* fleet consisted of two hundred and fifty gallies, under the command of *Leotychides* the *Lacedemonian*, and *Xanthippus* the *Athenian*. It is universally allowed, that the *Athenians* behaved better than any of the rest of the *Grecians* in this engagement, of whom, *Herodotus* says, that *Harmolycus* the son of *Euthoinus*, a famous wrestler, deserved the first place. When they had defeated the *Persian* navy, the *Greeks* had the boldness to land and to attack the forces they found on shore, whom having also routed they plundered all the country, and carried off an immense booty. Having done this they sailed to *Samos*, where it was debated in their council, whether or no it would be fit to transport the *Ionians* into *Greece* and leave *Ionia* to the *Barbarians*, since it would be very difficult, if not impracticable, for the *Athenians*, or indeed for the rest of the confederates, to assist them at all times, and in case they were not protected, their present revolt might prove fatal to them. It was likewise proposed, in case they were transported to *Greece*, to give them the territories of such *Greek* states as had in this war sided with the *Persians*; but after all the *Athenians* changed their minds, and shewed a visible reluctance, when this design should have been put in execution. They were apprehensive, that if the *Ionians* were transported into *Greece* they would rival them in point of trade, or at least throw off that obedience and respect which hitherto they had paid *Athens*, as their mother city and constant protectress. They were likewise uneasy at the *Peloponnesians* interfering in matters relating to their colonies; and as

Year of
the Flood
2521.
Year be-
fore Christ
478.



the *Athenians* were at this time the state of greatest consequence in *Greece*, their confederates thought it necessary to satisfy them by their particular condescension in this point, and therefore, after promising the *Ionians* such assistance as they should have occasion for from time to time, the fleet left their coast. The *Lacedemonians* sailed back to *Laconia*, but the *Athenians*, under the command of *Xanthippus*, resolved to make some farther attempts before they quitted these seas^u.

The strong
fortress of
Sestos taken.

THIS resolution being taken, the *Athenians* crossed over to the *Chersonesus* and besieged *Scyros*. It was a strong place and had a great garison under the command of *Artayctes* a *Persian*, whom *Herodotus* represents as a man of very dissolute morals. The siege was long and troublesome, and autumn drawing on, the *Athenians* were very desirous of returning home, but their general *Xanthippus* declared, that he would not depart till he had either taken *Sestos*, or was recalled by a decree of the *Athenian* people, because *Artayctes* had been guilty of sacrilege in rifling the sepulchre of *Protesilaus*, and taking thence a vast sum of money. At last, the garison, being pressed with hunger and having no hopes of relief, resolved to shift for themselves, and accordingly made their escape in two parties, the one led by *Oibazus*, the other by *Artayctes*; *Oibazus* and his party were overtaken by the *Thracians*, who, after surrounding him and his guards, killed most of them, and took him and his family prisoners; after which they sacrificed him to *Plistorus* a *Thracian* god, and put the rest of their captives to the sword. The *Athenians*, as soon as they were masters of the place, sent out detachments to scour the country, and one of these coming up with *Artayctes* and his corps of troops, near the river *Ægos*, engaged, routed them, and made him and his son prisoners. When they were brought back to *Sestos* and put under a guard, *Herodotus* relates a very extraordinary prodigy, which he attributes to the sacrilege before mentioned. He says, that one of the *Athenian* soldiers, to whose custody this *Persian* general was committed, broiling some dried fish, saw them leap upon the coals, as if they had been just taken out of the water, upon which *Artayctes* addressed himself to him in these words; “*Athenian* friend, be not afraid, you are not at all concerned in this prodigy. *Protesilaus*, though dead and embalmed at *Elcus*, admonishes me by this sign, that the gods have given him power to revenge the injury he has received: Resolving therefore to make him reparation, I will consecrate a hundred talents to his divinity, instead of the riches

^u HERODOT. PLUTARCH. CORN. NEPOS. JUSTIN. &c.

“ I took

“ I took out of his temples ; and I will give two hundred talents to the *Athenians*, if they will spare my life and the life of my son”. But their general *Xanthippus* would not be persuaded by these promises, partly because he himself was averse to the thing, and partly because the people of *Eleus*, to avenge the injuries done to *Protesilaus*, earnestly solicited him, that *Artayctes* might be put to death. Having therefore conducted him to that part of the shore, where the bridges of *Xerxes* terminated, or, as others say, to an eminence standing near the city of *Madyrus*, they caused him to be impaled on a stake fixed in the ground for that purpose, and at the same time stoned his son before his eyes. When the *Athenians* had done these things, they returned with their fleet to *Greece*, carrying, besides other riches, all the materials of the bridges, in order to be consecrated in their temples, and nothing more was done that year * (Z).

THE victories of *Plataea* and *Mycale* sealed the freedom of *Greece*, and particularly eased the *Athenians* of their apprehensions ; they therefore brought back all their families into *Attica*, and began to think of rebuilding their city, not

* HERODOT. ubi supra. DIOD. SICUL. lib. xi.

(Z) The story of *Artayctes*'s sacrilege we have from *Herodotus*, who relates it thus : “ The government of the whole province was in the hands of *Artayctes*, a person of profligate and detestable manners, who had been placed in that station by *Xerxes*, and, by imposing a fraud upon him when he marched to *Athens*, had rifled the treasures of *Protesilaus* the son of *Iphicles*, which were at *Eleus*. For in the city of *Eleus* in *Chersonesus* the sepulchre of *Protesilaus* was erected in the midst of this temple, and a great sum of money, with gold and silver plate, vessels of brass, and other offerings, were taken from thence by *Artayctes*, in virtue of a grant from the king, which he obtained by this artifice : Sir, said he, here is the habitation of a certain Grecian, who having entered your territories with an army, perished as he well deserved. Give me the house of this man, that for the future none may dare to invade any part of your dominions. By this presentation he doubted not to obtain the house from *Xerxes*, because he could have no suspicion of his project ; and told him *Protesilaus* had invaded the royal dominions, because the *Persians* imagine that all *Asia* is the property of their kings. Thus after *Artayctes* had obtained his request, he brought away the treasure to *Sestos*, converted the sacred place into pasture and arable land ; and when he was at *Eleus*, lay with divers women in the sanctuary (76).

(76) *Herodot. lib. ix. propo. fin*

only

only with the utmost expedition, but also with some degree of magnificence¹. The people were more elate than ever, they were conscious of the mighty share they had in driving the *Barbarians* back into *Asia*, and were therefore resolved to preserve that freedom uninvaded by citizens, for which they had so warmly contended against strangers. *Themistocles*, who was always for a popular government, encouraged them in these expectations, and *Aristides*, having thoroughly considered the genius of his countrymen, thought it would be better to concede to them freely what they so much desired, than to hazard new disturbances by the rising up of different factions. He therefore proposed, that every citizen should have an equal right to the government, and that the archons should be chosen out of the body of the people without preference or distinction; with this the commons were satisfied, and the men of figure were also contented². *Themistocles* proposed also at this time, that *Athens* should be instantly fortified in the best manner possible, to prevent the misfortunes which they had lately sustained by the sudden invasions of the *Persians*. He had other views than this, but they were not then ripe for discovery, so he contented himself with moving that first which was first to be put into execution. The *Lacedemonians*, as soon as they received this news, were exceedingly alarmed: they had been hitherto the principal people in *Greece*, and were, of consequence, very jealous of a rival. They therefore sent ambassadors to *Athens*, who on their arrival declared to the assembly, that the *Spartans*, having nothing in view but the general good of *Greece*, could not avoid remonstrating against the proceedings of the *Athenians* in fortifying their city, since it was clear to them, that this measure must prove very disadvantageous to their confederates; because if the *Persians* should again make an irruption into *Attica*, with the same success as before, and possess themselves of a fortified city, they would make use of it as a bridle on *Greece*, and fill it with such a garison as would render it inexpugnable. These arguments seeming to have no great weight with those to whom they were urged, the *Spartan* ambassadors proceeded to exert an authority which had been admitted in other *Grecian* cities, that is, they absolutely forbid the *Athenians* to carry their walls any higher. The people infinitely offended at this, and at the same time doubtful how it might be remedied, listened readily to *Themistocles's* advice, which was to the following effect: He said, that considering their own imbecility and the power of *Sparta*, they were in this case to make use

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. c. 5.² PLUTARCH. in vit. Aristid. rather

rather of prudence than prowess. That to free themselves from the *Lacedemonian* ambassadors, who were but a kind of spies, they should promise not to proceed any farther in walling their city, till by an embassy of their own they should give satisfaction to *Lacedemon* and the rest of their allies. He then offered to go himself at the head of that embassy, and undertook to bring all things to a happy conclusion ^a.

Themistocles, according to his own proposal, being named with some other *Athenians* ambassadors to *Sparta*, he set out before the rest, having intimated to the senate that it would be for the interest of the state, if they delayed as long as possible sending the rest of the ambassadors to *Sparta*. When he arrived at *Lacedemon*, he put off for some time receiving an audience, on account of his being alone, and expecting daily his colleagues. These in the mean time exhorted the *Athenians* to proceed in building their walls with all imaginable application; this they readily gave into, sparing neither houses nor sepulchres for materials, while women, children, strangers, servants, and citizens, all wrought night and day, so that in a short space the walls were almost finished. The *Lacedemonians* having received advice of this, and the colleagues of *Themistocles* being arrived, they summoned them before the *Ephori*, who began immediately to exclaim against the perfidiousness of the *Athenians* in thus violating their promise. *Themistocles* denied the charge; he said his colleagues assured him of the contrary; that it did not become a great state to depend on flying rumours, but that the *Lacedemonians* ought to send deputies back with the *Athenian* ambassadors to take cognizance of the affair, while himself remained as an hostage to be answerable for the event. This being agreed to, *Themistocles* engaged his associates to advise the *Athenians* to commit the *Spartan* ambassadors to safe custody till he should be released. He then publicly avowed the whole transaction at *Lacedemon*, took the scheme upon himself, and said, *That all things are lawful for our country*. The *Spartans*, seeing no remedy, concealed their resentment, and sent him home in safety ^b.

THE next year, which was the last of the seventy fifth olympiad, *Adiamanthus* being archon, *Themistocles* opened himself further to his citizens, as to the schemes he had formed for raising their power, and encreasing their wealth. He observed, that the port *Phalerum* was very narrow and inconvenient, he therefore advised them to make the *Piræus*

The Lacedemonians deceived by Themistocles.

^a DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra. ^b PLUT. in vit. Themist. CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Themist. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

the port of *Athens*, from whence he said that he was sensible, that great advantages would accrue to the state, but that it was not proper for him to disclose them to the assembly, or to lay down publicly the methods, by which his design might be carried into execution. He intreated them therefore to choose two persons of rank and capacity, to whom he might communicate the whole of his project. The assembly thereupon made choice of *Aristides* and *Xanthippus*, to whom *Themistocles* freely imparted his contrivance, which was to render the *Piræus* the most capacious haven in *Greece*, and to unite the city thereto by long walls; for he did not conceive it fit that the port should be made part of the city, because, knowing that sailors are generally dissolute, he was afraid, that their mixing with the citizens would work a corruption of manners. He observed, that the *Ionians* were originally from the same stock with themselves, and that of consequence, if *Athens* were mistress of the sea, they would attach themselves to her rather than to *Lacedemon*, which he said would be the case of the islanders also, who, having no idea of a land-force, would sue for protection to that state whose naval power was greatest; he concluded with shewing the easiness with which his scheme might be put in practice, if its ends were kept secret, and the danger there would be of its coming to nothing, if the *Spartans* had once an idea of what was intended. *Aristides* and *Xanthippus* went then out to the people, and told them, that *Themistocles*'s project was of the utmost advantage to the state, and yet might be performed with the greatest ease. This, instead of satisfying the assembly, inspired them with new suspicions, they therefore directed *Themistocles* to apply himself to the senate, and if they approved his design, they empowered them to furnish him with what he wanted; accordingly *Themistocles* addressed himself to that venerable body, and they went unanimously into all his measures. In the first place ambassadors were dispatched to *Sparta*, to insinuate there how fit it would be for the *Greeks* to have some great port, where a fleet might always continue in safety in order to watch the designs of the *Persians*; having thus prepared the *Lacedemonians* not to take offence at their first preparations for enlarging and establishing the harbour of *Piræus*, *Themistocles* took such care, that every thing was finished, and the place in a posture of defence, before it was well known at *Sparta* what the *Athenians* were about ^c.

The sovereignty of the sea transferred to Athens.

THE *Greeks* continuing the war all this time against the *Persians*, *Aristides* and *Cimon* the son of *Miltiades* were sent

^c PLUT. in vit. Themist. DIOD. SICUL. ubi supra.

commanders of the *Athenian* forces, *Pausanias* the *Lacedemonian* having the command in chief. This *Pausanias*, elate with the success he had had at *Platæa* and full also of new designs, having engaged in a treasonable correspondence with the *Persian* king, treated all the captains under his command with such haughtiness and state, that they were not able to bear it; for he never spoke to them but in very harsh terms; he would not allow them to provide forage, or draw water for themselves or their soldiers, till his *Spartans* were all served. As for the private men, under colour of preserving discipline, he treated them as if they had been all slaves, making them for the smallest offences stand with an anchor bound down on their shoulders, so that it almost sunk them into the earth. On the other hand, the justice of *Aristides*, and the candour and generosity of *Cimon* attracted the hearts both of captains and soldiers; they saw, that the *Athenians* were far more powerful at sea than the *Lacedemonians*, and that the authority of the latter was founded only in their pride; they therefore applied themselves first to *Aristides*, to desire, that he would interpose with *Pausanias*, in order to hinder him from behaving so roughly; but when *Pausanias* turned from him disdainfully, and said he was not at leisure to hear him, they unanimously besought the *Athenian* commanders to take them under their protection, promising for the future to acknowledge *Athens* as the first city of *Greece*. *Aristides* upon this proposition told them, that he saw clearly not only the fitness, but the necessity, of what they proposed; but as he would never hazard either the safety or honour of his country, by attempting to do what might not succeed, so he would never comply with their request, till by some public act they put their sincerity out of question, and fixed the concurrence of all the troops beyond a possibility of retracting. Upon this *Uliades* the *Samian*, and *Antagoras* of *Chios*, having agreed together, ran foul of *Pausanias's* galley as she rode at the head of the fleet before *Byzantium*, and upon his threatening to make them know they had not affronted him, but his country, they not only slighted his menaces, but also told him in answer, that the best thing he could do was to retire and thank fortune for her favours at *Platæa*, for that nothing but the regard they had for that great action restrained the *Greeks* from resenting and revenging the ill treatment they had received at his hands. Thus the *Lacedemonians* lost that pre-eminence which they had hitherto maintained, and the supreme command was transferred to the *Athenians* d.

d DIONOR. SICUL. lib. xi. c. 6. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Aristid.
VOL. VI, Q THE

Aristides
taxes all
Greece by
common
consent.

THE conduct of *Aristides* derived yet greater honour and advantage to his country; the states of *Greece* saw very clearly, that it was necessary for them to be always on their guard against the *Persians*, and they had already learned, that war was not to be made without money; they therefore inferred, that a standing fund would be convenient for the maintenance of that force which it behoved them to keep on foot; but then the settling the proportions of this fund, according to the abilities of the several states, seemed to be a difficult thing. Under this dilemma all *Greece* cast her eyes on *Aristides*, they demanded him of the *Athenians* as the only person who could be intrusted with such a plenitude of power. He executed his commission in such a manner, that his taxation was unanimously stiled, *The happy lot of Greece*, all its states being perfectly well satisfied with the sums he allotted them to pay. The gross account of this tax was four hundred and sixty talents. When he had finished this business, he obliged all the people of *Greece* to swear to the observation of all the articles of their grand alliance, himself taking the oath in the name of the *Athenians*, throwing at the same time pieces of red-hot iron into the sea, when he pronounced curses against all such as should violate any article of the alliance they swore to. Afterwards indeed, when necessity compelled the *Athenians* to act a little against the letter of that treaty, *Aristides* advised them to transfer the curses on him, adding that he would willingly bear the punishments of their perjury, rather than behold them fall upon the state. *Themistocles* saw with great concern the mighty honours heaped upon his rival, and, in order to lessen his reputation, he was pleased to say in a public assembly, that the praises bestowed on *Aristides* were not praises worthy of a man, but of a money-chest, which safely keeps what is deposited therein. But this did not avenge him of an observation which *Aristides* had made on a former speech of his, wherein he declared, that he thought it the greatest excellency in a general to penetrate the designs of his enemy; to which *Aristides* replied, that it was indeed a most necessary qualification, but that there was another equally illustrious, which was *to have clean hands, and not be a slave to money*. Thus when the *Athenians* were free from foreign wars, and from any contentions with their confederates, they were continually employed in domestic quarrels; the dissensions of eminent men were never failing to raise disturbances among their fellow-citizens. An observation which we shall content ourselves with making here once for all, though the verification

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tion thereof will occur to our readers in almost every page of the *Athenian* history ^c.

THE *Lacedemonians*, though at first they made a semblance of submitting to the pleasure of the *Greeks*, who transferred Themistocles the pre-eminence with respect to maritime affairs from *Sparta* to *Athens*, yet in a short time they began to look on this as a mighty diminution of their authority; and they were the more concerned at it, because it was reported among them, that an oracle had bid them beware, that they enjoyed not half an empire; yet their anger being moderated by the wisdom of some of their citizens, they laid aside all thoughts of war, and the *Athenians*, who had provisionally built some stout gallies, reaped thereby some advantage from their threatnings. There seems just reason to believe, that the *Lacedemonians* acted more politically in remaining at peace, than if they had taken arms; for a little after they accused Themistocles to his countrymen of having conspired with their general *Pausanias* to betray the cause of *Greece*. When this matter came to a hearing, it did indeed appear, that *Pausanias* had discovered his intrigues to Themistocles; but it appeared likewise, that Themistocles did all in his power to persuade him to let them fall, so that he was acquitted of this accusation with honour. But the minds of the people being once stirred against him, as well to gratify their own private resentment as to make their court to the *Spartans*, there were enow found to calumniate Themistocles. We have already shewn some of the reasons which induced the people of *Lacedemon* to hate this great man, there remains yet one more which deserves the reader's notice, because of all others it exasperated them most. A little after the battle of *Platæa*, it was proposed in the council of the *Amphictyons*, or states-general of *Greece*, that all such cities as had not fought against the *Persians* should lose their right of sending deputies to that assembly. This Themistocles opposed, for he foresaw, that if the cities of *Thebes*, *Argos*, and many others should lose their right of sending representatives to this assembly, the *Lacedemonians* would rule all; wherefore he represented to the members there present, that there were but one and thirty cities, and most of them very small ones, which had concurred in the war against the *Persians*, and that if the deputies of those only had session in their council, it would undoubtedly come to pass, that this august senate would be

^c DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. in vita Aristid.

entirely under the influence of two or three great cities, which would be at once disadvantageous and dishonourable to *Greece*. These suggestions of his having destroyed the *Lacedemonian* scheme of empire, the chiefs of that city ever after befriended the rivals of *Themistocles*, and sought to bring him into odium with the *Athenians*. *Timocreon* the *Rhodian*, who was a famous poet in those times, wrote libels against *Themistocles*, and *Aristides* and *Cimon* promoted exceedingly that spirit of jealousy which began to spring up against him. *Themistocles* himself gave them a handle, by erecting near his own house a temple which he dedicated to *Diana*, the giver of the best council; intimating, that himself had given the best council both for the safety of *Athens* and *Greece*. The end of these disputes was, that the *Athenians* by the ostracism banished *Themistocles*. The *Lacedemonians*, not satisfied with this, accused him afresh of having been concerned in *Pausanias*'s conspiracy, which obliged that great man to fly from one place to another, and at last to take shelter in the court of *Admetus* king of the *Molossians*; but the *Spartans* sending ambassadors thither to threaten that king with the *Greeks* making war upon him by a confederacy, he furnished *Themistocles* with money to make his escape into *Asia*, where learning not only the *Persian* manners, but the language also, he raised himself to greater favour with *Artaxerxes*, than any of the native *Persians*, so that in time he bestowed on him a *Persian* wife, a large estate, and great privileges which descended to his posterity; insomuch, that *Plutarch* affirms, that he knew one of them, whose name was also *Themistocles*, who lived at *Magnesia* in full possession of them, above five hundred years after the ingratitude of the *Athenians* sent this excellent person to receive his bread from strangers, and to make known to *Persia* those virtues of which *Greece* was no longer worthy^f (A).

THE

^f CORN. NEPOS in vita Themist. DIODOR. SICUL. Biblioth. lib. xi. c. 12. PLUT. in vita Themist.

(A) As far as the affairs of *Themistocles* were mingled with those of the state of *Athens*, we have followed his various fortunes in the text; but now, when they are no longer connected, we think it necessary to throw together some memoirs of the latter part of this great man's life in a note. It does not appear, that *Themistocles* when banished had any design either to revenge himself on *Athens*, or to take refuge in the court of the king of *Persia*. The *Greeks* themselves forced him upon this, or rather the *Lacedemonians*;

THE popular party in *Athens* carried all things before them, after *Themistocles* was banished; and such a number of false

nians; for as by their intrigues his countrymen were induced to banish him, so by their procurement, after he was banished, he was never suffered to remain in quiet, let him take refuge where he would. His journey into *Persia*, if we may believe *Plutarch*, was very dangerous; the great king having promised by proclamation two hundred talents for apprehending him. *Nicogenes* the *Æolian* found means to convey him to court in safety; for, having put him into a close litter, he caused the servants who attended him to give out that they carried a young *Grecian* lady out of *Ionia* to a nobleman attending on the king's person; thus he arrived safely at the court of *Artaxerxes*, where he addressed himself to *Artabanus*, and informed him, that he was a *Grecian*, who desired to be admitted to an audience of the king, which *Artabanus* having promised, demanded whom they should say he was; for you seem, said he, to be no ordinary person. *Themistocles* answered, no man must be informed of this before the king himself. When admitted to the royal presence, and commanded to declare who he was, he spoke thus: "I am *Themistocles* the *Athenian* banished
 " and persecuted by the *Greeks*; I fly to thee for refuge, mighty
 " monarch: The evils I have done to the *Persians* are easily to
 " be forgiven, in consideration of the many achievements per-
 " formed for them when I hindered the *Grecians* from pursuing the
 " *Medes* after the fatal battles of *Salamis* and *Platæa*; when
 " having freed my country, and placed the *Greeks* in safety, my
 " ambition led me on to greater enterprizes; in which being suc-
 " cessful, I gratified the far-extended *Persian* empire, and per-
 " formed services acceptable to the greatest prince on earth: Since
 " which all things having conspired to augment my present cala-
 " mities, suitable to such a condition, I come hither hoping to re-
 " ceive mercy from a gracious reconciled emperor, who hath laid
 " aside his anger, and is no longer mindful of former evils; hum-
 " bly imploring you, that taking the *Greeks* for witnesses of the
 " services I have done for *Persia*, you will make use of this occasion
 " to shew the world the nobleness of your virtue, rather than the
 " greatness of your resentment. Hereby you will preserve an
 " humble suppliant; if otherwise, you destroy a servant of the
 " *Persians*, and a public enemy of the *Greeks*." *Thucydides* (77) mentions a letter sent by *Themistocles* to *Artaxerxes*, differing very little from this speech, attributed to him by *Plutarch*. *Cornelius Nepos* hath copied this letter from *Thucydides*; and all agree, that the *Persian* monarch received him with great kindness. *Plutarch* says, that he was so well pleased with him, that he cried out thrice, the night of his audience, in his sleep, *I have Themistocles the Athenian* (78). The next morning the king sent for him a-

(77) *De Bello Pelop. lib. i.*(78) *Plut. in vita Themist.*

gain,

false witnesses arose, that those who were most concerned in that affair were in danger of repenting of it. *Aristides* alone, when

gain, and as soon as the first compliments were over, said, *I am in your debt two hundred talents, for so much I promised to him who brought Themistocles*; he likewise promised him far greater favours, and desired he would speak his mind freely of the affairs of Greece. *Themistocles* answered by his interpreter, *That discourse, like a Persian carpet, had in it a variety of figures, which never appeared to advantage, but when it was thoroughly unfolded, and was scarce to be apprehended when wrapt together in the piece*; he therefore desired that he might have time to learn the *Persian* language, which would enable him to disclose his own ideas without the help of another. This answer of *Themistocles* is a noble proof of his extensive genius, it was entirely in the oriental taste, the sentiment great, and the figure expressive; he delivered himself like a native *Persian* the very first day that he appeared in the court of *Persia*; the king readily granted him a year for the purpose he intended. At the end of that space he appeared frequently at court, *Themistocles* being in a short time so great a favourite, that it became afterwards a proverb, and the *Persian* kings were wont to promise any Greek whom they sought to bring over to their interest, *that he should live with them as Themistocles did with Artaxerxes*. He was also in high favour with the queen-mother, became a convert to the *Persian* religion, and was instructed therein by the magi. He had three cities bestowed upon him, which, alluding to their situation, the king of *Persia* said in pleasantry, that they should serve to provide him bread, wine, and meat; these cities were *Magnesia*, *Myon*, and *Lampsacus*; the first brought him in a yearly revenue of fifty talents, and the last had in its neighbourhood the noblest vineyards in the east. *Themistocles* fixed his residence at *Magnesia*, where he lived with all the splendor of a *Persian* grandee, inso-much, that he said one day at table to his children, *We had been undone, my little ones, if we had not been undone*. He was so far from expressing any hatred against his ungrateful country, that *Plutarch* assures us the tenderness he retained for it had like to have cost him his life; for seeing at *Sardis* a brazen statue of a virgin which he had set up in *Athens*, when he was surveyor of the aqueducts, he attempted to persuade the governor of *Lydia* to send it back to *Athens*; who, far from giving into his opinion, fell into a great passion, and threatened to inform the emperor, so that *Themistocles*, in order to extricate himself from danger, was forced to make large presents to his women. Authors differ exceedingly as to the manner in which this noble *Athenian* died. *Plutarch* says, that being pressed by the king of *Persia* to undertake an expedition against Greece, he made a solemn sacrifice, at which having kindly entertained his friends, he drank a porringer of bull's blood, and so put an end to his life. *Thucydides*, who was cotemporary

when things came to extremity, shewed himself more a friend to virtue, than an enemy to *Themistocles*; he refused to join with *Alcmæon* and *Cimon* in prosecuting him capitally, and was so far from insulting him in his misfortunes, that he spoke of him with greater respect than ever. The war with *Persia* was not yet let fall; the *Greeks* found that great advantage accrued to them from carrying it on, especially the *Athenians*, who, by means of their great force at sea, were continually enriching themselves at the expence of some or other of the *Persian* emperor's subjects. They therefore devised various reasons for sending fleets to sea, though the real intent was to aggrandize and enrich themselves, by the skill and valour of their troops and their commanders. With this view, in the latter end of the seventy seventh olympiad, they equipped a navy for the relief of such of the *Grecian* cities in *Asia* as were under subjection to the great king. This expedition was pleasing to the *Athenians*, and no less grateful to the *Greeks* in general, since it seemed to be for the advantage of others, though they had in truth no less regard to their own ^s.

Cimon, the son of *Miltiades* by the daughter of the king *Cimon* of *Thrace*, was unanimously chosen admiral and commander *establishesthe succeeding part of this history, and therefore it is necessary.* in chief on this occasion: He will make a great figure in *the Athenian greatness.*

^s DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

porary with *Themistocles*, speaks very doubtfully of this business; He died, says he, of a distemper, but some report that he poisoned himself, seeing it impossible to accomplish what he had promised the king. He was sixty six years old at his death; he was honoured with a stately tomb at *Magnesia*, but his bones, by his own command, were privately carried back into *Attica* and buried there. Some say, that the *Athenians*, repenting afterwards of their ill usage of this great man, honoured him with a tomb in the *Piræus*. And *Plutarch* in support of this quotes the following verses from *Plato* the comedian:

Thy tomb is justly rais'd upon the strand,
Where from all parts admiring strangers land;
In that fair port by thy great genius made
The seat of empire, liberty, and trade:
So that thy ashes on this famous shore,
Both sea and land may honour and adore (79).

(79) *Plut. ubi supra. Thucyd. ubi supra. Corn. Nepos in vita Themist.*

sary,

fary, that we should give the reader his character here. *Cimon*'s abilities were fair and solid, yet less so than his virtues; his father had distinguished himself by the firmness of his courage, *Themistocles* by the strength of his judgment, *Aristides* by his probity, *Cimon* was equal to them all; his distinguishing perfection was an openness of temper, which made him above deceiving, the only stain on *Themistocles*'s character; and an inflexible honesty, which raised his reputation above his father's. It was this *Cimon* whom the merciful *Athenians* put in chains for his father's fine, and for whose release his sister gave up her charms to *Callias*, remarkable only for being at the same time *worthless*, and *worth money*. In his youth *Cimon* did not promise much, he was little inclined to learning, which in an *Athenian* was a strange thing; he was much addicted to magnificence and the love of women, which were also thought blemishes in a young nobleman like him; but of a sudden he gave his citizens to understand, that the greatest virtues are not the soonest seen; for when, on the first news of the *Persian* invasion, *Themistocles* advised the *Athenians* to quit their city, and go on board their galleys, and was thereupon universally decried; *Cimon* went immediately to the temple of *Minerva*, and offered up a bridle, to signify that horsemen were no longer of use, but that they ought to trust to their ships; after which he went cheerfully about taking down his goods, and carried them on board the fleet. *Aristides*, observing the integrity of this young man, took great care to train him up to business, that his candour might balance the craft of *Themistocles*, in which he succeeded very happily; for *Cimon* only of all the *Athenian* generals was always beloved, and never suspected^b. In this expedition he took the city of *Eion* from the *Persians*, but with little advantage to the *Athenians*, because *Butes*, who commanded in that city for the *Persian* king, set fire to the place, and burnt himself, his garison, and all the riches that were therein; however, *Cimon* settled colonies in that neighbourhood after revenging himself on the *Thracians*, who had assisted the *Persians* in *Ionia* with provisions. He afterwards reduced the island of *Scyros*, from whence he brought the bones of *Theseus*, which were honourably interred at *Athens* (B). After this he returned to *Athens*, and having increased his

^b PLUT. in vit. Cimonis. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. ejusd.

(B) This note hath the same subject with the last; we are to speak of the honours paid by the *Athenians* to the ashes of a great man,

his fleet to three hundred sail, he steered for the coast of *Caria*, and having performed great things there, he sailed for *Cyprus*, where he was informed the *Persian* fleet lay at anchor. He found them at the mouth of the river *Eurymedon*, their land army, which was very numerous, being encamped not far off. *Cimon*, though the fleet was much stronger than his, attacked it, and after a very obstinate engagement, gained a complete victory, taking one hundred ships, their crews abandoning them to seek refuge on shore. Unsatisfied with this, he debarked his forces, and attacked their land army; the *Persians* fought better than ever they had done, and yet after a very long and bloody battle the *Athenians* prevailed, and not only routed the *Persians*, but possessed themselves of their camp with all the riches contained therein; thus in one day he gained two important victories, one at sea, the other at land, equal to those of *Salamis* and *Platæa*¹. *Plutarch* says, that he afterwards made him-

Year of
the Flood
2531.
Before
Christ
468.

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. ubi supra.

man, whom they treated ill while living, and sent to beg his bread; this was no less a person than *Theseus*, to whom in a great measure they owed their being a people. The oracle, in the latter end of the seventy fifth, or beginning of the seventy sixth olympiad, commanded the *Athenians* to bring home the ashes of this prince. When therefore *Cimon* made himself master of the isle of *Scyros*, he sought with great diligence for the tomb of *Theseus*; but being able to find no such thing, he inquired of the people of the island, who either could not or would not give him any intelligence; at last observing an eagle upon a rising ground pecking it with her bill, and tearing up the earth with her talons, it came into his head to dig there. This being done, there was found a coffin of a man of more than ordinary size, the brazen head of a lance, and a sword lying by him, all which he took on board his galley, and brought them with him to *Athens*. The *Athenians*, transported with joy, went out to meet and receive the reliques of this great man with all the pomp imaginable. They interred them in the middle of the city, and made his tomb an asylum or sanctuary for slaves and people of mean condition, who fled from the persecution of men in power, because in his life-time he had been a protector of the distressed, and above all things delighted in doing the injured justice. They likewise sacrificed solemnly to him on the 8th of *October*, because he was reported to have returned from his *Cretan* expedition on that day. Thus the *Athenians*, who injured *Theseus* living, revered him dead (80)!

(80) *Plut. in vit. These.*

self master of eighty *Phœnician* vessels which lay in a port of *Cyprus*, and were intended to strengthen that navy which *Cimon* had destroyed. However it was, he gained such an immense booty, that the *Athenians* were enabled thereby to build the south wall of the citadel, and to lay the foundation of those far extended walls which united the port to the city, and which being built in a moorish ground, they were first of all forced to sink great stones, that they might have whereon to erect a superstructure, besides various other things for the accommodation of the citizens, and besides what *Cimon* himself did out of his proportion of the spoils, which were very great; for he adorned the *forum* with palm-trees, and beautified the academy with delightful walks and pleasant fountains. The wealth of *Cimon*, as it enabled him to do many things for the public, so it likewise put it in his power to live in his private capacity with that magnificence which he so much affected; he therefore demolished the inclosures about his grounds and gardens, and permitted every body to enter and take what fruits they pleased; he likewise kept an open table, where not only the rich found delicacies, but the poorest *Athenians* eat of them freely. When he went abroad he was constantly attended by a train of young gentlemen extremely well dressed, and whose pockets were well furnished with money. But if by chance he met any antient citizen in a tattered suit, he made some of his domestics change cloaths with him; or if the quality of the person rendered that kindness unsuitable, he took a sum of money from one of his attendants, and conveyed it into the pocket of the distressed person privately. Thus, as one of the antients said of him very justly, he gained riches that he might use them, and used them so as to get credit. Yet he was far from doing these things from a desire of becoming popular; on the contrary he sided always with the nobility, and opposed openly such as sought to make their court to the people, by putting all things into their power. The riches, which his victories poured into *Athens*, brought along with them their constant attendant corruption; but though the tide was strong, yet *Pericles* in the midst of a voluntary poverty, and *Cimon* who lived with the greatest magnificence, escaped it, and were never taxed with partiality, or being under the influence of money^k.

The Thac-
ians re-
sist, and
are reduced
by Cimon.

The affairs of *Athens* were now in such a prosperous condition, that they would not suffer any thing to be transacted to

^k PLUTARCH. ubi supra.

their

their prejudice without revenging it. The *Persians* having invaded the *Chersonesus*, and by the help of the *Thracians* made themselves entirely masters of it, *Cimon* was sent thither in a great hurry ; he had with him but four ships, so that the *Barbarians* and their allies looked upon this as a very rash attempt ; however, *Cimon*, falling upon them suddenly, took thirteen of their galleys, and afterwards reduced all *Chersonesus* under the *Athenian* power ; after which he went against the *Thasians*, who revolting from the *Athenians*, had made themselves masters of the gold mines, which lie between the rivers *Nyffus* and *Strymon*, which tempted the *Athenians* to fall upon them. But before we enter into the event of this war, it may not be amiss to observe, that *Cimon* put the *Athenians* into a method of becoming irresistible at sea, and of saving their neighbours, not at their own expence, but at the expence of those they awed. It was thus : Many of the *Greek* states, who, by the treaty concluded with *Aristides*, were bound to furnish men and galleys, as well as to pay the tax for their support, when they saw themselves out of danger from the *Barbarians*, were very unwilling to furnish their quota of men and ships ; this most of the *Athenian* generals disliking, would have compelled them by high fines to remedy ; but *Cimon* took a contrary course, he permitted such as were desirous of staying at home to remain there, and took a certain sum in lieu of a galley completely manned. By this means he inured the *Athenians*, whom he took on board his galleys, both to hardship and discipline, while the allies, who chose to excuse themselves in this manner, were enervated thro' idleness, and so from confederates dwindled by degrees into tributaries, and almost slaves. The people of *Thasus* perceiving this, thought to have shaken off the *Athenian* yoke ; but *Cimon* proved too many for them, though the *Thasians* behaved very bravely ; for having first sustained a great loss at sea, they afterwards shut themselves up in their city, and made a very obstinate defence ; while in the mean time they sent privately to the *Lacedemonians*, and endeavoured to stir them up to make war with the *Athenians* ; but their affairs not permitting them to comply with their request, the *Thasians* were obliged at last to submit ; and so the gold mines, about which this war was commenced, fell into the power of the *Athenians*, who sent a great colony to *Amphipolis* a city of *Thrace*, which for a time made a great figure, but afterwards attempting to penetrate into the country of the *Edones*, a great part of them were destroyed. In the last year of the seventy seventh olympiad, the *Lacedemonians*

finding themselves extremely vexed by their *Helotes*, who had revolted from them, and were supported by the *Messenians* and some other of their neighbours, sent to demand aid from *Athens*, which produced very great disputes there; *Ephialtes*, a great orator, who was at the head of the popular party, opposed the motion for sending, as the *Spartans* desired, an army to their assistance. *Cimon*, who favoured the nobility, and who was a great friend to the *Lacedemonians*, by whose interest he had been supported against *Themistocles*, earnestly pressed the *Athenians* to lay hold of this opportunity of shewing their virtue and magnanimity, by succouring their companion, who was the other eye of *Greece*. *Ephialtes* sought to bring the people into his opinion, by shewing that *Sparta* had always been, and from the nature of her constitution would always be an enemy to *Athens*, and therefore ought not to be succoured now when the enemies her pride had excited were about to lay her low. The *Athenians*, however, listened rather to *Cimon* than to his adversary, and full of a generous concern for *Greece*, sent that fortunate general at the head of a great army to the assistance of *Lacedemon*, which service he very willingly performed, and returned from thence with great honour; some time after, the *Lacedemonians*, being engaged in the siege of *Ithome*, sent again to the *Athenians* for succour, and were again relieved, *Cimon* marching with a numerous body of troops to their assistance; but the *Spartans*, finding that their other confederates had sent troops sufficient to enable them to make an end of the war successfully, dismissed the *Athenian* succours, as being either afraid of them, or caring least to be obliged by them. This grievously offended the people of *Athens*, who thenceforward not only hated the *Lacedemonians*, but all of their own citizens, who were reputed to be friends to that state¹.

The *Athenians* make one against the inhabitants of *Ægina*, who, having been always free, bore very ill those acts of sovereignty which the *Athenians* exercised over them, as well as the rest of their allies; the second was against the great king in *Egypt*, which now revolted from him, and set up one *Inarus* for king. The fleet which the *Athenians* sent thither performed wonders; for they enabled the *Egyptians* to beat the *Persians* in the field, and to subdue two districts of the great city of *Memphis*; but the third which was called the *white*, they could not reduce, the *Persians* who retreated thither, having carried with them

¹ Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. in vit. Cimon. Cor. v. Νερος in vit. ejusd. THUCYD. lib. i.

a vast quantity of provisions and ammunition, which enabled them to hold out a siege of three years ; but this affair being already exactly related in our account of the *Persian* monarchy, we need say no more of it here, than that it ended not much to the credit or advantage of the *Athenians* ^m.

THEIR great business abroad did not so much take up the time of the people of *Athens*, but that they continued as much divided as ever at home ; the popular party were continually making efforts against those small remains of power which were yet in the hands of the nobility ; they had at their head two very great and famous men, *Pericles* and *Ephialtes* ; the former of these was the son of *Xanthippus*, the famous *Athenian* captain who won the battle of *Mycale*, by *Agariste* the niece of the celebrated *Cleisthenes*, who had so great a hand in expelling the *Pisistratidæ*. He studied under *Damon* and *Anaxagoras* ; from the former he learned politics, though he pretended to teach him music, and from the latter natural philosophy and the art of speaking. He had prodigious talents, and above all an eloquence superior to that of any of his contemporaries ; but he was obliged to conceal these shining qualifications, because the *Athenians* had taken it in their heads that he resembled *Pisistratus* very much in his face, and still more in his eloquence, which was so nervous and elevated, that it procured him afterwards the surname of *Olympius*. Notwithstanding therefore that he was of a great family, had a good estate, and many relations who filled the first posts in the commonwealth, yet he not only declined standing for public employments, but even speaking or appearing in public, that he might not draw upon himself the envy of the great, or become formidable to the people. But when *Aristides* was dead, *Themistocles* in banishment, and *Cimon*, generally speaking, employed in foreign affairs, *Pericles* began to apply himself strictly to public business, but in a manner very different from that in which hitherto the great men of *Athens* had acted ; for, instead of courting the rich and the great, he applied himself wholly to the lower sort of people, notwithstanding that it was contrary to his natural disposition, which by no means inclined him to a plausible insinuating behaviour. The reason was, that there appeared no other method than this, by which he could possibly attain to that eminence and superiority which he affected. *Cimon*, by the greatness of his birth, the lustre of his actions, and the largeness of his estate, had placed himself at the head of the nobility, and was by them considered as their chief, being

*State of
the facti-
ons in A-
thens at
this time.*

^m Universal History, Vol V. p. 13.

revered for his magnanimity, as he was beloved for his generosity and condescension. The *multitude* therefore were the sole resource of *Pericles*, who, as he was a great and deep politician, foresaw exactly the dangers he must be exposed to in consequence of his making court to them. To avoid these, he practised a behaviour equally singular and extraordinary; he left off all company, he neither received or paid visits, and but once in all his administration was present at a feast, and then he went away early. When he went abroad, it was either to the *Prytæum* or *assembly*; he preserved an unshaken gravity in his look, his gestures, and his speech, and always prayed, before he delivered an oration, that nothing might slip from him displeasing to the people. With all these abilities he perceived it impracticable to carry his point, unless he could be as liberal as *Cimon*, to whom though his will was equal, yet his fortune fell short; but he overcame this difficulty by making bold with the public money, and doing what all artful politicians have done since, obliging the people at their own expence. He encreased the salaries given to such of the *Athenian* citizens as sat in courts of justice, the money given to the poorer citizens for attending at assemblies, and to enable them to pay for seats in the theatres" (C).

INASMUCH

" PLUTARCH. in vit. Periclis.

(C) The reader might be justly offended, if we had suffered *Aristides*'s subsequent fortunes to have slipped without notice. We have already marked his public character, his notions of government, and the share he had, like the rest of the great men of *Athens*, in the favour and in the hate of his countrymen: In this note therefore we will draw together such scattered passages in relation to this great man, as the course of the history did not permit us to take notice of in the text. *Plutarch* tells us, that one *Aristo*, an historian of *Chios*, or, as *M. Dacier* will have it, of *Ceos*, said, that the contention between *Aristides* and *Themistocles* took rise from their being both enamoured of *Stesileus* of the island of *Ceos*, the most beautiful youth of his time; in which if there be any truth, it is an incontestable argument, that the morality of the *Greeks* was far from being pure or perfect, since *Aristides*, who valued himself so much on his probity, could persist in so base and unnatural a vice. What a high esteem all his contemporaries had of the rigid virtue of *Aristides*, is better known to us from an accident, than from all the laboured panegyrics of the writers of history. It happened, that *Aristides* was present the first time that *Æschylus*'s tragedy was played, which has this title, *The siege of Thebes by the seven captains*. A courier being therein introduced, relating to

Eteocles

INASMUCH as *Pericles* never pretended to any of the great offices of the commonwealth, he could not of consequence be *Eteocles*' the names and qualities of those that commanded, thus describes the genius and temper of *Amphiaraus*.

He aims at real worth without the show,
Reaping those fruits which in his rich mind grow ;
Whence sage advice and noble actions flow.

As soon as these words were out of the actor's mouth, the whole audience turned their eyes upon *Aristides*, to shew that in their opinion this was his character also. He was appointed treasurer of *Athens*, and executed that office with great integrity ; but inasmuch as he had exposed some of *Themistocles*'s frauds, that artful politician accused him of misapplying public money, and though nothing was falser than this charge, got him condemned. But, the court of *Areopagus* interposing, his fine was remitted, and he chosen treasurer for the next year, when he suffered all the collectors and under-officers to act as they thought fit ; who thereupon extolled him to the skies, and, when the end of the year came, would have persuaded the people to choose him a third time, when *Aristides* rising up, addressed himself to the assembly in these words : “ When I discharged my office with care, and managed your treasure faithfully and like an honest man, I was reviled and evil-spoken of ; but now when I have taken no care at all, but left it to the discretion of these public robbers, I am, it seems, an admirable treasurer, and a most excellent patriot ; I therefore declare to you, that I am more ashamed of the honour done to me this day, than of the sentence passed upon me last year ; and with indignation and concern I see, it is more meritorious with you to oblige ill men, than to deserve well of the commonwealth”.

The day before the battle of *Platæa*, a conspiracy being discovered among the *Athenians* to introduce a democracy, *Aristides*, who commanded, would not suffer it to be looked minutely into, for fear it should occasion some sedition in the camp ; but contented himself with telling such as were suspected, that the battle would be the tribunal in which they might justify themselves, and shew how much they were friends to their country. It is certain, that in this battle *Aristides* proved himself to be as great a general as he was a statesman, and gave as noble testimonies of his valour as he had ever done of prudence and justice ; he lived but four years after *Themistocles* was banished, and notwithstanding he had exercised the greatest offices in the commonwealth, yet he was so poor that he was unable to make a figure himself, or to leave any thing to his children, except the honour of being descended from such a father, which procured them a maintenance from the public ; we will instance but one thing more in relation to *Aristides*, which respects at once his poverty and virtue, and so conclude. His cousin *Callias the torch-bearer* being under a prosecution, the orator who spoke against him observed, that though he was immensely rich, he

be chosen a member of the court of *Areopagus* ; whence it came to pass, that he distastèd their authority, because he knew they could not be well-pleased with his endeavouring to transfer all things to the general assembly, where by dint of his eloquence he governed all. But fearing to draw upon himself the displeasure of the most venerable council among the *Athenians*, he encouraged *Ephialtes* his intimate friend to stir up the people against the *Areopagites*, and to make them believe, that this tribunal was the greatest curb upon them, and the only bar to that extensive liberty, which their friends wished to put into the hands of the commons of *Athens* ; thus with great policy he laid the foundation of his own greatness in that of the people, but at the expence of the antient constitution, and of the safety of the state, as the course of this history will shew o.

WHEN things were in this situation, it was thought expedient by the popular party to attempt the destruction of *Cimon*. In order to this, a prosecution was commenced against him for treason against the state ; this treason was pretended to consist in receiving presents or other gratifications from the *Macedonians*, whereby he was prevailed on to let slip the manifest opportunity he had to enlarge his conquests, after he had taken from the *Persians* the golden mines in *Thrace*. *Cimon* made a defence suitable to his character, he said, that he had prosecuted to the utmost of his power the war against the *Thracians*, and other enemies to the state of *Athens* ; but that it was true, he had not made any inroads into *Macedonia*, because he did not conceive that he was to act as a public enemy to mankind, and because he was struck with respect for a nation modest in their carriage, just in their

o PLUTARCH. ubi supra. & in vit. Cimonis. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi.

he suffered his cousin *Aristides* to labour under the deepest necessity. *Callias* perceiving that this made more impression on his judges than the crime for which he was accused, summoned *Aristides*, who owned, that *Callias* had often pressed him to accept money, and that he had as often answered, *It better becomes Aristides to make a shew of his poverty, than Callias of his wealth ; for many people make a bad use of their riches, whereas there is scarce one to be found who bears poverty with an equal mind*. He died in the second year of the LXXVIIIth olympiad, 467 years before Christ (81).

(81) *Plutarch. in vit. Aristid. Corn. Nepos. in vit. ejusdem. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. i. Just. lib. ii. c. 15. Senec. de Benefic.*

dealings,

dealings, and strictly honourable in their behaviour towards him and the *Athenians*; that if his countrymen looked upon this as a crime, he must abide their judgment, but could never be brought to think that his conduct was amiss. *Elpinice* his sister engaged herself warmly in his behalf, soliciting all such as she thought might either influence the people, or any other way either prejudice or benefit her brother; amongst the rest she addressed herself to *Pericles*, who was one of the persons appointed by the people to accuse *Cimon* at his trial. *Pericles* heard all she had to say patiently, and then answered with a smile, *You are a little too old, madam, to be employed in such affairs as these.* *Pericles* was noted for gallantry, and in all probability, he let fall this expression to take off all suspicion that *Elpinice* had made any impression upon him; for it was observed, that when the trial came on, *Pericles* spoke but once, and then not only treated *Cimon* with great respect, but touched the business of which he was accused so lightly, that he seemed to have no opinion of his guilt; and when he had done speaking he withdrew; the consequence of this was, that *Cimon* escaped capital punishment, though he was banished by the *ostracism*, which cured his rivals of envy, and took away all apprehensions from the people ^P.

THE disposition of the *Athenians* appearing now to be extremely favourable to those who inclined to the commons more than the nobility, *Ephialtes* took this opportunity to humble the court of *Areopagus*, which he did by a decree, whereby most of the causes which had been cognizable by them were transferred elsewhere; and this the wisest of the *Athenians* have looked upon as the first step to their ruin, for it gave the people such a dangerous notion of liberty, as rendered them ever afterwards ungovernable; however, *Ephialtes* did not triumph long, for a little while afterwards he was assassinated in the streets by *Aristodicus* a *Tanagrian*, as *Aristotle* reports, induced thereto by the nobility, though *Idomeneus* of *Lampjacus*, an author quoted by *Plutarch*, ascribes his murder to *Pericles*, who, when he had served his purposes, thought it best to have him out of the way ⁴.

A WAR breaking out between the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians* on the one side, and the *Athenians* on the other, the former were twice routed by the latter; after which the *Athenians* conceiving, that the inhabitants of *Ægina* had some way or other been helpful to their enemies, sent *Leocrates* their admiral at the head of a great fleet to punish that Island, which

^P PLUT. in vit. Cim. & Peric. CORN. NEPOS. ⁴ DIODOR.
SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Periclis.

be chosen a member of the court of *Areopagus*; whence it came to pass, that he distastèd their authority, because he knew they could not be well-pleased with his endeavouring to transfer all things to the general assembly, where by dint of his eloquence he governed all. But fearing to draw upon himself the displeasure of the most venerable council among the *Athenians*, he encouraged *Ephialtes* his intimate friend to stir up the people against the *Areopagites*, and to make them believe, that this tribunal was the greatest curb upon them, and the only bar to that extensive liberty, which their friends wished to put into the hands of the commons of *Athens*; thus with great policy he laid the foundation of his own greatness in that of the people, but at the expence of the antient constitution, and of the safety of the state, as the course of this history will shew.

WHEN things were in this situation, it was thought expedient by the popular party to attempt the destruction of *Cimon*. In order to this, a prosecution was commenced against him for treason against the state; this treason was pretended to consist in receiving presents or other gratifications from the *Macedonians*, whereby he was prevailed on to let slip the manifest opportunity he had to enlarge his conquests, after he had taken from the *Persians* the golden mines in *Thrace*. *Cimon* made a defence suitable to his character, he said, that he had prosecuted to the utmost of his power the war against the *Thracians*, and other enemies to the state of *Athens*; but that it was true, he had not made any inroads into *Macedonia*, because he did not conceive that he was to act as a public enemy to mankind, and because he was struck with respect for a nation modest in their carriage, just in their

° PLUTARCH. ubi supra. & in vit. Cimonis. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi.

he suffered his cousin *Aristides* to labour under the deepest necessity. *Callias* perceiving that this made more impression on his judges than the crime for which he was accused, summoned *Aristides*, who owned, that *Callias* had often pressed him to accept money, and that he had as often answered, *It better becomes Aristides to make a shew of his poverty, than Callias of his wealth; for many people make a bad use of their riches, whereas there is scarce one to be found who bears poverty with an equal mind.* He died in the second year of the LXXVIIIth olympiad, 467 years before Christ (81).

(81) Plutarch. in vit. Aristid. Corn. Nepos. in vit. ejusdem. Polyan. Stratag. lib. i. Just. lib. ii. c. 15. Senec. de Benefic.

dealings,

dealings, and strictly honourable in their behaviour towards him and the *Athenians*; that if his countrymen looked upon this as a crime, he must abide their judgment, but could never be brought to think that his conduct was amiss. *Elpinice* his sister engaged herself warmly in his behalf, soliciting all such as she thought might either influence the people, or any other way either prejudice or benefit her brother; amongst the rest she addressed herself to *Pericles*, who was one of the persons appointed by the people to accuse *Cimon* at his trial. *Pericles* heard all she had to say patiently, and then answered with a smile, *You are a little too old, madam, to be employed in such affairs as these.* *Pericles* was noted for gallantry, and in all probability, he let fall this expression to take off all suspicion that *Elpinice* had made any impression upon him; for it was observed, that when the trial came on, *Pericles* spoke but once, and then not only treated *Cimon* with great respect, but touched the business of which he was accused so lightly, that he seemed to have no opinion of his guilt; and when he had done speaking he withdrew; the consequence of this was, that *Cimon* escaped capital punishment, though he was banished by the *ostracism*, which cured his rivals of envy, and took away all apprehensions from the people ^P.

THE disposition of the *Athenians* appearing now to be extremely favourable to those who inclined to the commons more than the nobility, *Ephialtes* took this opportunity to humble the court of *Areopagus*, which he did by a decree, whereby most of the causes which had been cognizable by them were transferred elsewhere; and this the wisest of the *Athenians* have looked upon as the first step to their ruin, for it gave the people such a dangerous notion of liberty, as rendered them ever afterwards ungovernable; however, *Ephialtes* did not triumph long, for a little while afterwards he was assassinated in the streets by *Aristodicus* a *Tanagrian*, as *Aristotle* reports, induced thereto by the nobility, though *Idomenes* of *Lampsacus*, an author quoted by *Plutarch*, ascribes his murder to *Pericles*, who, when he had served his purposes, thought it best to have him out of the way ^Q.

A WAR breaking out between the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians* on the one side, and the *Athenians* on the other, the former were twice routed by the latter; after which the *Athenians* conceiving, that the inhabitants of *Ægina* had some way or other been helpful to their enemies, sent *Leocrates* their admiral at the head of a great fleet to punish that Island, which

^P PLUT. in vit. Cim. & Peric. CORN. NEPOS. ^Q DIODOR.
SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Periclis.

had always been troublesome to the *Athenians*. The inhabitants of *Ægina*, vainly trusting to their skill in maritime affairs, ventured with a small fleet, made up for the most part of new-built ships, to hazard a battle with the *Athenians*, in which, however, they suffered dearly for their rashness, being totally defeated with the loss of seventy ships, so that they were constrained to submit themselves to the *Athenians*, and to purchase peace at the expence of honour and independence^r.

THE states of *Peloponnesus*, looking all with jealous eyes on the growing greatness of *Athens*, watched every opportunity of making war upon her, when she was engaged in troublesome affairs, and seemed to be less able to resist them. On this account the *Corinthians* attacked the *Megareans*, whom they knew to be the allies of *Athens*, while the *Athenians* upon some fresh provocation were laying siege to *Ægina*; but this warlike people, far from being frightened at the number of their enemies, sent *Myronides* their general, at the head of a considerable army, to the assistance of their allies, without desisting in the mean time from any of their former enterprizes. *Myronides* behaved so well, that after several engagements the *Corinthians* were glad to return, so that this attempt to check the *Athenian* power served, as many others had done, only to increase it^r.

The Athenians beaten at Tanagra.
Year of the Flood 2541.
before Christ, 458.

THE *Lacedemonians* having sent a great army composed of their own troops and those of their allies to the assistance of the *Dorians* against the *Phoceans*, the *Athenians* resolved to attack them in their return, having long wished for an opportunity of revenging those insults which they had received, or which they apprehended they had received, from the *Spartans*. The *Athenians* therefore, drawing in the *Argives* and *Thessalians* to be confederates with them, manned out a fleet of fifty sail, and with them approached the isthmus, where they landed an army of fourteen thousand men, and took possession of the passages, so that it was impossible for the *Lacedemonians* to return home without encountering them. The *Spartan* army commanded by *Nicomedes* consisted of eleven thousand five hundred men; he did not, however, hasten rashly to a battle, but turned aside to *Tanagra* a city of *Bæotia*, where such of the *Athenians* as inclined to an aristocracy entered into some correspondence with him. But before their designs ripened, the *Athenian* army marched with great expedition to *Tanagra*, so that a battle became inevitable. When the *Athenians* were disposing themselves in battalia, *Cimon* presented himself on a

^r Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. p. 283. ^r Id. ib.

sudden completely armed, and went to take post among the troops of his own tribe. But those of the popular faction, forgetting all respect to their country and minding nothing but their private resentments, raised a great clamour, alledging, that he came with no other view than to put himself at the head of his own party in order to assist the *Lacedemonians*; they therefore insisted, that the general should not receive him, his time of banishment being not near expired; and *Cimon* being informed of this, rather than make his countrymen uneasy, voluntarily retired; but before he withdrew, he addressed himself to *Euthippus* and the rest of his friends, who were charged with being in a conspiracy with him, earnestly beseeching them to behave in such a manner as might wipe off the aspersions, and convince the *Athenians*, that they had not amongst them either braver or honest men than *Cimon* and his friends. *Euthippus* and his companions made him no other answer than desiring him to leave them his armour, since their generals would not permit him to serve at their head, which accordingly he did; the battle proved long and doubtful, for the *Thessalian* horse, deserting the *Athenians* at the beginning of the action, added great weight to their enemies; however, the troops of *Athens* and their confederates fought obstinately, particularly the little body commanded by *Euthippus*, which, drawing close together, and having *Cimon's* armour in the midst of them, charged amongst the thickest of the enemy, and there bravely fighting were all slain. In the end, however, the *Athenians* were routed with a very great loss. This unfortunate business was followed shortly after by another unlucky accident; a great convoy coming out of *Attica*, the *Thessalians* marched suddenly in the night to attack it. The *Athenian* escort, knowing nothing of what had happened at the battle of *Tanagra*, received the *Thessalians* as friends. But they suddenly falling upon them, the *Athenian* guard stood on their defence, and made a very gallant resistance, till at last their own army came in to their aid, who quickly routed the *Thessalians* with great slaughter; yet there in the end being sustained by the *Lacedemonians*, the engagement became again doubtful, till at length both armies being sufficiently tired, and the night coming on, they made a drawn battle, and concluded a short truce, that after such rude encounters both sides might have time to recruit their forces.

THE *Thebans*, who on account of their having joined *Xerxes* in his war against *Greece*, had lost the government of *Bæ-*

^c DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi p. 283. PLUTARCH. in vit. Cimonis.

tia applied themselves now to the *Lacedemonians*, entreating them to assist their recovery of it, and promising to be for ever their faithful allies against the *Athenians*. The *Spartans*, conceiving this to be a very seasonable proposal, readily complied with it, and entered into a strict league with the *Thebans*. By their assistance *Thebes* was restored to her antient lustre, rendered the head of *Bæotia*, and one of the first cities in *Greece*. The *Athenians*, however, were so much displeased at the conduct of the *Spartans* in this matter, that they resolved to send an army into *Bæotia* to overturn all they had been doing. *Myronides* the son of *Callias* was chosen general in this expedition, and he appointed a day certain when he would march against the enemy ; when that day came ; many whose names were in the muster-roll did not attend ; *Myronides*, however, began his march, and when many persuaded him to wait a little, that such as had been negligent might have time to come in, he answered roundly, that it did not become a general to wait for such people, since it was to be doubted they would behave as ill towards the enemy as they did towards their friends ; whereas the troops he had with him in their early appearance in the field had given such a testimony of their courage as seemed to promise victory. The *Thebans* and their allies, making up a numerous and well-disciplined army, marched without scruple to meet *Myronides* and his handful of *Athenians* ; but the event did not answer their expectation, for after a long and obstinate engagement *Myronides* prevailed, gaining a glorious and complete victory. It is indeed surprising, as *Diodorus Siculus* long ago remarked, that antient authors have passed over so slightly this victory of the *Athenians*, which in some sense was more glorious to them than either that of *Marathon* or *Platæa*. In both those they fought against *Barbarians*, and were assisted by their allies ; in this they were alone, and yet triumphed over a superior army composed of the bravest of the *Greeks*. The first use which the *Athenian* general made of his victory was to march to *Tanagra*, where the *Athenians* had been so hardly dealt with a few months before ; this city he took by storm, and, that he might make even the defeats of his country terrible, razed it to the ground. He next plundered all *Bæotia*, beat an army which its inhabitants drew together, in order to force him to retreat, fell afterwards upon the *Locrians*, then penetrated into *Thessaly*, where having chastised the inhabitants for their treachery to the *Athenians*, he returned home laden with riches and glory^u.

^u DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. p. 285. THUCYD. lib. i.

THE next year *Tolmides* the *Athenian* admiral, piqued at the great actions of *Myronides*, prompted the people to give him power to invade *Laconia*, a thing hitherto unattempted; that they might the more readily come into his project, *Tolmides* asked but for a thousand men, which were readily granted him; but he, well knowing that this was too small a number, found means to quadruple it without breaking the decree; for pretending that he would choose the thousand men out of the strongest and bravest of the youths of *Athens*, he privately solicited all such to give in their names, voluntarily, suggesting, that it would be a stain on their honours to be compelled by his choice; and when he had thus drawn three thousand to give in their names, he then chose another thousand by virtue of the decree, and with this body of four thousand men on board his fleet, which consisted of fifty sail of stout gallies, he went on the expedition he had propounded. Arriving at *Methon* in *Laconia*, he took it, but the *Spartans* sending a speedy succour, he was forced to quit it. However, he had better fortune at *Gythium*, another sea-port belonging to the *Lacedemonians*, which he took and burnt, with all the shipping and naval provisions that were therein; he likewise wasted all the country in its neighbourhood, after which he sailed for *Zacynthus*, which he reduced together with all the cities in its neighbourhood. He then sailed over to *Naupactus*, which he took by composition, and having ejected the *Lacedemonians*, settled there a colony of *Messenians*, whom the *Athenians* had taken under their protection; thus ended this expedition, no less to the honour of the *Athenians*, than those undertaken in former years against the *Spartans* and their allies *.

ON the very back of this, *Pericles* was sent with fifty ships and a thousand soldiers to invade *Peloponnesus*, which he did with great good fortune, burning, spoiling, or taking whatever places he attempted; though he had with him, as was before said, but a thousand men, for the very fame of the *Athenians* half discomfited their enemies, and the reputation of so great a general took away almost the power of resistance. On his return to *Athens* he found the people not a little out of humour, because *Cimon* remained still in banishment; the death of his friends in the battle of *Tanagra* fully purged this great man of that crime, under pretence of which he had been banished, and therefore we need not wonder, that all *Athens* looked upon it as an act of justice due from their state to recal him. *Pericles* conceiving well what would be the consequence of their compassion, immediately took the thing upon himself, and drew up an act for his restoration, which

* DIODOR. SICUL. Biblioth. lib. xi.

Cimon took so kindly, that he never thwarted him after he came home. The writers of scandal among the antients, for some such there always were, as it is to be feared there always will be, have handed it down to posterity, that this reconciliation between *Pericles* and *Cimon* was brought about by *Elpinice*, who, they say, stipulated for her brother, that he should be content with commanding abroad, and allow *Pericles* to be at the head of the administration at home. However it was, he brought now, as he had ever done before, good fortune to his country, for he concluded a peace between *Athens* and *Sparta*, and generously preserved the *Greeks* from falling upon each other.

The Athenians conclude a peace with Persia.
Year of the flood, 2550.
Before Christ, 449.

Cimon, rightly judging that it would be impossible for the *Athenians* to lie still, equipped two hundred gallies with an intent to make a fresh attempt upon *Cyprus*, that, by gaining new booties from the *Barbarians*, his countrymen might be drawn rather to make war continually on the *Persian* king, than to be harrassing the *Lacedemonians*, or oppressing their allies. *Plutarch* suggests, that he had in view no less a conquest than that of the whole *Persian* empire; part of his fleet he detached to assist the *Athenians* in *Egypt*, with the rest he remained in the neighbourhood of *Cyprus*, or, as *Diodorus Siculus* says, made himself master of *Citium* and *Malus*; after which he defeated the *Phœnician* fleet, beat the *Persian* army commanded by *Megabyzus*, which lay encamped in *Cilicia*, and after re-embarqued his forces, and returned to *Cyprus*, where he besieged the capital city. But the *Persian* monarch, finding no ease from these *Athenians*, and no hopes of subduing them while commanded by this fortunate general, sent orders to *Artabazus* and *Megabyzus* his commanders to enter into a treaty of peace, which accordingly they did, and the *Athenians* having named on their side *Callias* the son of *Hipponicus* their plenipotentiary, the treaty was quickly finished; the principal articles of which were, first, that all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* should be free and governed by their own laws; secondly, that the *Persians* should send no army within three days journey of the sea; thirdly, that no *Persian* ship of war should sail between *Phaselis* and *Cyene*, the former a city of *Pamphylia* the latter of *Lycia*. Articles most glorious for the *Greeks*, and not a little acceptable to the *Persians*, since the *Athenians* on their side undertook not to invade any of the provinces of that empire. During this treaty, and as it were in the arms of victory, *Cimon* died at *Citium*, whether of sickness, or of a wound he had received at the siege,

† *Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xi. p. 287. PLUT. in vita Cimon.*

authors

authors were not agreed in the time of *Plutarch*. His death was as honourable as his life, and his last act the most glorious of it all ; for when he found himself about to expire, he sent for the principal commanders, advised them to embark the men, to conceal his decease, and to sail home, being afraid that if his death were known at that juncture, it might be prejudicial to his country. Such was the end of the last great captain of *Athens*, the rest were soldiers and heroes too, but not patriots like *Cimon* ; for they, flattering the humours of their countrymen, led them at every turn to fight against their brethren, and most cruelly employed the wisdom, power, and wealth of *Greece* against herself. Whereas *Cimon* curbed the vanity of his countrymen ; he told them it was lawful to make war, and to spoil the *Persians*, who had destroyed their city and carried away all they had, but he dissuaded them at all times from acting tyrannically towards the *Greeks*, and vehemently inveighed against that propensity they had to sacrifice virtue to profit, and honour to power. On such occasions he was wont to say, *The Lacedemonians would not do this* ; which at last provoked his countrymen to banish him, to his immortal glory and their shame. We could not avoid this eulogium, because we knew that we should no where else have occasion to speak of a man equally admirable for his abilities and his virtues, and for applying them constantly to the service of the public, and not to the aggrandizing of himself or his family ² (D).

THE

² PLUT. in vit. Cimon. CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Cimon.

(D) The most memorable occurrences in the life of *Cimon*, regarding the *Athenian* state, have been already taken notice of in our text ; and as to his character, his disposition, and abilities, we have been obliged to touch on them also more than once ; this note therefore will contain only such passages in relation to the life of *Cimon* as did not fall properly within our notice, either in speaking of the public or of him. First then, *Plutarch*, and *Valerius Maximus* from him, report *Cimon* in his nonage to have been suspected of folly, and to have been nicknamed from thence *Coalemos*, as his grandfather had been before him ; but *Valerius Maximus* says rightly, that this folly of his greatly benefitted the *Athenian* state, and that his subsequent behaviour constrained those who thought him a fool to condemn themselves of folly. The truth seems to be, that he did not affect learning, which seemed so strange to the *Athenians*, that they took it for granted he would prove a blockhead ; *Cornelius Nepos*, however, commends him for his eloquence, which some have thought incompatible with his want of learning, in which perhaps they are mistaken ; for as there is an artificial or rhetorical eloquence,

THE affairs of *Athens* began to be suddenly and sorely disturbed after the death of *Cimon*; for, being alike hated by their

eloquence, so there is also a natural ability of speaking, which custom improves into an easy persuasive oratory, more pleasing to a mixed audience than the most artful and regular speeches; and this we may suppose was that kind of eloquence in which *Cimon* excelled. He went while a very youth into the army, and learned under the most experienced commanders the art of war, and the ambition of distinguishing himself as a great commander. His person was handsome, his stature just, his aspect manly, his hair thick and curled, his behaviour affable, his temper sweet, and his mind honest. But as all men have their faults, so this great *Athenian* wanted not his, which were a strong passion for women, and an inclination to feasting and good company; besides his sister *Elpinice*, whom for a while he kept as his wife, he had several other mistresses, yet he was passionately fond of his wife, whose name was *Isodice*, the daughter of *Euripolemus* the son of *Megacles*; when the *Athenians* were in humour with him they overlook'd these faults; but when they took it into their heads to be angry with him, they suffered their poets to treat him with great rudeness: As for example, *Eupolis*, about the time of his banishment, wrote a piece in which were the following verses relating to *Cimon*:

In him ill-nature we cannot reproach,
But he is indolent, and will debauch;
He's gone to *Sparta*, and was so unkind,
To leave his poor *Elpinice* behind.

After reporting this, it is fit for us to observe, that *Plutarch* treats it as a downright calumny, and is of opinion, that *Cimon* never suffered his pleasures to interfere with the business of the state, of which it seems his victories should be an incontestable proof. His attachment to the *Lacedemonians* was the sole cause of his banishment; for, as we observed in giving our readers his character, he was never suspected by the people of having any design to aggrandize himself at their expence; true it is, that he had a most extraordinary affection for that nation, arising not only from the kindness that they had shewn him, but from the honesty of his temper, which suited better with the severe virtue of *Sparta*, than with the sprightly levity of the *Athenians*. One thing is exceeding odd in *Cimon*'s conduct, that he gave his children such names as did not seem to speak them *Athenians*; for he named his three sons, *Lacedemonius*, *Eleus*, and *Theffalus*; most authors are of opinion, that he had these by a woman of *Clitorium*, though *Diodorus* the geographer asserts, that they were the children of his wife *Isodice*. It is clear from all the writers who mention this great man, that even his banishment neither altered his conduct towards the *Lacedemonians*, or towards his countrymen. He would have fought for the latter against the former at the battle of *Texagra*; he had interest

their enemies and their allies, the least unlucky accident furnished a handle for new revolts or invasions. The *Megarians* were the first in this business, their little state, which lay in an angle of *Attica*, had been long under the protection, which was but another word for being under the dominion, of *Athens*, and had brought them into several quarrels with their neighbours. But now, it seems, those of *Megara*, either forgetting the obligations conferred upon them by the *Athenians*, or else conceiving that no obligations could warrant the treatment they received, disclaimed all dependence on *Athens*, and entered into a strict league with her constant and avowed enemy *Lacedemon*. The *Athenians*, as soon as they were informed of this, ravaged their little country, and for a time blocked up the *Megarians* in their city. The *Lacedemonians* quickly resented this proceeding, and hearing that *Pericles* the *Athenian* general was employed another way, they made a great irruption into *Attica* and did abundance of mischief; upon which *Pericles*, who was marched against *Eubœa*, was recalled in haste to assist his country. Upon his return, he did not, as many expected, immediately attack the *Lacede-*

enough with the former to reconcile them to the latter after he was recalled, which shews how steady he was in his conduct, and what a high opinion all his contemporaries conceived of his virtue at home and abroad. Two remarkable incidents relating to his last expedition are preserved in history; the first, that when he was about to embark for *Cyprus* he dreamed, that an angry bitch barked at him, and in the midst of her barking uttered the following lines:

Go on, yet shortly shalt thou be
A friend unto my whelps and me.

Astyphilus of *Posidonium* interpreted this dream thus; A dog, said he, is an enemy to him he barks at; a man can only be stiled a friend to his enemies when he is dead; that mixture of a human voice with barking, which appeared hideous in the bitch, this interpreter affirmed signified the *Medes*, whose armies were constantly made up of *Barbarians* and *Greeks*; yet in spite of this he set sail and proceeded in his expedition. The second circumstance worthy of note was, when he had arrived at *Cyprus*, having formed some great project in his head, he sent persons in whom he could confide to consult the oracle of *Jupiter Ammon* as to his success; the oracle readily gave them this answer; *You may return, for Cimon is already with me.* The messengers on their return found that *Cimon* was at that time dead; he was somewhat younger than *Themistocles*, but what his age was at the time of his death, that we know not (82).

(82) *Thucyd. lib. i. Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xi. xii. Plut. in vit. Cimon. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejusd. Cicer. de Offic. lib. ii.*

monian army; but considering that it was led by a very young man, *Plistonax* then king of *Sparta*, who had with him one *Cleandrides* for a tutor, he sent the latter a considerable sum of money and thereby procured the return of the *Lacedæmonian* army without blows. When *Pericles* came to make up his accounts, he thought fit to charge ten talents, laid out in a fit manner on a proper occasion; at another time the *Athenians* would not have bore with such an article in a public account, but *Pericles* had such an ascendancy over them, and they were so thoroughly sensible how this money had been applied, that they passed his accounts without a word, and ordered him to prosecute the expedition against *Eubæa*, in which he had been before employed^a.

WHILE *Pericles* was at home in the winter, *Tolmides*, who had done such great things for the *Athenians*, resolved to make an expedition into *Bæotia*, with a small body of troops and in a very advanced season of the year; a great number of the bravest *Athenians* readily engaged to serve under this famous general as volunteers. Yet *Pericles* was constantly against it, pressing *Tolmides* to wait a little, and to join in his conduct prudence with valour. But he seeming to take this amiss, and not greatly to relish another's meddling in his affairs, *Pericles* told him calmly, *If you will not listen to my advice, yet certainly it won't be amiss if you wait time's leisure a little, who, let me tell you, Sir, is the wisest of all counsellors.* This saying being presently divulged, became afterwards exceedingly beneficial to *Pericles*; for *Tolmides*, after doing great things in *Bæotia*, was attacked by the confederate army, composed of the quotas sent from all the little states of that country, killed, and his army routed at *Chæronea*. This defeat terribly humbled the *Athenians*, for, in order to redeem their prisoners, they were constrained to renounce all pretence of dominion over the cities of *Bæotia*; and while this was doing, many other little states declared against the *Athenians* ^b.

Truce between Athens and Sparta.
Year of the Flood,
2553.
Before
Christ.

Pericles, notwithstanding all these checks, marched with an army into *Eubæa*, from whence a new revolt of the *Megareans* caused him to be recalled, but within a short time he re-entered that island, and made himself master of the city of *Hestieæ*; the inhabitants of which, to terrify the rest of the country, he ejected, and placed a colony of *Athenians* in their stead. A short time after the rest of *Eubæa* submitted, and,

^a DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xii. p. 293. PLUT. in vit. Periclis.

^b THUCYDID. lib. i. PLUT. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. Biblioth. lib. xii. p. 293.

the *Lacedemonians*, finding it no longer for their interest to carry on the war, a negotiation was set on foot, whereby a peace was effected for thirty years, *Callias* and *Chares* being plenipotentiaries for the *Athenians* c.

ABOUT this time *Pfammeticus* king of *Libya*, or, as *Plutarch* calls him, of *Egypt*, sent by way of present to the *Athenian* people forty thousand bushels of wheat, which proved a great misfortune to the city; for *Pericles*, out of spite to *Cimon's* family who had children by an *Arcadian* woman, had preferred a law, whereby *Athenians* of the half-blood were disfranchised; this law, on account of the division of the corn before-mentioned, was prosecuted with such severity and effect, that no less than five thousand persons, who till then had been considered as freemen, were sold as slaves; a most exorbitant stroke of arbitrary power, punished afterwards by the hand of heaven, in taking away all *Pericles's* children of the whole blood, and obliging him to intreat the *Athenians* to cancel this law out of pity to him its author, who without the least compassion, had suffered five thousand men to be made slaves at once under colour thereof. One thing this severity of his produced, which has been extremely useful to the critics, viz. the settling exactly the number of the *Athenian* citizens at this time, when in the midst of so many enemies, *Athens* durst think of sending out colonies, humbling her neighbours, subduing foreigners, and even of erecting an universal monarchy. This number, as it is set down by *Plutarch*, was found on the poll to be no more than fourteen thousand and forty persons d.

THE year after this, that is, in the beginning of the eighty fourth olympiad, the *Sybarites*, a people of *Italy*, being a second time driven from their city by the *Crotonians*, sent ambassadors into *Greece*, and humbly besought the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians* to restore them, and to send a colony to share with them the new city they resolved to build. The *Lacedemonians* rejected their request; but the *Athenians*, who delighted much in such applications, readily yielded to it; and not only dispatched ten ships, with a considerable body of men on board, under the command of *Lampo* and *Xenocrates*; but also caused a proclamation to be made throughout all *Peloponnesus*, that such as were willing to go and settle in *Italy*, might do so under the protection of their fleet; and abundance of people accepting the proposition, the *Sybarites*, by the assistance of these new comers, re-established themselves in their country, and built a new city which they called *Thu-*

c THUCYDID. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi supra. d PLUT. in vit. Periclis.
T 2 r. qm,

rium, from whence themselves were afterwards stiled *Thurians* * (E).

AT

* DIODOR. SICUL. Biblioth. lib. xii. p. 295.

(E) In order to conceive rightly of this business, the reader must ascend a good deal higher in point of time, and trace the cause of the erection of *Thurium* back to the foundation of *Sybaris*; he will then see how the *Greeks* settled colonies, maintained, and restored them. *Sybaris* was a colony of the *Achæans* and *Træzenians*, it stood on the gulph of *Tarentum*, between the rivers *Crathis* and *Sybaris*, from which last it took its name, (83). The felicity of its situation was such, that in a very short space of time it excelled all the cities in its neighbourhood in wealth, power, and people. By degrees it spread its dominion over four small nations inhabiting this part of *Italy*, and reckoned no less than twenty five smaller cities than itself within its territory, so thoroughly peopled, that they could on an emergency bring three hundred thousand men into the field. In consequence of its prosperity *Sybaris* became formidable, and even hateful, to its neighbours. Their immense wealth making its inhabitants at once luxuriant and insolent, so that they neither knew how to behave towards others, or with what to content themselves (84). *Telys* being king of *Sybaris*, as *Herodotus* says (85), or, as *Diodorus* with greater probability affirms, *Demagogue*, i. e. a ruler in right of his eloquence, persuaded the people upon various accusations to banish five hundred of their most considerable citizens, and to confiscate their estates. The exiles immediately fled for refuge to *Crotona*, and as suppliants fell down before the altars in the forum. In a very short space *Telys* engaged the *Sybarites* to send deputies to *Crotona*, to demand that those they had banished should be delivered up, threatening war in case of refusal. The *Crotonians* upon this were much at a loss what to do; at last they determined to protect at all events those who had fled to them, and to oppose force by force. The *Sybarites* took the field with 300,000 men, the *Crotonians* were able to raise no more than 100,000; however, valour prevailed over numbers, and the *Crotonians*, having beaten the *Sybarites*, killed all without quarter, and in the end sacked and destroyed the city. This happened in the third year of the lxviiith olympiad. In the fourth year of the lxxxth olympiad the city of *Sybaris* was resettled by the *Thessalians*, but in the first year of the lxxxiiird olympiad the *Crotonians* overthrew it again. After this last misfortune, the *Sybarites* made the application mentioned in the text to the *Spartans* and *Athenians*. *Lampo* and *Xenocrates*, who commanded the *Athenian* squadron, found it no difficult task to collect volunteers in *Peloponnesus*, when

(83) *Steph. de Urb.* (84) *Aristot. de Rep. lib. v. sect. 3.*
Strab. lib. vi. p. 263. *Marcian. p. 14.* *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii.*
 (85) *lib. v. p. 346.*

AT the close of the eighty fourth olympiad, according to the computation of *Diodorus Siculus*, and six years after the conclusion of the peace between *Athens* and *Sparta*, as *Thucydides* relates, a war broke out between the *Samians* and *Milesians* about the city of *Priene*, seated under mount *Mycale* in *Ionia*; how this war came to affect the *Athenians* is not very clear; *Diodorus* says, that the *Samians*, who were victors, conceiving that the *Athenians* favoured their enemies, revolted from them; *Thucydides* says, that the vanquished complained to the people of *Athens*, who were likewise desired by some *Samian* malecontents to send a sufficient force thither, in order to change the government and settle a democracy. *Plutarch* intimates, that the *Athenians* having directed both parties to lay down their arms and submit to their decision, the *Samians* refused so to do, whereupon the war was commenced. There is yet another reason assigned, which seems at least as well founded as any of the rest; and it is this, that

the *Pythian* oracle had declared, that *the city should be exceedingly prospered if they founded it, where the water was scarce and bread without measure*. When they arrived therefore in *Italy*, and began to search through the territory of *Sybaris* for such a place as suited the oracle, they found at last a small spring which was called *Thuria*, the water of which was conveyed through a brazen pipe that was called *Medimnum*. Concluding instantly, that this was the situation pointed out by the oracle, they began to lay out the city which they came to build, and from the spring before mentioned called it *Thurium*. They who had the direction of the buildings contrived to have four streets in length, called, *Heraclea*, *Aphrodisiade*, *Olympiade*, and *Dionysiade*, and three in breadth, viz. *Heroa*, *Thuria*, and *Thurina*. When the business was executed according to this scheme, and the city compleated, it appeared wonderfully neat and compact, every thing being so disposed as to be at once beautiful and commodious. Peace did not long inhabit these new-raised dwellings; the *Sybarites*, conceiving that in their own country they ought to rule all, shut out the new-comers from all employments and honours, which so disgusted them, who were by far the majority, that they suddenly took up arms, fell on the *Sybarites*, extirpated them, and sending for fresh supplies from *Greece*, formed themselves into a commonwealth, making *Charondas*, one of their fellow-citizens, their legislator. The subsequent history of *Thurium* will be found in its proper place. From what is said here, the circumstances attending establishing colonies will be sufficiently understood, as also the conveniencies flowing to their mother cities from these kind of settlements, which was the principal intent of this long note (86).

(86) *Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.*

Pericles

Pericles engaged the *Athenians* in this war to gratify his mistress *Aspasia* a *Milesian*, one of the handsomest women in her time, and who had such an ascendancy over *Pericles*, that for her sake he sacrificed his family and his peace (F). However

(F) *Aspasia*, who is to be the subject of this note, was one of the most famous women in all antiquity on account both of her virtue and her vices. She was lovely in her person, admirable for her natural endowments, and no less distinguished by the accomplishments she had acquired. Her birth-place was *Miletum* a city in *Ionia*, famous for producing persons of extraordinary abilities. She was the mistress, mistress, and at last wife, to *Pericles*, who by his eloquence ruled *Athens*, and as such claims a place here. The time of her birth can only be guessed at, she was in all probability about fifteen years younger than *Pericles*, and therefore might be born about the fourth year of the lxxviiith olympiad. Her father's name was *Axiochus*, but of his quality we are ignorant. How she came to *Athens* is also a point unsettled ; but as to the remaining part of her history we are not so much in the dark. She rendered herself conspicuous by her perfection in the art of speaking, which she possessed in a superlative degree, being also admirably versed in all the branches of useful literature, particularly natural philosophy and politics. One *Thragelia* an *Ionian* was her model, she had made herself conspicuous in *Greece* by her charms, addicted herself chiefly to the grandees, many of whom she brought over to the interest of the great king, and, as *Plutarch* says, sowed the first seeds of the *Median* faction in most of the cities of *Greece*. *Aspasia* resembled and even surpassed her. It is not to be imagined, that this fair one excelled (like some of our age) in light and amorous discourses. Her discourses were on the contrary not more brilliant than solid. It was even believed by the most intelligent *Athenians*, and amongst them by *Socrates* himself, that *Aspasia* composed the celebrated harangue hereafter mentioned, which *Pericles* pronounced with so much applause. What then must we conceive of her abilities, who had *Pericles* for a lover, and *Socrates* for a disciple ? Whose fine qualities atoned even for want of reputation, and engaged the most considerable persons in *Athens*, not only to visit her, but to bring their wives to hear her lectures, though they detested her conduct ? As eloquence was of all others the most necessary talent to an *Athenian* statesman, so *Pericles* on hearing *Aspasia*, determined to become her scholar, observing that with an exact method she mingled the most warm and pathetic strokes of persuasive oratory, uniting the symmetry arising from art with the vehemence flowing from nature. From admiring her wisdom, this great *Athenian* fell soon into a deep affection for her person, a thing not wonderful in itself, and less so, if what most writers report of *Pericles* be true, that he was of a very amorous disposition. Certain it is, that *Aspasia* gained an absolute dominion over him, and had

ever it was, war was decreed against the *Samians*, and *Pericles* was sent against them with a fleet of forty sail ; he presently

had as great an ascendancy over his genius as he had over the *Athenians*. *Plutarch* reports, that as often as *Pericles* went to, or returned from, the *forum*, he went to the apartment of *Aspasia* and saluted her. The tenderness this nobleman expressed for *Aspasia* made his wife, who was a woman of family, very uneasy ; which *Pericles* perceiving, readily consented that she should betake herself to a husband more agreeable to her (though she had borne him two sons, *Xanthippus* and *Paralus*) and then took *Aspasia* to wife, whom he had so long and ardently loved before. *Heraclides* of *Pontus* says, that *Pericles*, having divorced his wife, abandoned himself to his pleasures, and living with *Aspasia*, spent on her the greatest part of his fortune ; but this ought to be regarded as mere calumny, it being morally certain, that *Pericles* in the first place was never profuse, and in the second that *Aspasia* piqued herself exceedingly on her skill in oeconomy. As to the affair spoken of in the text, viz. the *Samian* war, we are undoubtedly warranted by the authority of *Plutarch* in what we have advanced. For though it be true, that *Thucydides* makes no mention of *Aspasia* in his detail of this war, yet that might be owing to the gravity of the author, or to his generous disdain of blackening *Pericles*, by recording things incapable from their nature of direct proof. As to collateral circumstances tending to support this suggestion, there are many. *Aspasia* was a *Milesian* by birth, *Pericles* was wont to consult her ; she is reported to have accompanied him in this expedition, and to have built a temple to perpetuate the memory of his victory ; and lastly, she composed, as we remarked before, the funeral oration pronounced by *Pericles* in honour of those who were slain in this war. The comic poets, as they lashed *Pericles* for affecting sovereignty, so they failed not treating *Aspasia* with the same severity, and as they called him *Jupiter*, they stiled her *Juno* ; they likewise characterised her under the names of *Omphale* and *Dejanira*, the one the wife, and the other the mistress, of *Hercules* ; and many other ways. *Cratinus* used her the worst ; for he, without palliating the matter, painted her as an abandoned strumpet. It is evident enough, that the spleen of *Pericles*'s enemies prompted them to say any thing of him, or of those in his favour, men or women. The former they called the pimps and courtiers of the new *Pisistratus*, the latter not only his whores but his bawds. Besides various remarkable events relating to *Aspasia*, which we shall be constrained to take notice of in the text, it may not be amiss to observe here, that it is generally conceived the son, to whom *Pericles* bequeathed his name and his estate, was by her ; certain it is, that son was but of the half-blood, as any son of *Aspasia*'s must have been, and that his father, to secure the inheritance to him, prevailed on the people to abrogate the law which himself had procured to exclude such from

sently brought them into subjection, and began to change all things according to his will, directing first, that the government should be democratical for the future, and that fifty hostages of principal persons should be delivered to him with as many children. *Plutarch* says, that all imaginable methods were tried to soften *Pericles* upon this occasion; the hostages offered him a talent a-head by way of ransom; those who disliked the democracy proffered him a large sum if he would leave the government as he found it; and *Pissuthnes*, the governor of *Sardis* for the *Persian* king, thinking an aristocratic government in *Samos* more advantageous to his master, would have given ten thousand pieces of gold to have made up this breach with the *Athenians*; but *Pericles*, having no respect to money, carried away the hostages to *Lemnos*, and established the democracy in *Samos* as he had been directed to do. But as governments founded in force seldom last long, the *Samians* fell into mighty dissensions as soon as *Pericles* was gone home. Some of them who had retired to *Pissuthnes*, having procured from him an aid of seven hundred men, returned into their own country, and their faction opening the gates to them, those of the opposite party were ejected and the *Athenian* garison expelled; they procured also their hostages to be privately sent away from *Lemnos*, and having drawn the *Byzantines* to their party, they declared themselves open enemies to *Athens*. That city, unused to bear insults, immediately equipped sixty gallies, and sent them under *Pericles* to subdue the *Samians* a second time.

from successions. Besides these circumstances there is another, favouring this opinion, viz. that *Eupolis* the comic poet, introducing *Pericles* asking news of this bastard son, makes the person he speaks to answer, *He is alive and well, and had been married long ago, if the fear of meeting with a wife as dishonest as his mother did not deter him.* Which is so correspondent with what *Eupolis* elsewhere says of *Aspasia*, that one can hardly conceive this son to have sprung from any but her. That she survived *Pericles* is certain, but for her adventures afterwards we are pretty much in the dark. *Plutarch* indeed informs us, that she attached herself to one *Lysicles*, a man of mean birth and as mean parts, whom by her interest, however, she raised to great employments in the state. What those employments were is not recorded, nor any thing farther of *Aspasia* which deserves notice (87).

(87) *Plutarch. in vit. Periclis. Athen. lib. xiii. p. 560. Cicero in Bruto. Menoxen. Platonis. in tom. ii. A. D. 1578. p. 235, 249*

WHEN *Pericles* was at sea with this fleet, he found it necessary to detach sixteen ships, as well to gain intelligence of the *Phœnician* fleet, as to hasten the auxiliary squadrons he expected from *Chios* and *Lesbos*; with the forty four remaining vessels he engaged the *Samians* and their allies, though their fleet consisted of seventy sail, and beat them. Being afterwards strengthened by a reinforcement of forty ships from *Athens* and twenty five from *Chios* and *Lesbos*, he besieged *Samos* by land and sea; deceiving intelligence that the *Phœnician* fleet was coming to its relief, he sailed with sixty ships to meet it. During his absence the besieged fell upon the remainder of the *Athenian* ships under the command of *Tisagoras*, defeated them, and for fourteen days remained masters of the sea; during which space of time they furnished themselves with whatever they wanted. *Plutarch* censures *Pericles's* conduct on this occasion, and attributes the loss which the *Athenians* sustained to his leaving the siege; but there seems to be no foundation for this, because fighting the *Phœnician* fleet at sea, rather than in the neighbourhood of *Samos*, was certainly his interest. On his return to the siege, having received a farther reinforcement of fourscore ships, according to *Thucydides*, of ninety, as *Diodorus* tells us, he straitened the *Samians* more than ever, and having divided his men into eight bodies, kept seven every day on duty, and allowed the eighth to refresh themselves. At length after nine months siege the *Samians* surrendered; upon which *Pericles* demolished their walls, seized their ships, and mulcted them in the whole expence of the war, part of which he obliged them to pay down, and took hostages for the remainder ^f.

WHEN *Pericles* returned from this war, he procured himself to be appointed to pronounce the public oration in commemoration of such as fell in this war, which he did with such eloquence, that when he came down from the pulpit or place where such public declamations were delivered, the ladies gathered about him, took him by the hand, and crowned him with garlands. Amongst the rest *Elpinice* drew near him, but not with the same intention with the rest, for she addressed him in these words: “ These are brave
“ things, *Pericles*, that you have done, and such certainly
“ as deserve these wreaths of glory, who have deprived us
“ of so many worthy citizens, not in a war against *Phœni-*

^f THUCYDID. lib. i. de Bello Pelopon. PLUTARCH. in vit. Periclis. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xii. p. 302.

“ *cians* or *Medes*, the natural enemies of our country, for
 “ such my brother *Cimon* waged; but in the overthrow of
 “ a city that was in alliance with us, whose people spoke
 “ the same language and were of our kindred”. *Pericles*
 gave a strong instance of his great composure and readiness of
 mind on this occasion, for he repeated carelessly the follow-
 ing verses from the poet *Archilochus* :

A dame like you in deep decline,
 Should not attempt by art to shine ;
 You should not powder thus your hair,
 Nor should your unguents taint the air ;
 Follies which suit the young and fair.

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IN recording these passages we had the reader's profit as well as pleasure in view ; for they shew, that as absolute as *Pericles* was become in *Athens*, by dint of his eloquence and good fortune, yet even a woman could, and durst, distinguish between the services done the state by a patriot general, one who fought nothing but to exalt the interest and glory of his country, and him who had the preservation of his own power chiefly in view. They shew too the particular grandeur of mind inherent in *Pericles*, who was not to be ruffled even by the shrewdest speeches, but maintained always such an equality of temper as enabled him to make such an answer as was most proper on every occasion ^g. It is on all hands confessed, that *Pericles* valued himself very much on the reduction of *Samos*, and *Thucydides* gives us great reason to believe, that the *Athenians* conceived highly of him for that exploit ; the *Samians* at the time he destroyed them being one of the most flourishing nations in that part of the world, and who bid fair for wresting from the *Athenians* the dominion of the sea ^h.

THE war between the *Corcyrians* and *Corinthians* commenced a little after this, and drew by degrees the *Athenians* into those engagements, which at last proved the ruin of their state. There is a necessity therefore that we should give here a succinct account of the causes of this war, and of the methods by which the *Athenians* were drawn to take part in it. An intestine war breaking out in the little territory of *Epidamnus*, a city in *Macedonia* founded by the *Corcyrians*, one party called in the *Illyrians* to their assistance, and the other, finding themselves straitened, applied themselves for aid to the people of *Corcyra*. They neglecting the business, the

^g PLUTARCH. in vit. Periclis.

^h De Bello Pelop. lib. i.
 people

people of *Epidamnum* sent to *Corinth* for succours, owning her for their foundress, because the *Corcyrians* were a colony from *Corinth*. The *Corinthians*, partly out of pity to the *Epidamnians*, and partly out of spleen to the *Corcyrians*, sent a very great fleet to the assistance of the former, which thoroughly established that party which had applied to *Corinth*; this being resented by the *Corcyrians*, they sent a fleet to *Epidamnum* to support the exiles, which on its arrival at that port did not act offensively, the chief commanders having instructions to propose an amicable composition of all differences, into which the *Corinthians* would by no means come. The next year the *Corcyrians* beat the *Corinthians* and their allies at sea, and took *Epidamnum* by storm, after which they wasted the dominion of the confederates of the *Corinthians*, which greatly exasperated the latter. At *Corinth* therefore they began to make new preparations for carrying on the war, and pressed their confederates to do the same, that they might be in a condition to retrieve the honour they had lost, and humble this ungrateful colony, which had taken upon her to insult her mother city. When the *Corcyrians* received advice of these proceedings, they instantly dispatched ambassadors to carry their complaints to *Athens*, and the *Corinthians*, on the receipt of this news, dispatched theirs likewise; both on the same errand, and with equal hopes¹.

THERE could be nothing more glorious for the *Athenians* than such an application as this, which seemed to acknowledge the legality of that dominion which this state had always affected. *Thucydides* therefore, who begins his history with the story of this war, hath given us at large the harangues, as well of the *Corinthian* as of the *Corcyrian* ambassadors, to which we must refer our readers. At first the *Athenian* people approved the cause of the *Corinthians*, but they soon changed their minds, and took part with the *Corcyrians*, yet they did not make a league offensive and defensive with that state, because by such a step *Athens* would immediately have broken with *Corinth* and all her allies; they contented themselves with making a defensive alliance only with the *Corcyrians*, whereby both parties reciprocally promised to assist each other in case either should be attacked. It does not appear, that the *Athenians* entered much into the merits of this cause; they were become too great politicians for that; the reasons assigned by *Thucydides*, who was perfectly well acquainted with them, are these: first, *Corcyra* was a very great maritime power; secondly, this island lay very convenient for assisting *Athens* in her de-

¹ THUCYD. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. Biblioth. lib. xii.

signs on *Italy* and *Sicily*. When the *Corinthian* fleet therefore was ready to sail, the *Athenians*, according to their treaty, sent ten galleys to *Corcyra* under the command of *Lacedæmonius* the son of *Cimon*, with whom were joined *Diogenes* and *Proteus* as colleagues. *Plutarch* says, that *Pericles*, by sending this small squadron under *Lacedæmonius*, intended to affront him, or at least to put it out of his power to do any great matter, whereby to revive the antient splendor of his family, against which that great politician had always a pique. But there seems to be very little colour for this. *Thucydides* says, that the *Athenians*, who were indeed under the direction of *Pericles*'s counsels, did not intend the *Corcyrians* any real assistance, but sent this small squadron to look on, while the *Corinthians* and *Corcyrians* weakened and wasted each other. The *Corinthians*, as soon as the season of the year permitted, made for the coast of *Corcyra*, with a fleet consisting of one hundred and fifty sail under the command of *Xenoclides*, assisted by four other *Corinthian* admirals, each squadron of their allies being commanded by a chief of their own. The *Corcyrians* prepared as well as they could for the reception of this great armada; they put to sea a fleet of one hundred and ten galleys, which by the *Athenian* ships was augmented to one hundred and twenty; as soon as the navies were in sight, they prepared for an engagement. The *Corcyrians* gave their right wing to their allies the *Athenians*, ranging their own fleet in three squadrons, each commanded by an admiral of reputation. The *Corinthians* gave their right wing to the *Megarians* and other of their allies, disposed the rest of them in the centre, and placed their own galleys in the left, that they might engage the *Athenians*. The action was very brisk for a time, the *Corcyrian* left wing broke the right of the *Corinthian* fleet, and forcing some of the ships on shore, landed, pillaged their camp, and made a great number of prisoners; on the other hand, the *Corinthian* ships in their left wing beat the right wing of the *Corcyrians*, whom the *Athenians*, according to their instructions, aided but faintly; at last the *Corinthians* charging them briskly, the *Athenians* were obliged to defend themselves, which they did so well, that the *Corinthians* were glad to retire, which accordingly they did, after taking up part of the broken ships and most of their own dead. The next day the *Corinthians* resolved to attack the *Corcyrians* again, who prepared on their side to receive them; but when the action was ready to begin, the *Corinthians* of a sudden retired, which the *Corcyrians* knew not what to make of, till the arrival of a fleet of twenty sail from *Athens* put it out of doubt, that the *Corinthians*, seeing them, and fearing
there

there might be more behind them, had wisely chosen to withdraw. The next day the *Athenian* and *Corcyrian* fleets went and braved the *Corinthians* in their harbour, who would not be provoked to hazard an engagement, because all the ships from *Athens* were clean, and the *Athenians*, for ought they knew, might have another fleet waiting for them in their return to *Peloponnesus*. Both sides claimed the victory, and both erected trophies at *Sybotis*. The *Corinthians*, because they remained masters of the field of battle, had carried away a part of the broken vessels, made a thousand prisoners, and sunk seventy of the *Corcyrian* ships; the *Corcyrians* because by the assistance of the *Athenians* they had sunk thirty of the *Corinthian* vessels, taken some spoils, and forced them to retire home. This was the greatest sea-fight, which to this time had happened among the *Greeks*, there being no less than two hundred and seventy vessels engaged. The *Corinthians* complained loudly against the *Athenians*, as if they had broken the peace; the *Athenians* on the other hand alledged, they had only assisted their allies; and thus these states began to hate each other. As for the prisoners made by the *Corinthians*, they sold eight hundred of them for slaves, the rest they treated kindly in hopes of making use of them for facilitating a peace ^k.

THE *Corcyrian* war was followed by the revolt of *Potidæa*, *The revolt* a town in *Macedonia*, founded by the *Corinthians*, but joined of *Potidæa* in alliance to *Athens*. As soon as the *Corcyrian* war broke out, the *Athenians* sent orders to the citizens of *Potidæa* immediately to demolish a part of the walls of the city, to send back the magistrates whom they had received from *Corinth*, and give hostages for their own behaviour. *Perdiccas* king of *Macedon*, hating the *Athenians*, took this opportunity to persuade the *Potidæans* to revolt, which accordingly they did, though they sent ambassadors to *Athens* to entreat the revocation of the orders sent them; but in the mean time they sent deputies to *Sparta*, to join with the *Corinthians* and *Megarians* in their complaints of the *Athenians*. The *Athenians* in the mean time sent a considerable fleet against *Macedonia*, and some time after another, with a considerable body of land troops on board, under the command of *Callias*, a man of great quality and courage. The *Corinthians* on their side dispatched *Aristeus* with a considerable force to the assistance of the *Potidæans*. Not to detain the reader too long with a de-

^k THUCYDID. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xii. PLUTARCH. in vit. Periclis.

tail of all the little circumstances of this war, which may be found in the accurate history of *Thucydides*, we shall content ourselves with observing, that an engagement happened before *Potidæa*, in which the *Athenians* were victors, but with the loss of their general *Callias*. *Phormio*, who succeeded him in his command, invested the city in form, and shut up its port with his fleet; but the *Potidæans*, dreading to fall into the hands of the *Athenians*, made a most obstinate defence, while in the mean time they warmly solicited the *Corinthians* to perform their promises, and to engage the rest of the states of *Peloponnesus* in their quarrel¹.

*Dissentions
at Athens.*

WHILE affairs abroad were in this condition, the *Athenians* were very far from being quiet at home. *Pericles* had attained such a superiority as had never been seen in *Athens* since the days of *Pisistratus*; the last competitor with him for the favour of the people was *Thucydides*, a man noble by birth, and of qualifications suiting therewith; he endeavoured to the utmost to hinder those alterations in government which the popular party sought to bring about, and more especially opposed *Pericles*, who, perceiving that one of them must give way, put the matter to the test by procuring an ostracism; wherein, upon counting the votes, it was found, that *Thucydides* was exiled by the people. From this time forward *Pericles* altered the whole tenour of his conduct, and behaved rather like a prince than a private man; for he procured all things to be at his disposal, and took the whole management of the *Athenian* affairs at home and abroad upon himself. When the state of things began to have an ominous appearance, and the *Athenians* apprehended a war, in which they should be obliged to contend, not for spoil, for glory, or authority, but for their lands, and houses, and whatsoever was dear to them, they grew out of humour with *Pericles*, and received readily for truth whatever the envy of his enemies prompted them to say of him. For example, when *Menon*, one of *Phidias*'s workmen, preferred a petition to the people, wherein he charged that excellent statuary with purloining a part of the gold which had been delivered to him for the statue of *Minerva*, many reasons induced such as disliked *Pericles* to abet this prosecution, among the rest these two; *first*, they conceived that they should try the minds of the people by this step, and discover whether they were at present disposed to bear with the prosecution of *Pericles* or not; *secondly*, they thought to revenge themselves on the statuary, for having inserted a picture of *Pericles*, fighting with an *A-*

¹ THUCYDID. lib. i. DIODOR. lib. xii.

mazon in the shield of the goddess. But in the end this business had an issue little expected; for *Phidias* having declared that by *Pericles's* direction the gold was so laid on, that the whole of it might be taken off without injury to the figure, the experiment was made accordingly, and the weight found to be just. However, *Phidias* either died in prison, or was banished; *Plutarch* says, that he was poisoned by the procurement of *Pericles's* enemies, who afterwards sought to charge it upon him^m. *Hermippus* next accused *Aspasia* of impiety or irreligion, as also for being a bawd to *Pericles*, and as such, seducing the wives and daughters of *Athenian* citizens; *Diopithes* preferred a *psephisma* or decree to the people, that it might be rendered criminal not to inform the proper court, i. e. the *Areopagus*, against such persons as disputed the religion of their country, or taught such things, under colour of natural philosophy, in relation to celestial bodies, as were inconsistent therewith. This was known to strike at *Anaxagoras* the preceptor of *Pericles*, and even at *Pericles* himself. The people assented thereto, and, in consequence thereof, *Anaxagoras* was judicially accused (G). To wind up *Pericles's*

^m DIODOR. lib. xii. c. 7. PLUTARCH. in vit. Periclis.

(G) It is not clearly expressed by *Plutarch*, on what account either *Aspasia* or *Anaxagoras* was accused of impiety; however, it is not hard to conjecture, that persons, eminent as they were, for the brilliancy of their parts, and for their great knowledge in natural philosophy, should be suspected on account of their notions of religion, in a country, where even in *Hesiod's* time they had no less than thirty thousand gods, for whose honour their votaries were wonderfully zealous. As to *Anaxagoras*, we shall have elsewhere occasion to mention him and his opinions; at present we will stick to the point before us, and say nothing but what relates to this prosecution, its causes, and consequences. *Laertius* reports from one *Sotion*, who wrote a book of the succession of philosophy, that *Anaxagoras* was accused by *Cleon* of impiety, for asserting the sun to be a burning plate; but that, being defended by *Pericles* his scholar, he was fined five talents, and banished, whereas *Satyrus* reported, that he was accused by *Thucydides*, not only of propagating impious opinions, but of holding intelligence with the *Persians*, and in his absence sentenced to die. *Hieronymus* wrote, that *Pericles* brought him into court in poor garments, and much broken with sickness, which moved his judges to compassion. *Suidas* is positive, that he was cast into prison for introducing a new opinion concerning the divine nature, and banished, notwithstanding *Pericles* undertook to plead his cause. *Josephus* tells us, that the *Athenians* believing the sun to be a god, and he affirming it to be
with:

cles's troubles, *Dracontides* moved, that *Pericles* might bring in his accounts, and that the final decision of his cause should be committed to judges, who should write their suffrages upon billets taken from the altarsⁿ. Our great orator found means to disengage himself from all these snares, he appeared in person for *Aspasia*, pleaded her cause as an advocate ; but in the midst of his pleadings let fall a shower of tears like a child, which was the more remarkable, because he had never been known to weep before ; and thus either the force of his eloquence, or the sight of his grief, engaged the judges to acquit her. As for *Anaxagoras*, he was afraid to trust his eloquence with the defence of him whose wisdom was his only

ⁿ DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra. DIOGEN. LAERT. in vit. Anax.

without sense and knowledge, they adjudged him to suffer death as a blasphemer. None of these opinions quadrate with *Plutarch's* account, and, which is still worse, *Plutarch* does not agree with himself ; for though speaking of his retirement from *Athens*, he ascribes it to *Pericles's* precaution, yet he elsewhere admits, that *Anaxagoras* was accused. The truth seems to be, that the whole tenour of *Anaxagoras's* philosophy was, according to the religious notions of the *Athenians*, impious. For he taught, that matter was composed of infinite similar atoms, as gold is of grains, and that they were disposed in the frame we see them, by an infinite self-moving mind ; whence he acquired, from the novelty of his doctrine, the surname of *Nous*, i. e. *the mind*. He lived after his banishment at *Lampsacus*, and was so little affected therewith, that when a person told him one day, *You are deprived of the Athenians* : he answered, *You are mistaken, friend, they are deprived of me*. As to his notion of the sun, he retained it to his death ; what that notion was, we learn from various authors, who agree, that he thought it to have been a burning mass, many times bigger than *Peloponnesus*, and that its revolution was occasioned by the repulse of the northern air ; he held the moon to be a dark body enlightened by the sun, habitable, having plains, hills, and water, which he inferred from the inequality of her surface. He asserted likewise, that the stars were earthy ; which opinions we mention here, because they were all contrary to the *Athenian* religion. His scholars were the greatest men of *Greece*, but all suspected of irreligion. To mention only a few, *Archelaus* the philosopher, *Euripides* the tragic poet, *Socrates* the famous moralist, who heard both him and *Aspasia* ; some say, that *Democritus* was also his hearer ; but *Laertius* affirms, that *Anaxagoras* could not endure him, which *Phavorinus* likewise asserts (88).

(88) *Diogen. in vit. Anaxag. Plut. in vit. Periclis. Id de Superstit.*

crime, and therefore he wisely sent him out of *Attica*, with this mark of respect, however, that he attended him in person. As for what was objected to his own conduct, he was in the least pain about it; for being a very exact oeconomist, he was able to shew two things from it, that he had always lived within the bounds of his fortune; and secondly, that he had no more than his father left him. This, as *Thucydides* observes, was the very basis of his greatness, that he was universally known to be strictly just to the public, above corruption, and, through the innocence of his actions in respect to pecuniary affairs, superior to all the calumnies that could be raised against him^o.

THE *Spartans* having heard all that the little states of *The Spar-*
Greece had to say against the *Athenians*, and last of all the *Co-* tans pre-
rinthians, ambassadors were sent to *Athens*, to demand re- pare for
 paration for these injuries, or to denounce war in case of re- war.
 fusals. *Thucydides*, of all antient authors the most to be re-
 lied on, tells us, that they demanded in the first place the
 expulsion of those *Athenians* who were stiled execrable on ac-
 count of the old business of *Cylon* and his associates, because
 by his mother's side *Pericles* was allied to the family of *Me-*
gacles; they next insisted, that the siege of *Potidæa* should
 be raised; thirdly, that the inhabitants of *Ægina* should be
 left free; and lastly, that the decree made against the *Mega-*
rians, whereby they were forbid the ports and markets of *A-*
thens on pain of death, should be rescinded, and the *Gre-*
cian states set at liberty, who were under the dominion of
Athens. It is certain, that *Pericles* persuaded the *Athenians*
 to reject these terms, but authors are not well agreed upon
 what motives he acted; some say, that he thought the din
 of war would dissipate that cloud of impeachments which his
 enemies were framing against him: Others, that personal in-
 juries done to him and to *Aspasia* provoked him to fall into
 these measures; the most probable seems to be, that he ad-
 vised the *Athenians* according to his apprehension of the af-
 fair, and directed such measures, as he thought suited best
 with the dignity of the *Athenian* state. The harangue at-
 tributed to him by *Thucydides*, and which we have no reason
 to doubt is to the same effect with that which he delivered,
 offers the following arguments to the consideration of the *A-*
thenians: That whatever the *Lacedemonians* might pretend,
 as to the complaints of allies and injustice of them, the true
 ground of this resentment was the prosperity of the *Athe-*
nian republic, which they always hated, and now sought an

^o THUCYD. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. ubi supra.

opportunity of humbling. That it must be the fault of the *Athenians* themselves, if they succeeded in this scheme, because, for many reasons accurately and judiciously stated by him, they were better able to engage in a long and expensive war, than the *Peloponnesians*; that therefore it should be proposed as the most feasible, and at the same time the most equitable satisfaction that could be given, that they would reverse their decree against *Megara*, if the *Lacedemonians* would allow free egress and regress in their city to the *Athenians* and their allies; that they would leave all those states free, who were free at the making of the last peace with *Sparta*, provided the *Spartans* would also leave all states free who were under their dominion; and that future disputes should be submitted to arbitration. In case these offers should not prevail, he advised them to hazard a war, telling them, that they ought not to think they ran such a hazard for a trifle or to retain a scruple in their minds, as if a small matter moved them to it, because on this small matter depended their safety and the reputation of their constancy and resolution; whereas, if they yielded in this, the next demand of the *Lacedemonians* would be of a higher nature; for having once discovered, that the *Athenians* might be taught to fear, they would thence conclude, that they durst deny them nothing, whereas a stiff denial in this instance would teach them to treat *Athens* for the future on terms of equality. He enforced these reasons, by shewing, that their ancestors had always acted on the like principles, and had in all cases preferred their glory to their ease, and their liberty to their possessions. *Diodorus* informs us, that he laid before the people an exact account of their circumstances, putting them in mind, that the treasure brought from *Delos* amounted to ten thousand talents, and that tho' four thousand had been expended on the stately gate to their citadel, yet that six thousand were still in hand, that they were also entitled to the subsidies paid by the confederate states, that the statues of the gods, the *Persian* spoils, and other marks of their magnificence were worth immense sums, that private men were arrived at vast fortunes, and that, considering their trade by sea, they had a certain annual increase of wealth; that they had an army on foot of twelve thousand men, and in their colonies and garisons seventeen thousand; that their fleet consisted of three hundred sail, which might easily be increased, whereas the *Peloponnesians* had none of these advantages, which also *Thucydides* mentions, but places this oration lower. These were the causes, and this the beginning, of the famous *Peloponnesian* war, which

which though, while it lasted, it brought innumerable evils upon *Greece*, yet there results from it this circumstance of glory, that perhaps of all the wars which ever happened, the events of this are best recorded, so that the minutest circumstances thereof are known even in these far distant times; which shews how far learning is preferable to power, since now that all the states of *Greece* have been for many ages subverted and destroyed, the respect due to the writings of *Thucydides* hath preserved them, as the merit of *Xenophon's* hath also done his continuation of *Thucydides's* story, and thereby kept alive the remembrance of actions, which, however great and glorious in themselves, had otherwise been buried in oblivion (H).

THINGS being in this situation, the *Thebans* conceiving *Plataea* sur- with themselves, that *Platea*, which had been always re- prized by markable for her fidelity to the *Athenians*, would be a perpe- the The- tual thorn in their sides, resolved to surprize it; with this bans.

^P THUCYD. ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra. JUSTIN. lib. iii. c. 7. DEMOST. adv. Næar.

(H) Besides what is mentioned in the text of *Pericles* advising the *Peloponnesian* war, to get over an impeachment, there is a famous story related both by *Plutarch* and *Cornelius Nepos*, that he was induced thereto by a sprightly saying of the young *Alcibiades*; who seeing him melancholy one day, asked him what was the matter, and upon his answering, that he knew not how to account for the public money which had gone through his hands. *Alcibiades* sharply replied, *Then study to give no account at all*. Others pretend, that he was the author of the decree against *Megara*, to revenge *Aspasia*, two of whose harlots some young men of that city had stolen away. It is true, that the decree happened on this account, but *Pericles* does not seem to have been any ways guilty; for a herald being dispatched to *Megara* to complain of the injury, he was slain upon the road; and this violation of a sacred character gave birth to the war. The enemies of *Pericles* indeed say, that he caused the herald to be slain, that he might pick a quarrel with the *Megarians*; but that the fact was notoriously otherwise, may be gathered from this, that when the emperor *Adrian* granted many privileges and favours to the citizens of *Greece*, he expressly excepted the *Megarians* on account of this very murder. If *Thucydides* had conceived, that any of these charges on *Pericles* had been justly founded, he would certainly have reported them. As to the sneers of *Aristophanes* and other comic poets, they ought not in justice to pass for evidence, since they were enemies alike to all who were eminent (89).

(89) *Plut. in vita Periclis.*

X 2

view

view they sent *Eurymachus* at the head of three hundred men, to assist such of the *Plateans* as they had drawn over to their party, in making themselves masters of the place. In this design they succeeded very happily, the *Plateans*, who had promised to open the gates, kept their words exactly, and the *Thebans* in an instant took possession of the place. The *Plateans*, that is, the townsmen in general, perceiving at last how small a number the *Thebans* were, unanimously rose and fell upon them, killing great numbers, and in the end forcing the rest, with *Eurymachus* their chief, to render themselves prisoners of war. It happened, that another party from *Thebes* came to assist their companions, but came too late; the *Plateans*, foreseeing that they would waste their country, offered to release their prisoners, if they would forbear to spoil their lands; but threatened at the same time, that, if they committed any waste, they would put their friends to death. The *Thebans* upon this withdrew, but the *Plateans*, however, put their prisoners to death, alledging, that they never promised to release them but in case of peace; their number was one hundred and eighty, and *Eurymachus*, as he led them, died with them. The *Athenians*, as soon as they had notice of this attempt of the *Thebans*, caused all the *Bæotians* in their territory to be arrested, and when they understood how the *Plateans* had delivered themselves, they sent a great convoy of provisions to that city, and a numerous body of troops to escort their wives and children to *Athens*. The league being now broken on both sides, each party prepared for the war, both sent ambassadors to the *Persian*, both sought to rouse their allies. Most of the states of *Greece* were inclined to the *Lacedemonians*, because they professed themselves on this occasion the deliverers of *Greece*; they likewise hated the *Athenians*, either because they already oppressed them, or because they apprehended that in time they would. With the *Spartans* joined all the *Peloponnesians*, except the *Argives* and part of the *Acheans*; without *Peloponnesus* the *Megarians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Bæotians*, *Ambraciotes*, *Leucadians*, and *Anaætorians*, declared themselves on their side. On the other hand, the *Chians*, *Lesbians*, *Plateans*, *Messenians*, *Acaruanians*, *Corcyrians*, *Zacynthians*, *Carians*, *Dorians*, *Thracians*, the islands for the most part, and all the *Cyclades*, excepting *Melus* and *Thera*, with *Eubæa* and *Samos*. The *Lacedemonians* assembled their army at the *Isthmus*, but *Archidamus*, the *Spartan* king and commander in chief, dispatched a herald to *Athens* before he would enter *Attica*; this herald was sent back without an answer, which put an end to all motions for peace, the *Lacedemonians* resolving to act immediately

immediately offensively, and the *Athenians* preparing to defend themselves as well as they could⁹.

Pericles, as he had engaged his countrymen to undertake this war, so his wisdom seems to have been the only resource they had in it. He was aware that *Archidamus*, being his friend, might forbid the plundering of his estates, of which he immediately gave advice to the people, and to cut off all grounds of suspicion, declared, that in such a case he made a present of his lands to the public. He then advised, that, without thinking how to defend their country seats, they should turn all their care to the city, busy themselves especially in equipping their ships, and settle a thorough resolution, not to be intimidated with the first evils of war. The *Athenians* came readily into all that he proposed, and appointed him with nine more generals of all their forces. To say the truth, the *Lacedemonians* themselves assisted his rise, for their ambassadors continually attacking him, the *Athenians* apprehended from thence that he of all others must have the greatest regard for their interest. When, however, the *Peloponnesian* army advanced as far as *Acharne*, one of the largest boroughs in *Attica*, and at a very small distance from *Athens*, the *Athenians* began to grow very discontented, and to clamour exceedingly against *Pericles*, for not so much as attempting to drive them away. In which, however, he shewed his judgment, for that army consisting of no less than sixty thousand men, the *Athenians* were unable to set on foot any force capable of looking it in the face; wherefore, when some hot men pressed for an engagement, *Pericles* very prudently said, Trees, when they are lopped and cut, grow up again in a short time; but men, once lost, cannot easily be recovered. By degrees the madness of the people grew still more violent, so that he was persecuted with libels of all sorts, and even his own friends pressed him earnestly to alter his conduct, and to attempt something for his own and his country's honour; but he remained firm and calm in the midst of this storm, pursued the plan which he had laid down in spite of the clamour raised against him, and gave a happy turn to all things by the dint of his own magnanimity¹.

He sent, however, a fleet of a hundred galleys with fourteen hundred land forces on board, which fleet being joined by fifty vessels from *Corcyra*, coasting the *Peloponnesian* shore, did infinite mischief, so that its inhabitants had no reason to boast of their expedition into *Attica*, since they left their own

The Peloponnesian war.
Year of the Flood, 2567.
Before Christ, 432.



⁹ THUCYD. lib. ii. prop. init. DIODOR. lib. xii.
cyp. ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra.

¹ THUCYD.

country to feel those miseries which they pretended to inflict upon others. Another *Athenian* fleet infected the *Locrians*, and because *Ægina* had been a principal occasion of the present war, when the fleet returned from *Peloponnesus* it ejected all the inhabitants of that island, which was repeopled from *Athens*. They likewise reduced *Cephalenia*, and several towns in *Acarmania* and *Leucas*, while in the mean time *Pericles* refreshed those who were shut up in the city with distributions of public money, a law for the division of lands, and whatever else he could think of to amuse and divert them. In the autumn, when the *Peloponnesians* were retired, *Pericles*, at the head of a great army, entered the *Megarian* territory, and did all the mischief therein which could be expected from a provoked enemy. The reason of this was, because on their account the *Lacedemonians* pretended to have made war; thus in the end of this first year the *Athenians* made up accounts as it were with the *Peloponnesians*, and repaid them those mischiefs, insults, and ravages, which they had committed in *Attica* at the beginning of it ^f.

In the winter of this year the *Athenians* solemnized in an extraordinary manner the funerals of such as first died in the war after this manner; first, their bones were laid in a tent to be seen of all, and thither their friends were permitted to come in order to pay their last offices to their relations. Then they were carried out, each tribe providing a cypress coffin or coffins and chariots for their dead, and one empty coffin was carried for such whose bodies had not been recovered, and consequently could not have those honours paid them, the women all the way making loud lamentation for them. They were then interred in a public sepulchre in the *Ceramicus*, and after burial, a person, appointed by the senate of *Areopagus*, made a funeral oration to their honour; the person appointed on this occasion was *Pericles*. How he discharged this glorious employment, the reader may be informed from *Thucydides*, who, if he has not preserved the words of *Pericles*, has undoubtedly kept strictly to his sense, since he wrote and published his history within so short a time after this happened, that it would undoubtedly have been decryed, if in all its circumstances it had not been exactly conformable to truth. Thus ended the first year of the *Peloponnesian* war ^g.

The spring of the next year was doubly fatal to *Athens*; nature afflicted her at home, and the *Peloponnesians*, under the command of *Archidamus*, wasted all things abroad; but

^f Ταυτοδ. ubi supra. ΠΛΟΥΤ. ubi supra. ^g Ταυτοδ. ubi supra. ΔΙΟΔΟΡ. ubi supra. ΠΛΟΥΤ. ubi supra.

the plague was the more dreadful enemy of the two, as the reader will easily perceive from the description of *Thucydides*, who was sick thereof (I). *Pericles* in the midst of these distresses

(I) This plague in *Athens* makes so remarkable a figure in history, and the description of it by *Thucydides* has been so much commended, that we should deal unjustly with our readers, if we either omitted the description of this plague, or gave it in other words than those of that accurate historian. When the plague first began among the *Athenians*, the *Peloponnesians* had not been long in *Attica*; but so great a plague, and so fatal as this was, is not remembered to have happened in any place before. For at first neither were the physicians able to cure it, through ignorance of what it was, but died fastest themselves, as being the men that most approached the sick, nor any other art of man availed whatsoever. All supplications of the gods, and enquiries of oracles, and whatsoever means they used of that kind, proved all unprofitable; inso-much as, subdued with the greatness of the evil, they gave them all over. It began, by report, first in that part of *Æthiopia* that lieth upon *Egypt*, and thence fell down into *Egypt* and *Afric*, and into the greatest part of the territories of the king. It invaded *Athens* on a sudden, and touched first upon those that dwelt in *Piræus*, inso-much as they reported, that the *Peloponnesians* had cast poison into their wells; for springs there were not any in that place. But afterwards it came up into the high city, and then they died a great deal faster. Now let every man, physician or other, speak concerning the ground of this sickness, whence it sprung, and what causes he thinks able to produce so great an alteration, according to his own knowledge; for my own part, I will deliver but the manner of it, and lay open only such things as one may take his mark by to discover the same, if it come again, having been both sick of it myself, and seen others sick of the same. This year, by confession of all men, was of all other for other diseases most free and healthful. If any man was sick before, his disease turned to this; if not, yet suddenly without any apparent cause preceding, and being in perfect health, they were taken first with an extreme ach in their heads, redness and inflammation in the eyes; and then inwardly their throats and tongues grew presently bloody, and their breath noisome and unfavoury. Upon this followed a sneezing and hoarseness, and not long after, the pain, together with a mighty cough, came down into the breast; and when once it was settled in the stomach, it caused vomit, and with great torment came up all manner of bilious purgation that physicians ever named. Most of them had also the hiccoughs, which brought with it a strong convulsion, and in some ceased quickly, but in others was long before it gave over. Their bodies outwardly to the touch were neither very hot nor pale, but reddish, livid, and beset with little pimples and wheals; but so burned inwardly,

treffes retained his courage, and endeavoured to infuse it into his countrymen, though he held them to the observance of the

ly, as not to endure any the lightest cloaths or linen garments to be put upon them, nor any thing but mere nakedness, but rather most willingly to have cast themselves into the cold water; and many of them that were not looked to, possessed with insatiate thirst, ran into the wells; and to drink much or little was indifferent, being still from ease, and power to sleep, as far as ever. As long as the disease was at the height, their bodies wasted not, but resisted the torment beyond all expectation, insomuch, as the most of them either died of their inward burning in nine or seven days, whilst they had yet strength; or if they escaped that, then the disease falling down into their bellies, and causing there great exulcerations and immoderate looseness, they died many of them afterwards through weakness. For the disease which took first the head, began above, and ran down, and passed through the whole body; and he that overcame the worst of it, was yet marked with the loss of his extreme parts; for breaking out both at their privy members, and at their fingers and toes, many with the loss of these escaped. There were also some that lost their eyes, and many that presently upon their recovery were taken with such an oblivion of all things whatsoever, as they neither knew themselves nor their acquaintance. For this was a kind of sickness which far surmounted all expression of words, and both exceeded human nature in the cruelty wherewith it handled each one, and appeared otherwise to be none of those diseases that are bred amongst us, and that especially by this: For all, both birds and beasts, that used to feed on human flesh, though many men lay abroad unburied, either came not at them, or tasting perished. An argument whereof, as touching the birds, was the manifest defect of such fowl, which were not then seen, neither about the carcases, nor any where else; but by the dogs, because they are familiar with men, this effect was seen much clearer. So that this disease, to pass over many strange particulars of the accidents that some had differently from others, was in general such as I have shewn; and for other usual sicknesses at that time, no man was troubled with any. Now they died, some for want of attendance, and some again with all the care and physic that could be used. Nor was there any, to say certain, medicine, that applied must have helped them; for if it did good to one, it did harm to another; nor any difference of body, for strength or weakness that was able to resist it; but it carried all away what physic soever was administered. But the greatest misery of all was the dejection of mind in such as found themselves beginning to be sick, for they grew presently desperate, and gave themselves over without making any resistance; as also their dying thus like sheep, infected by mutual visitation. For if men forbore to visit them for fear, then they died forlorn, whereby many families became empty for want of such as should take care of them. If they

the same rule which he had prescribed before, and would not suffer them to stir without the city, either to escape the plague
or

they forbore not, then they died themselves, and principally the honestest men: For out of shame they would not spare themselves, but went in unto their friends, especially after it was come to pass, that even their domestics, wearied with the lamentations of them that died, and overcome with the greatness of their calamity, were no longer moved therewith. But those that were recovered, had much compassion both on them that died, and on them that lay sick, as having both known the misery themselves, and now no more subject to the like danger: For this disease never took a man the second time, so as to be mortal. And those men were both by others counted happy, and they also themselves through excess of present joy, conceived a kind of light hope never to die of any sickness hereafter. Besides the present affliction, the reception of the country people, and of their substance into the city, oppressed both them, and much more the people themselves that so came in. For having no houses, but dwelling at that time of the year in stifling booths, the mortality was now without all form, and dying men lay tumbling one upon another in the streets, and men half dead about every conduit through desire of water. The temples also where they dwelt in tents were all full of the dead that died within them; for oppressed with the violence of the calamity, and not knowing what to do, men grew careless both of holy and profane things alike. And the laws which they formerly used touching funerals, were all now broken, every one burying where he could find room. And many for want of things necessary, after so many deaths before, were forced to become impudent in the funerals of their friends. For when one had made a funeral pile, another getting before him would throw on his dead, and give it fire. And when one was in burning, another would come, and having cast thereon him whom he carried, go his way again. And the great licentiousness, which also in other kinds was used in the city, began at first from this disease. For that which a man before would dissemble, and not acknowledge to be done for voluptuousness, he durst now do freely, seeing before his eyes such quick revolution of the rich dying, and men worth nothing inheriting their estates; insomuch, as they justified a speedy fruition of their goods even for their pleasure, as men that thought they held their lives but by the day. As for pains, no man was forward in any action of honour to take any, because they thought it uncertain whether they should die or not before they achieved it. But what any man knew to be delightful, and to be profitable to pleasure, that was made both profitable and honourable. Neither the fear of the gods, nor laws of men, awed any man. Not the former, because they concluded it was alike, to worship or not worship; from seeing that alike they all perished: Nor the latter, because no man expected that his life would last till he received punishment

or infect the enemy. He caused, however, a great fleet to be equipped, and drew together fifty vessels of the allies of *Athens*, on board of which, and of a hundred *Athenian* galleys, he embarked three hundred horse, and four thousand foot, with which he sailed to *Epidaurus*. The *Peloponnesians*, hearing how great a force he commanded, did as he conceived they would do, that is withdrew their troops out of *Attica*, after they had wasted it for forty days. *Pericles*, however, did no great matter, the plague raging amongst his soldiers and seamen. On his return home, the fleet under the command of *Agnon* and *Cleopompus* was sent against *Chalcis* and *Potidæa*, but carrying the plague with them thither, they were able to do little or nothing, so that after a short stay they returned from thence also, bringing back to *Athens* about fifteen hundred men out of four thousand, the rest being lost through pestilence and war. These evils drove the *Athenians* to madness and despair. In vain *Pericles* made use of all his eloquence to appease them ; they sent ambassadors to *Lacedæmon* to desire a peace, which the *Spartans* were much too proud to bestow ; after this fruitless negotiation, *Pericles* harangued the assembly afresh, and with the utmost force of reason sought to combat their apprehensions and fears ; when he had done speaking, they confessed he was in the right in advising them to begin the war ; yet, distracted with the evils it had brought, they dismissed and fined him ; yet, with an inconstancy natural to a people, they in a short time recalled him, and vested him with almost absolute authority. But the storms in his family did not blow over so easily ; his son *Xanthippus* quitted his house, because his father would not allow him more money than his estate would bear ; but to conceal the true cause, the profligate youth gave out his father conversed criminally with his wife. While this quarrel was open, *Xanthippus* died of the plague ; shortly after him *Pericles's* sister died, after her almost all his relations and friends, last of all his second son *Paralus*. At his funeral, *Pericles* lost his heroism quite ; for going to place a chaplet of flowers on the head of the corps, he burst out into a loud fit of crying, after which being conveyed home, he kept his house closely, and abandoned himself to melancholy. It was

of his crimes by judgment, But they thought there was now over their heads some far greater judgment decreed against them ; before which fell, they thought to enjoy some little part of their lives (90).

(90) *Thucyd. lib. ii. prop. init.*

then,

then, that the *Athenians* invited him to accept of those honours of which they had stripped him. At the persuasion of *Alcibiades* and others of his friends he came abroad, and shewed himself to the people, who received him with acclamations, and at his request cancelled that very unjust law, which they had made at his motion, for bastardizing all children of the half-blood ; and hereupon he enrolled a son of his by *Aspasia* a freeman of *Athens*, by the name of *Pericles*. In the summer of this year, a *Peloponnesian* navy of a hundred galleys wasted the island of *Zacynthus*, whereby they did much hurt to the inhabitants, and little good to themselves. Towards the end of the summer they sent ambassadors to the king of *Persia*, to intreat his assistance against his antient enemies the *Athenians* ; these ambassadors had it also in commission to make application to *Sitacles* king of *Thrace* ; but his son *Sadocus*, being a citizen of *Athens*, seized them and delivered them to the *Athenians*, who put them to death, to teach the *Lacedemonians* more mercy than they had shewn of late in killing such as they found in their territories, who were natives of places allied to *Athens*. In the winter the *Athenians* sent *Melesander*, with a fleet of twenty ships, to *Caria* and *Lycia*, where he was slain. About this time *Potidæa*, which had held out from the very beginning of the war, and wherein the people had been driven to the eating of human flesh, yielded to the *Athenians*, who permitted the men to depart with one garment, and the women with two. This city was re-peopled afterwards by a colony from *Athens*. Such were the events which fell out in the second year of the war^u.

IN the spring of the third year, *Archidamus* king of *Sparta* came with a great army and besieged *Platæa*. The *Plateans* insisted, that *Pausanias*, after the famous battle in the neighbourhood of their city, had declared them free, wherefore they hoped he would not overturn what his predecessors had solemnly established ; but *Archidamus* insisted, that they should forsake the side of the *Athenians*, give up their city and all that they had during the time of the war, on a promise of having all things restored to them when it should be over. The *Plateans* were so far from accepting these terms, that they resolved to abide all things rather than desert *Athens*. *Archidamus* then wasted their country, but not with impunity ; for those of *Platæa* made continual sallies, and cut off great part of his forces ; he then caused the city to be set on fire, whereby a great part of it was reduced to ashes, yet this had no effect. In the end therefore he was constrained to turn

^u THUCYD. DIODOR. &c.

his siege into a blockade, and having thrown up a retrenchment, fortified with a deep ditch, he left a sufficient number of men to guard his lines, and then returned back to *Peloponnesus*. In *Thrace* and *Acarnania* the *Athenians* fought with variety of fortune, and under the command of *Phormio* gained two small victories at sea. But the great event of this year was the death of *Pericles*, which happened in the end of the summer. He fell by the plague, but in a manner different from any body else; for whereas it hurried off others suddenly, it destroyed him by degrees, preying at once on the constitution of his body and the noble faculties of his mind. As an instance of this last observation, *Plutarch* says, that when he drew near his end, he shewed some of his friends an amulet or charm which the women had hung round his neck, intimating, that he must be very sick indeed when he suffered such a remedy to be applied. In his very last moments, some of his friends, sitting by his bed-side and conceiving him to have quite lost his senses, amused themselves with reckoning up the glorious events of his life: of a sudden he raised himself on his bed, and turning to them, said, *I wonder you should commend those things in me, which were as much owing to fortune as any thing else, and which have happened to others also, and omit that which has been peculiar to me, and more to my reputation than all the rest; that never any of my fellow citizens put on mourning on my account.* Thus *Pericles* died as he lived, as much superior to the greatest men of *Athens* as they to the vulgar; and after his death it appeared, that the same grandeur, which in other men became fatal to the commonwealth, was in him its preservation; only it must be allowed, that he gave way to the corruption of the people that he might govern them, and that while he exalted the *Athenian* state and adorned its capital, he despoiled the people of their virtue, introducing an ambitious spirit of dominion, instead of that love of true glory which had been cultivated by *Aristides* and *Cimon* ^y (K).

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^y THUCYD. lib. i, ii. PLUT. in vit. Periclis.

(K) This note, though it relates to one of the greatest men of *Greece*, will not be very long, because we have had occasion to say so much of him in his history, that very little remains unsaid. He was very learned, especially in useful science; and there is a story related of him, though the time in which it happened is not very well fixed; but it must have been within a year or two of his death at farthest, which shews what courage he had, and of what a different temper he was from most of his countrymen: just as he was going

IN the summer following, the *Peloponnesians*, under the command of *Archidamus*, invaded *Attica* the third time, destroying

ing on board the fleet, and had entered the admiral's galley, an eclipse of the sun happened, which struck all the seamen with astonishment, and terrified his own pilot so much that he knew not what to do. *Pericles* perceiving this, instantly pulled off his cloak, and muffling up the man's face in it, asked him if that was terrible, and whether he drew any ill omen from it. He answered, No. Why then, said *Pericles*, what difference can you make between one darkness and the other, except that what shades the sun is bigger than my cloak : Which brought the pilot and his crew to their senses again. How much he owed to *Anaxagoras* appears from this, and indeed from almost every great circumstance of his life ; how grateful he was, the reader will determine, when he hears that he suffered that wise man to be in such distress, that throwing himself on the ground, and muffling his face in his cloak, he took a resolution of starving to death. When *Pericles* was told of this he ran to him in all haste ; yet instead of lamenting his distress, he fell to bewailing his own loss, in case he should be deprived of so wise a counsellor ; to which *Anaxagoras*, opening his cloak, answered with a low voice : *Those, Pericles, who have need of a lamp, supply it with oil.* Whereupon the statesman took him home, and used him better for the future. It was at his motion that the *Athenians* seized the treasure of all *Greece* at *Delos*, and applied a great part of it to the adorning of their own city ; which when complained of as a breach of trust, *Pericles* thus defended it : It was given, said he, to defend *Greece* from the *Barbarians*, which the *Athenians* having done have a just title to the money ; for money, said he, is not theirs who give, but theirs who receive, provided they fulfil the conditions ; and as the *Athenians* were always ready to carry on war, it was but just that something should be done for their peace, and to give life and spirit to tradesmen, which was effected by these public buildings. This reasoning of his drew over to his party merchants, seamen, labourers, and artists of all kinds ; as for such as were not obliged this way, he provided largesses for them and pensions from the public stock ; whence many writers of his own time complain, that whereas other *Athenians* had made themselves eminent, *Pericles* had made himself a prince. In times of peace, when he apprehended that the murmurs of the people might be most dangerous, he caused them to be draughted off in colonies, and thereby rendered those dependent abroad, who would have been factious at home : In a word, he made *Athens* the richest and most powerful of the *Greek* states ; he exalted the power of the people, which all the other chiefs had fought to depress ; and in the midst of all the *Athenian* greatness, when her commons were most vain and most unruly, he directed all things at his will, was but once, and then but for a small time, in disgrace, recalled afterwards with honour

stroying the ripe corn, and wasting with implacable hatred whatever belonged to the *Athenians*, though without profit to themselves. In the mean time, the whole isle of *Lesbos*, the city and district of *Methymna* only excepted, revolted from the *Athenians*, who thereupon sent a fleet of forty gallies under the command of *Clippides* and two other generals; their orders were to come before the city of *Mitylene*, to demand that the citizens should pull down their walls and deliver up their ships, which if they did not do, they were then to act offensively. The *Mitylenians* endeavoured to amuse the *Athenians*, and to that end procured a truce till they sent ambassadors to *Athens*; but in the mean time they dispatched other ambassadors to intreat aid of the *Lacedemonians*, who directed them to make their solemn application at the *olympic* games to the several states of *Greece*, which accordingly they did, and were thereupon admitted into the alliance formed against *Athens*. The *Spartans* meditated another inroad into *Attica*, and actually advanced as far as the *Isthmus*; but their allies not sending their quotas as they had promised, they thought fit to retire, having received advice that an *Athenian* fleet had appeared on the coast of *Peloponnesus*. Yet the *Peloponnesians*, in pursuance of their promise to the *Mitylenians*, sent a fleet to their assistance of forty gallies; but they were able to effect little, because the *Athenians* had sent a hundred gallies on that coast. Hitherto they pursued the maxims of *Pericles* and cultivated a naval force; but as this cost immense sums of money, they were constrained to make new demands upon their allies, and to raise that tax which *Aristides* had imposed with the consent of the *Greeks*, by which they were enabled to keep up a fleet of 250 gallies. The *Mitylenians* and the rest of the *Lesbians*, greatly incensed at those of *Methymna* for remaining stedfast in their duty to the *Athenians*, made excursions into their country, whereupon the *Athenians* invested the city of *Mitylene*, and thereby obliged them to think of defending themselves, instead of offending their neighbours. *Plataea* was all this time blocked up, its little garison, consisting of four hundred natives, and fourscore *Athenians*, having

honour by the people, and remained in possession of his authority to his death. But in the midst of this great fortune his hands were clean, he did all things for *Athens*, and nothing for himself, leaving his paternal estate rather diminished than improved, an example admirable rather than imitable (91).

(91) *Plut. in vit. Periclis. Thucyd. lib. i, & ii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. xii. Justin. iii. c. 7. & mult. al.*

thus long withstood the whole power of *Peloponnesus* ; but finding it a vain thing to hope assistance from *Athens*, and being very much streightened for provisions, they took a desperate way of forcing a passage through the enemies lines, which when they came to execute, many declined ; three hundred, however, persisted in their intention, and fell with such fury on their enemies, that two hundred and twelve forced a passage and marched to *Athens*, the rest were compelled to retire back into the city ; thus ended the fourth year of the *Peloponnesian* war ².

IN the very beginning of the next year the *Peloponnesians* sent forty ships to the relief of *Mitylene*, and at the same time entered with a great army into *Attica* for the fifth time, under the command of *Cleomenes*. The *Athenians* were exceedingly distressed by these cruel ravages ; but in the mean time their troops were victorious in *Lesbos*. *Paches*, who commanded before *Mitylene*, obliged it to surrender before the *Peloponnesian* fleet, sent to succour it, could arrive ; he likewise chased that fleet, and returning to *Lesbos* sent the *Lacedemonian* minister, whom he found in *Mitylene*, together with a deputation from the inhabitants of that place, to *Athens*, where the *Lacedemonian* was immediately put to death ; and in a general assembly of the people it was resolved, at the motion of *Cleon*, that orders should be sent to *Paches* to put all the *Mitylenians*, who were at man's estate, to death ; and to sell the women and children for slaves. The next day, however, they reconsidered this decree, which *Cleon* still supported with all his eloquence ; but *Diodotus*, an orator of a milder disposition, having shewn how injurious it would be to the *Athenian* glory to deal so severely with persons who had surrendered at discretion, it was carried by a very small majority to reverse the decree. A clean ship was immediately dispatched to *Lesbos* to countermand the orders that had been sent to *Paches* the day before, and instructions were given to the commander to make all the sail he could, that he might arrive there before the other ship, which, though he strongly endeavoured, he could not perform. He arrived, however, time enough to save the *Mitylenians* from utter destruction, for *Paches*, being a man of great humanity, took a day to consider the orders he had received, and in that space the galley arrived which brought him a countermand. The *Athenians*, however, did not wholly pardon the *Mitylenians* ; on the contrary, they put a thousand of the briskest of the rebels to the sword, demolished the walls of the city, took away all their

* THUCYD. DIODOR. ubi supra.

ships divided their lands among themselves, and let them again to the *Mitylenians* at very high rents. The same summer they made themselves masters of the island of *Minoas*, lying over against the territory of *Megara*; they seized likewise the port of *Nisæa*, and fortified it, which acquisitions were of mighty importance to them. The *Plateans*, driven to the last extremity, surrendered, and by the judgment of the *Lacedemonians* were, to the number of two hundred, including twenty five *Athenians*, put to death, and their women sold for slaves. Such was the end of one of the bravest and most generous people of *Greece*. Their city was some time afterwards razed by their implacable enemies the *Thebans*, who left only an inn to shew where it stood. The fame, however, of its antient inhabitants moved *Alexander the great* to rebuild it. In this year happened the famous sedition in *Corcyra*, from whence future seditions, when their effects rendered them terrible, were stiled *Corcyrian*. *Thucydides* hath inserted a very copious description thereof, its causes, and consequences, in his admirable work; as far as it relates to the affairs of the *Athenians*, we are bound to insert a succinct relation of it here. We have already observed, that the war waged by this state against the *Corinthians* induced the *Peloponnesian* war; and in speaking thereof we have shewn, that a great number of *Corcyrians* were carried away prisoners into *Peloponnesus*, where the chief of them were very well treated, though the rest were sold for slaves; the reason of this conduct of the *Corinthians* was a design they had formed of engaging these *Corcyrians* to influence their countrymen to side with them and their allies; full of this intent, they treated them with all the lenity and tenderness imaginable, instilling into them by degrees an hatred of democratic government, and a desire of vesting the rule of their island in their own hands. When it was found that the *Corcyrian* prisoners had thoroughly imbibed these principles, they were told, that, on condition they would use their interest at home in favour of the allies and to the prejudice of *Athens*, they might obtain their freedom. The *Corcyrians* promised largely, returned home, and, which may seem extraordinary, endeavoured to perform all they promised. From these endeavours sprung the sedition before mentioned; at first such as were for an aristocracy prevailed, and in right of their power cut the throats of such as inclined to a democratic government; they were assisted by the *Peloponnesians*, but the *Athenians* sending a fleet, and afterwards another fleet, to the assistance of the distressed party, the *Peloponnesians* were forced to withdraw; and then the democratic party, taking

heart again in *Corcyra*, revenged themselves for the injuries they had received from the now depressed faction; nor would they suffer any notions of religion to restrain their hands, but dragged away suppliants from the altars to execution on the standing maxim of all faction, that it was for the public good. The worst of all was, that this example once set, almost all the states in *Greece* felt in their turns the like commotions, which were always incited and blown up by agents from *Sparta* and *Athens*, the former pretending to settle aristocracies every where, and the latter exerting her utmost power to prevent their remaining any where. In the midst of these momentous affairs, and while they had so many important businesses on the carpet, the *Athenians* were engaged in a new one, which proved in the end more fatal to them than all the rest. It happened thus; the inhabitants of *Sicily* were split into two factions, the one stiled the *Doric*, which had the state of *Syracuse* at its head; the other the *Ionic* which owned the *Leontines* for their chiefs; the latter, conceiving themselves too weak without foreign aid, applied themselves to *Athens*, and sent a citizen of theirs, one *Gorgias*, and a great orator, to intreat it; never was any minister suited better to his negociation than this man to treat with the *Athenians*; he was bold, vain, and eloquent, and so tickled the ears of the people by his fine speeches, that they ran headlong into a war with which they had no business, and which they were unable to maintain, while they were engaged with the *Peloponnesians*. *Pericles* had warned them of this at the very beginning of the war; he told them it would be as much as they could manage, but that they might manage it, if they meddled with nothing else, and that their succeeding therein would fix their empire over *Greece*, and secure *Athens* in as high a state as she could expect, or ought to desire. But the people giddy with success, and hoping at once to grasp the empire of *Greece* and the dominion of *Sicily*, resolved to assist the *Leontines*, and to that end dispatched a fleet under the command of *Lachetes* and *Chabrias*; and, as if this new business had taken up all their thoughts, that fleet was hardly sailed before they began to equip another. The plague, however, made prodigious havock in the midst of all these great designs; cutting off this year four thousand citizens, three hundred knights, and an infinite number of meaner people, *Diodorus* says, ten thousand; he likewise acquaints us with what he supposes to have been the cause of this distemper; he ascribes it chiefly to great rains falling in the winter, and a very hot summer following thereupon, during which the *Etesian* gales or evening breezes were wanting.

ing. The *Athenians*, however, ascribed it to the pollution of the isle of *Delos*, by the burying therein dead bodies, which they therefore caused to be removed, and sought to appease *Apollo* by various sacrifices; such were the events in the fifth year of the *Peloponnesian* war^a.

AT the opening of the next summer, the *Peloponnesians*, under the command of *Agis* the son of *Archidamus* king of *Sparta*, invaded *Attica*, or rather assembled in order to invade it; for the many earthquakes, which happened at this time throughout *Greece*, alarmed them so much, that they returned home without doing any great matter. The war was carried on in *Sicily* with various success; *Carcades*, one of their generals, being slain, the sole command devolved upon *Paches*, who discharged his trust with great reputation. At *Athens* the people ordered new ships to be daily fitted out, and created new admirals to command them; among these *Demosthenes* gained great reputation, and made himself very agreeable to their allies. The *Athenians*, however, received some check from the *Ætolians*, but in the winter they thrice overthrew the *Ambraciotes*, and constrained them to conclude a peace with the *Acarnanians* the allies of *Athens*; *Eurymedon* and *Sophocles*, who commanded in *Sicily*, gained, as the winter drew on, some advantages over the *Syracusians*, and in this year it is remarked that mount *Ætna* made a greater eruption than it had done for fifty years; this was the sixth year^b.

IN the succeeding spring, *Agis* the son of *Archidamus* invaded *Attica* with a great army; the *Athenians*, however, fitted out a great fleet, sending forty ships to *Sicily*, and to their commanders gave instructions to keep a strict eye on *Corcyra*, the inhabitants of which were under great apprehensions lest their exiles should make any attempt, or the *Peloponnesians* make a descent with their fleet of sixty galleys which was in their neighbourhood. *Demosthenes* was sent with another fleet to infest the coasts of *Peloponnesus*, he was one of the greatest generals of his time, of which he gave evident proof in this expedition; for as the fleet sailed by *Laconia*, he took notice of the promontory of *Pylus*, which was united to the land by a narrow isthmus, having before it a barren island about two miles in circumference, in which, however, there was a very good safe port, all winds being kept off, either by the head-land or by the isle; these advantages gave him to apprehend, that a garison left here would give so

^a THUCYD. lib. iii. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xii.
lib. iii. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xii

^b THUCYD.

much trouble to the *Peloponnesians*, that they would find it more advisable to protect their own country than to invade their neighbours. He proposed therefore to his colleagues, that they should immediately seize it, and fortify it with the utmost expedition; but they, desiring rather to fulfil their instructions than to do extraordinary service, for which perhaps they might not be thanked, refused to follow his advice, and insisted upon sailing to *Corcyra*, according as their orders bore. A storm arising obliged the fleet to put into the haven in the island, where *Demosthenes* revived his persuasions to seize and fortify so convenient a post, but in vain; his colleagues were all of another opinion, so that he was forced to give way; but the matter taking air, the soldiers declared unanimously that they would not quit the place, which they immediately fell to fortifying, and in six days finished a strong wall; and then the rest of the admirals sailing for *Corcyra*, *Demosthenes* was left with five ships to guard his new-raised fortification. As soon as the news of this event was carried to the *Peloponnesian* army, it was immediately resolved to return back and besiege *Pylus*. When they arrived before the place, they took possession of the harbour, and caused a chosen body of *Spartans* to take possession at the same time of the island *Sphaeteria*, and these precautions taken they attacked the *Athenian* retrenchments with great vigour; *Demosthenes* and his garison made a prodigious defence, and a fleet of forty *Athenian* ships arriving in the nick of time, offered battle to the *Peloponnesian* fleet; but this being refused, because the *Lacedemonians* were at present set on taking *Pylus*, the *Athenians* boldly sailed into the harbour, broke and sunk most of the vessels therein, and took the rest, after which they besieged the *Spartans* in the isle, which threw the affairs of the *Peloponnesians* into the greatest disorder. The *Lacedemonians* sent for their magistrates into the camp, which was their custom in all great dangers, and they, perceiving that no safety could be wrought for the *Spartans* in *Sphaeteria*, but by a treaty with the enemy, concluded a truce with the *Athenian* army, while a negociation was carried on at *Athens*; the articles of this truce were, that the *Peloponnesians* should deliver up all their ships, on condition to have them punctually restored to them in case the treaty did not take effect, that neither the *Athenians* nor they should undertake any thing till this negociation ended some way or other; that a certain quantity of victuals should be carried daily to the island, but that no ship should attempt to pass thither by stealth; that the truce should end at the return of the ambassadors, and that, if in the mean time it

were broke in any of its articles, it should be held utterly void in all. The *Lacedemonian* ambassadors spoke to the *Athenians* with great gravity and wisdom; they shewed them how much for their honour it would be to make a peace at their request; and in proof of this they urged an argument worthy of the *Spartans*. You have now, said they, an advantage, which whether it be owing to your wisdom, or fortune, may be disputed hereafter; but if you lay hold of this occasion to make a just and honourable peace, you will shew, that your nation does not acquire advantages by chance, but by prudence; whereas if you do not make peace, you will risque that reputation, and even those advantages, from the pride of which you reject the accommodation we offer. The *Athenians* in general were inclined to put an end to this troublesome war, but *Cleon*, one of their demagogues, a warm and obstinate man, so wrought upon them, that they insisted on very unreasonable conditions, and treated the ambassadors in such a manner, that, finding nothing could be done with honour, they withdrew, and by their return to the camp put an end to the truce. The *Peloponnesians* then demanded their ships, but the *Athenians*, pretending that the truce had been infringed, refused to deliver them, and thereby kept the possession of sixty good vessels, to which they had but a very indifferent title. Hostilities being re-commenced on both sides, the *Lacedemonians* attacked the *Athenian* retrenchments at *Pylus*, while the *Athenians* renewed their assaults on the *Lacedemonians* at *Sphaacteria*; the latter, though under all the discouragements imaginable, behaved with great bravery, insomuch, that the business went on very slowly, which gave the people of *Athens* much uneasiness. They began then to wish they had embraced the peace, and to rail vehemently at *Cleon*, who to excuse himself said, that it would be easy for the general of the forces they were now sending to attack the *Spartans* in the isle, and put an end to this dispute at once. *Nicias*, who had been appointed to this command, said immediately, that if *Cleon* believed he could do such great things, he would do well to go thither in person; the latter, conceiving this to be meant only to try him, said, he was ready to go with all his heart, whereby *Nicias* caught him, and declared that he had relinquished his charge. *Cleon* thereupon said, modestly enough, that he was no general; but *Nicias* answered, he might then become one; and the people, pleased with this controversy, held the orator to his word; *Cleon* then advancing, said, I am so little afraid of the enemy, that I will desire but a very small body of troops; and yet, in conjunction with those at *Pylus*, I will undertake in twenty days either to bring you the *Spartans* you are in such pain
about

about, or perish in the attempt ; at which the people, little expecting such things from an orator, fell a laughing. They decreed him, however, the troops he desired, and he set sail on this expedition, in which he conducted himself with great prudence and fortitude ; for he first sent a herald to the enemies camp, signifying, that if the *Lacedemonians* in the isle surrendered at discretion, a new negociation might be commenced ; but this demand, being looked upon as dishonourable to the *Lacedemonian* state, was rejected. He afterwards in conjunction with *Demosthenes* made a descent upon the island, and partly by their conduct, and partly by their valour, reduced the *Spartans* to the last extremity. *Cleon* perceiving it to be in their power to cut these brave men to pieces, restrained his *Athenians*, and sent a herald to inform them, that they might yet yield at discretion ; whereupon the *Lacedemonian* commander, who had been the third officer in the army, his two superiors being killed, demanded a conference with the *Athenian* generals, in which he desired leave to send for orders to the *Peloponnesian* camp, but that was refused ; at length the terms offered were accepted, and the prisoners were put on board the ships in order to be conveyed to *Athens*. They had sustained a siege of seventy two days, and a terrible engagement, wherein they lost one hundred and twenty eight persons out of four hundred and twenty, so that two hundred and ninety two yielded. *Cleon*, who had been laughed at when he made it, performed exactly his promise, producing the prisoners within the time prefixed, which wonderfully elated the people, who in their next assembly decreed, that these prisoners should be safely kept till a peace should be made, unless the *Peloponnesians* should in the mean time invade *Attica*, in which case they resolved that they should be put to death. They sent a colony of *Messenians*, who had been cruelly expelled out of their own country by the *Spartans*, to repopulate *Pylus*, and their neighbourhood was so troublesome to the *Lacedemonians*, that they quickly resolved to send ambassadors afresh to *Athens*, in order if it was possible to put an end to the war. The people of *Athens* were too much exalted with their success, to treat the *Lacedemonians* either with justice or candour, and the ambassadors of that steady nation, disdainful to be amused with frivolous pretences, returned without doing any thing. This summer the *Athenians* fought the *Corinthians* near the isthmus ; they sent likewise a fleet to *Sicily*, which fleet had instructions to put in at *Corcyra*, and to assist the government there against the faction which was in the interest of the *Lacedemonians* ; this they effectually performed, for they gave the *Corcyrians* such assistance, that the exiles fell into their

their power ; they imprisoned them, and afterwards drew them out by twenty at a time, and put them to death, with all the circumstances of rage and cruelty that civil fury could invent ; when there were only sixty remaining, they besought the *Athenians* to put them to death, and not deliver them up to their countrymen. The *Corcyrians*, thereupon surrounding the place where they were confined, endeavoured to bury them under their darts, which throwing these unhappy men into despair, they strangled and otherwise destroyed themselves with their own hands. Such was the dreadful end of that miserable sedition, which for so many years rent this little island, and made the *Corcyrians* endure greater evils from themselves, than they had ever felt from any enemy. The *Athenians* were this year successful in some other expeditions, which, to avoid prolixity, we shall omit, and refer our readers to the account of them in *Thucydides*. In the winter, a *Persian* ambassador whose name was *Artaphernes*, being sent to *Lacedæmon*, was intercepted in *Thrace* and brought prisoner to *Athens*. His letters and instructions were read, but when it was discovered, that they no way concerned the *Athenians*, he was dismissed, and other ambassadors from *Athens* were sent with him to *Ephesus*, where, when they came, they were informed, that *Artaxerxes* the *Persian* monarch was dead, by which their commission being determined, they returned home. Towards the end of the year the *Athenians* apprehended, that the inhabitants of *Chios* had an intention to desert them ; they therefore sent a fleet thither, with orders that they should demolish their new walls, a method they commonly practised on such occasions. These were the principal events of the seventh year of the war.

In the beginning of the eighth year of the war there happened an eclipse of the sun, as *Thucydides* tells us, which was followed by an earthquake. The first matter of consequence the *Athenians* resolved on, was the taking of the isle of *Cythera*, seated on the coast of *Lacænia*, which lay extremely convenient for them. *Nicias* was chosen to command this expedition. This nobleman, even in the time of *Pericles*, had been eminent in the state, and enjoyed a great measure of favour with the people. His qualifications were not extraordinary. for though he had much knowledge in military affairs, and knew perfectly well how to perform his duty as a general, yet he was exceeding cautious, fearful of trespassing in the least on his instructions, and timorous to the last degree of offending the people. *Pericles*, especially in his latter days, governed all things with a high hand ; he so much exceeded all others in eloquence, that to speak and to persuade were the same

same things with him, and the people, being confident that he was a friend to their power and authority, came readily into whatever he desired. *Nicias* was of another disposition, and therefore he sought to acquire their good will, or rather to purchase it, another way; he had an immense estate, and he laid out a great part of it in bestowing largesses, exhibiting plays, shews, and whatever else might please the people, who likewise pitied the timidity of his temper, and always encouraged him when he had any thing to offer or to propose to them. We have already mentioned his dispute with *Cleon* as to the business of *Pylus*; the same man was his constant opponent in every thing, which is the less wonderful, since it is evident there was a direct contrariety both in their tempers and interests. *Cleon* was continually the author of warm and violent counsels, a lover of blood, and a vehement enemy of the *Lacedemonians*; whereas *Nicias* was gentle in his manners, advised moderate measures, was for treating enemies with clemency; and though in all other respects he was fearful, yet he never dissembled that he wished well to the *Lacedemonians*, that is, wished his countrymen would rather conclude a peace with them, than break the power of that state and their own by obstinately continuing the war. The people, having a great opinion of his probity and conduct, appointed him general in this expedition into *Cythera*, and furnished him with a strong fleet, and a good army. *Nicias* executed his commission punctually and successfully, whereby he gained them a very commodious post, and brought the *Lacedemonians* very ill neighbours; afterwards the *Athenians* took *Thyrea* on the confines of *Laconia*; this place the *Lacedemonians* had given to the inhabitants of the isle of *Ægina* when they were expelled by the *Athenians*, these with the *Cythereans* were sent to *Athens* to abide the judgment of the people; the former they condemned to death, as being the ancient and inveterate enemies of their state and nation, the latter they dispersed for the most part through the islands under their obedience, and on such as they left in their own country they imposed a very heavy tribute. In *Sicily*, one *Hermocrates* of *Syracuse* persuaded all the inhabitants of that island to adjust their differences among themselves, whereby the *Athenian* generals were constrained to re-embark their forces and return home. There were three of them, *Pythodemus*, *Sophocles*, and *Eurymedon*; they gave the people a distinct account of the reasons which induced them to quit the island, and insisted particularly on this, that the *Sicilians* being reconciled to each other, they were in no condition to force them upon other measures; but the *Athenians*, who seldom considered any thing where
success;

success was wanting, banished two of their generals, and subjected the third to a very heavy fine. The inhabitants of *Megara*, finding themselves exceedingly distressed from the continual incursions of the *Athenians*, and the mischief done by their own exiles, began to have some thoughts of recalling those they had banished, of which when the *Athenians* had notice, they found means to engage the magistrates to assist them in quelling the townsmen. *Hippocrates* and *Demosthenes*, two famous generals, were employed in this expedition, wherein the *Megarians* concerned, exactly kept their agreement; the gates were opened, and the *Athenians* had taken possession of the town, if on a sudden some of the conspirators had not altered their mind; and gone over to those who sought to defend it, whereupon the *Athenians* and their friends seized the long walls, and threw up a cross work against the city, bending all their force to make themselves masters of *Nisæa*, or the port, doubting not, that, if they had this, *Megara* would soon fall. The garrison, having no magazines of provision, were constrained to surrender at discretion, after which the *Athenians* invested the city and closely besieged it. *Brasidas* the *Lacedemonian* came quickly from *Corinth* to relieve the *Megarians*; but the citizens, being still divided in their opinions, some siding with the *Athenians*, some with the *Lacedemonians*, would not open their gates to any body. In the mean time the *Bæotians* came with a considerable army and joined *Brasidas*, who thereupon engaged the *Athenians*; but it ended in a drawn battle; at last, however, the *Lacedemonian* party prevailing in *Megara*, those who sided with the *Athenians* were many of them obliged to withdraw; after this the exiles returned, and were admitted into the city, on their taking an oath to forget all that was past, and not to attempt any thing which might disturb their country. But as soon as they were settled, they forgot their oath, and with it all tenderness for their country, caused a hundred of those whom they most suspected to be apprehended, forced the people to condemn them, and, in consequence of that judgment, put them all to death. They then changed the whole frame of the government, introduced an oligarchy, and possessed themselves of the supreme power. The exiles of *Mitylene*, some other *Lesbians*, and a crew of mercenary troops, seized *Rhetium* in *Asia*, and possessed themselves afterwards of *Antandrus*; that they might not incumber themselves with too many things, they sold the former city to its antient inhabitants, and were quickly after dispossessed of the latter by the *Athenian* generals, *Demadorus* and *Aristides*; their colleague, whose name was *Lamachus*, sailed to *Hera-*
clea

cles in *Pontus*, where he pretended to levy tribute ; but the *Heracleans* insisted, that, as they were subjects to the *Persian* king, the *Athenians* had no right to any subsidies from them. While these points were litigating, a land-flood drove most of the *Athenian* ships on shore, and broke them in pieces, so that *Lamachus* found himself unable to act either by land or sea. The *Heracleans*, instead of taking any advantage of this accident, assisted the *Athenians* to the utmost of their power, so that with much ado *Lamachus* put his army into a condition to march through *Thracia* to *Chalcedon*. The *Bæotians* growing weary of that form of government, which since their league with the *Lacedemonians* had been introduced among them, began to cabal with the *Athenians*, and to invite them to assist in settling democracies throughout *Bæotia* ; but this business was not very prosperous, for the *Thebans* and other *Bæotians* of their party drew together a great army under the command of *Pantoedas*. The *Athenians* were commanded by *Demosthenes* and *Hippocrates* ; at *Delium* the armies met, and a very bloody engagement ensued, wherein the *Athenians* were at last beaten, and all hopes of their prevailing in *Bæotia* taken away, most of the *Bæotians*, who leaned to their party, being obliged to forsake their country, and to take shelter in the *Athenian* territories. *Thucydides* the historian commanded at this time the *Athenian* forces on the coast of *Macedonia*, whither the *Lacedemonians* had sent *Brasidas* one of their best generals with a considerable army. He, partly by force, partly by persuasion, reduced *Amphipolis* and several other places ; but *Thucydides*, by a quick march, saved *Ione* ; and the *Athenians*, being extremely alarmed at the news of *Brasidas*'s conquests, sent new supplies of men, money, and ships, in the winter to the *Macedonian* coast ; but all their care could not prevent a mighty defection from their interest in those parts, where the valour and conduct of the *Lacedemonian* chief carried all before him. These were the events of the eighth year of the war ^c.

IN the beginning of the spring the *Spartans* made new propositions of peace at *Athens*, supposing that the misfortunes, which their enemies had met with in *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, would render them more tractable than they had been before, in which they were not much mistaken ; for the *Athenians*, finding that fortune was no more constant to them than to their enemies, and finding their affairs much unsettled by the loss of *Amphipolis*, agreed to a truce for a

^c THUCYD. lib. iv. DIODOR. lib. xiv. PLUT. in vita Nicie.

year, that they might have time to re-establish them. This truce was founded upon the following articles, that both parties should remain in quiet possession of what they held at present; that ambassadors, heralds, and all other persons with public characters, should have free leave to enter any of the states, in order to the negociation of a general peace; that neither party should receive or protect deserters; that all controversies should be amicably decided, and not by force; proceedings at sea were likewise settled; and confederates on both sides were comprised in this truce. Immediately on the conclusion thereof, negociations were set on foot for a general peace; but these were interrupted, and the *Athenians* thrown into new disorders by an accident in *Thrace*, where the city of *Scione*, and the city of *Menda* revolted to *Brasidas*, who, knowing nothing of the truce, sought to draw over *Potidæa* also; the *Athenians* pretending that *Scione* revolted two days after the truce was concluded, clamoured loudly thereat, asserting that it was a breach thereof, and that both it and *Menda* should be restored them, which negociations not having the power to effect, an army was sent to reduce them; by this army *Menda* was recovered, but *Scione* made an obstinate resistance, whereupon the *Athenians* encompassed it with a wall, and turned their siege into a blockade. The spring drawing on, the *Lacedemonian* army, under the command of *Brasidas*, made an attempt upon *Potidæa*; but it miscarried, and the *Athenians* began to recover some courage in this part of the world.

THE truce expiring on the day of the *Pythian* games, *Cleon* persuaded the *Athenians* to send a great army into *Thrace* under his own command; it consisted of twelve hundred foot, and three hundred horse, all *Athenian* citizens, embarked on a fleet of thirty gallies. *Cleon* soon after his arrival took the city of *Torone*; but he miscarried in his attempt on *Stagyrus*, which, however, did not discourage him from falling upon *Galopsus*, a colony of the *Thasians*, which he took; after which he retired to *Ione*, waiting there for succours. *Brasidas*, who had an army much inferior to his, observing that *Cleon* was become careless, and that his troops did not observe discipline, attacked the *Athenians* by surprize, and routed them with very great slaughter, *Cleon* himself flying at last, but not far, a *Lacedemonian* soldier overtaking and killing him on the spot; *Brasidas* was mortally wounded in the beginning of the engagement, wherein the *Athenians* lost six hundred men, and the *Lacedemonians* no more than seven. This decisive engagement had mighty effects on both parties, the *Athenians* were greatly humbled by the loss of their army,
and

and the *Spartans* little less concerned at the loss of their general; besides, the *Athenians*, in losing *Cleon*, lost the most popular speaker amongst them, and the great promoter of the war; they therefore grew much more quiet and tractable than formerly, and were very ready to hear what the wise and prudent statesmen amongst them, thought fit to offer in their public assemblies. Amongst the *Lacedemonians* there was likewise a considerable party, at the head of whom was *Plistonax* their king, who declared for peace, and who laboured as hard to effect it, as *Nicias* and his party did at *Athens*. These proceedings induced various negotiations, which in the end brought on a peace for fifty years between the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians*; on the following conditions: That a restitution of places and prisoners should be made on both sides, excepting that *Nisæa* should remain to the *Athenians* who had taken it from the *Megarians*, and that *Platæa* should remain in the hands of the *Thebans*, because they absolutely would not give it up. The *Bæotians*, *Corinthians*, and *Megarians*, refused to be included in this peace, but the rest of the allies yielded to it, and it was accordingly sworn to at *Athens* in the archonship of *Alcæus*, ten years after the commencement of the war; and as *Nicias* of all the *Athenians* most vigorously promoted it, so from him it was called the *Nician* peace ^a.

THE quiet of *Greece* was far from being restored on the cessation of the war; such of the states in *Peloponnesus* as were not satisfied with the terms of peace, began to intrigue and negotiate amongst themselves, and to endeavour to set on foot a new confederacy, the head of which was to be the state of *Argos*. The pretence was, that the liberty of *Greece* was in danger from the alliance between *Sparta* and *Athens*, and as a proof of this they alledged an article in that alliance, whereby it was provided, that by mutual consent new conditions might be added thereto, or any of the old ones altered at their pleasure. In the mean time the *Spartans* found it not in their power to perform exactly the terms of their treaty with *Athens*; for whereas it was stipulated, that all places taken should be restored, *Amphipolis* absolutely refused to return under the *Athenian* government, so that all the *Lacedemonians* could do was to withdraw their garison, and under the colour of this, the *Athenians* on their side refused to evacuate *Pylus*. The *Lacedemonians* pressing earnestly to have this fortress put into their hands, or that at least the *Helotes*

^a THUCYD. lib. v. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. in vit. Niciæ.

and *Messenians* might be removed from thence, the *Athenians* were at last prevailed on to grant the latter, and to send those who were thus removed from *Pylus* to the island of *Cephalenia*. In the winter new negotiations were entered into on all sides, the *Lacedemonians* sought to induce the *Bæotians* to give up *Panæctus* and the *Athenian* prisoners, in hopes thereby to recover *Pylus*; with much ado they brought the *Bæotians* into this, but not till they had thoroughly destroyed the fortifications of the city in question; after which it was delivered up. The *Athenians* on their side had done every thing that could be expected from them, excepting only the rendering of *Pylus*, which they kept as a pledge for the *Spartans* complying with what they had undertaken in that alliance. The demolition of *Panæctus* therefore gave them very great uneasiness, and induced them to apprehend the *Lacedemonians* had circumvented them, and would in the end reconcile themselves to their old confederates at their expence. These discontents were heightened by the artifices of *Alcibiades*, who began now to rival *Nicias*, and who will make so considerable a figure in the subsequent part of this history, that there is a necessity of our informing the reader who and what he was. In point of birth he yielded to none, he was the son of *Clinias*, the nephew of *Pericles*, and descended lineally from *Ajax*; in his person he was so beautiful, that while a youth he was beloved, and when he grew up to be a man, he was revered for his extraordinary comeliness; his fortune was large, and beyond most of the nobility in *Athens*; as to his parts *Cornelius Nepos* seems to have drawn his just character in saying, that nature in him had exerted her utmost force, since, whether we consider his virtues or his vices, he was distinguished from all his fellow-citizens. He was learned, eloquent, indefatigable, liberal, magnificent, affable, and knew exactly how to comply with the times, that is, he knew how to put on all these virtues when he thought fit; for when he gave a loose to his passions, he was indolent, luxurious, dissolute, extremely addicted to women, intemperate, and inclined to prophaneness. It was a great advantage to him, that *Socrates* had a great friendship for him, or, as the *Greeks* stiled it, a love; for this not only corrected his manners, and brought him to the knowledge of many things, of which otherwise he would have been ignorant, but also gave the *Athenians* hopes of him, and kept them from resenting those wanton acts of pride and vanity which he committed whilst a lad; by his mother's side he was descended from the *Alcmeonidæ*, and his ancestors by the

the father's side had been always upon good terms with the *Lacedemonians*. *Clinias* had indeed disclaimed his friendship with that people, but *Alcibiades* renewed his title to it, and affected to shew a mighty respect to *Lacedemonian* strangers. But when he observed the ambassadors of that state applied themselves wholly to *Nicias*, and his dependants, he resented it so much, that he began instantly to work upon the people's mind to their prejudice, giving out, that the *Lacedemonians* were not hearty in their last treaty, and that *Nicias* was more a friend to them than was consistent with his duty to his country. In proof of the first, he alledged, that the *Spartans* were now taking measures for humbling *Argos* and her allies, that they might afterwards bring down *Athens*. As to the latter, he put his countrymen in mind of the coldness *Nicias* had shewn when they would have sent him with a fleet to make a descent on *Sphaetria*; the issue of all this was, that the people began to entertain a distrust both of their old general and of their new allies. Shortly after this came ambassadors from *Lacedemon* to court the *Athenians*, and to rectify their opinions as to the sincerity of that state; these ministers at first applied themselves to *Nicias*, who introduced them to the senate, where they declared they were vested with full power to adjust all differences, and to add such new clauses to the treaty already subsisting, as might give ample satisfaction to the *Athenians*. When they retired from thence, *Alcibiades*, as the old friend of their nation, invited them to his house, where he expostulated with them on their attaching themselves to *Nicias*, assured them of his friendship, and, as a proof thereof, advised them to deny in the general assembly of the people that they were vested with full powers, under pretence that the acknowledging thereof would induce the *Athenians* to extort unreasonable compliances. When therefore the ambassadors came into the forum, *Alcibiades* first stood up, and asked them whether they had full powers, to which, according to agreement, they answered, No. *Alcibiades* turning to the people, said, *You see, my countrymen, what credit ought to be given to these Lacedemonians, who deny to you to day what they solemnly affirmed yesterday to the senate!* The people upon this absolutely refused to hear the *Lacedemonians* speak. *Alcibiades* immediately afterwards recommended the cause of the *Argives*, *Mantineans*, and *Eleans*, who at that time sought the friendship of *Athens*; but before they could come to a conclusion, an earthquake happened, which of course dissolved the assembly. At the next meeting, *Nicias* proposed, that he might be sent ambassador

ambassador to *Sparta*, before any harsh resolutions were taken, which the assembly complied with ; but when *Nicias* came to *Lacedemon*, he found there a party as unreasonable as that which he had left at *Athens* ; for they would not give him any sort of satisfaction with respect to his demands, and only swore anew to the old alliance, merely, that they might seem to do something for the sake of their old friend. Upon his return the *Athenians* concluded a league with the *Argives* and the other states beforementioned for a hundred years, which *Alcibiades*, who promoted it, looked upon as a master-piece in politics, because thereby he had provided a means to keep that war at a distance, in case the feuds between *Sparta* and *Athens* were revived, a thing which was much easier foreseen than remedied. Such were the events of the eleventh and twelfth years after the commencement of this *Peloponnesian* war^e (L).

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^e THUCYD. lib. v. DIODOR. lib. xii. PLUT. in vit. Niciæ & Alcibiad.

(L) We thought it necessary to insert here the league itself, as it stands in *Thucydides*, for many reasons ; first, because it enlightens the history ; secondly, for that it shews the policy of those times, and that the treaties of the antient *Greeks* were no less perfect and explicit than ours ; thirdly, that it might serve as an authority to demonstrate the truth and solidity of this history ; thus it runs :

“ The *Athenians* and *Argives*, and *Mantineans*, and *Eleans*, for
 “ themselves and for the confederates commanded by every of
 “ them, have made an accord for a hundred years, without fraud
 “ or damage, both by sea and land. It shall not be lawful for the
 “ *Argives*, nor *Eleans*, nor *Mantineans*, nor their confederates, to
 “ bear arms against the *Athenians*, or the confederates under the
 “ command of the *Athenians* or their confederates, by any fraud or
 “ machination whatsoever, and the *Athenians*, *Argives*, and *Man-*
 “ *tineans*, have made league with each other for a hundred years
 “ on these terms. If any enemy shall invade the territory of the
 “ *Athenians*, then the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Mantineans* shall go un-
 “ to *Athens* to assist them, according as the *Athenians* shall send them
 “ word to do, in the best manner they possibly can. But if the
 “ enemy, after he have spoiled the territory, shall be gone back,
 “ then their city shall be held as an enemy to the *Argives*, *Eleans*,
 “ *Mantineans*, and *Athenians*, and war shall be made against it by
 “ all those cities, and it shall not be lawful for any of those cities
 “ to give over the war without the consent of all the rest. And if
 “ any enemy shall invade the territory either of the *Argives*, or of
 “ the

THE next summer *Alcibiades*, at the head of a considerable army, passed over into the territory of *Argos*, and from thence

“ the *Eleans*, or of the *Mantineans*, then the *Athenians* shall come
 “ into *Argos*, *Elis*, and *Mantineia* to assist them, in such sort as those
 “ cities shall send them word to do, in the best manner they possibly can. But if the enemy, after he hath wasted their territory, shall be gone back, then their city shall be held as an enemy both to the *Athenians* and also to the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Mantineans*, and war shall be made against it by all those cities, and it shall not be lawful for any of them to give over the war against that city without the consent of all the rest. There shall no armed men be suffered to pass through the dominions either of themselves, or of any the confederates under their several commands, to make war in any place whatsoever, unless by the suffrage of all the cities, *Athens*, *Argos*, *Elis*, and *Mantineia*, their passage be allowed. To such as come to assist any of the other cities, that city which sendeth them shall give maintenance for thirty days after they shall arrive in the city that sent for them, and the like at their going away. But if they will use the army for a longer time, then the city that sent for them shall find them maintenance at the rate of three oboles of *Ægina* a-day for a man of arms, and of a drachma of *Ægina* for a horseman. The city which sendeth for the aids shall have the leading and command of them, whilst the war is in their own territory: But if it shall seem good unto these cities to make a war in common, then all the cities shall equally participate of the command. The *Athenians* shall swear unto the articles both for themselves and for their confederates; and the *Argives*, *Eleans*, *Mantineans*, and the confederates of these, shall every one swear unto them, city by city, and their oath shall be the greatest that by custom of the several cities is used, and with most perfect hosts, *i. e.* beasts offered in sacrifice, and in these words:

“ I will stand to this league according to the articles thereof, justly, innocently, and sincerely, and not transgress the same by any art or machination whatsoever.

“ This oath shall be taken at *Athens* by the senate and the officers of the commons, and administered by the *Prytanes*. At *Argos* it shall be taken by the senate, and the council of eighty, and by the *Artynæ*, and administered by the council of eighty. At *Mantineia* it shall be taken by the procurators of the people, and by the senate, and by the rest of the magistrates, and administered by the *Theori* and by the tribunes of the soldiers. At *Elis* it shall be taken by the procurators of the people, and by the officers of the treasury, and by the council of six hundred, and administered by the procurators of the people, and by the keepers of the laws. This oath shall be renewed by the *Athenians*,

thence to *Patræ*; he laboured at both places to persuade them to build walls to the sea, that so they might the more easily receive assistance from the *Athenians*. The *Patræans*, thinking to shew their wisdom and foresight, expostulated with *Alcibiades*, telling him, that if they took his advice, the *Athenians* might in time swallow them up. I do not know, answered he, but they may, yet they must begin at the feet and eat you by degrees, whereas, if the *Lacedemonians* are your enemies, they will begin at the head and devour you all at once. The *Argives* thought this year to have made themselves masters of *Epidaurus*, but were hindered by the *Lacedemonians* putting a garrison into it of three hundred men, whereupon the *Athenians* brought back the *Helotes* and *Messenians*, and resettled them in *Pylus*; thus all the preparatives for war were made this year, which was the thirteenth after the beginning of that stiled the *Peloponnesian*, yet no action was undertaken therein^f.

THE next summer the *Spartans* drew together a very great army, which, under the command of *Agis* their king, entered the territory of *Argos*, where the confederate army lay; but, as the engagement was about to begin, a truce was suddenly clapped up by two of the *Argive* generals, and the king of *Lacedemon*, for which none of them received thanks, but, on the contrary, were extremely ill-treated by their respective citizens. Some short time after, an *Athenian* army, consisting of a thousand foot and three hundred horse, arrived at *Argos*, whereupon the *Argives* renounced the truce with *Lacedemon* and began the war again. The *Athenian*

† THUCYD. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi supra.

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(92) *Thucyd. de Bell. Pelop. lib. v.*

troops

troops were commanded by *Paches* and *Nicostratus*, but *Alcibiades* was in it as a volunteer without command ; he it was who persuaded the *Argives* to besiege *Orchomenus*, and soon after *Tegæa* ; but the career of their victories was soon stopped, for *Agis* king of *Sparta*, at the head of a great army, came to give them battle ; it was fought in the neighbourhood of *Mantineæ*, and is very accurately described by *Thucydides* ; in it the *Argives*, and their confederates were at first victorious in one wing, but the *Lacedemonians*, prevailing in the center and in the other wing afterwards, hemmed in the *Argives*, and defeated them also, gaining thereby a glorious victory, in right of which they erected a trophy. The *Eleans* and *Athenians*, however, after this battle invested *Epidaurus*, and threw up intrenchments around it ; in the winter a strong party in *Argos* joining with the *Lacedemonians*, that city broke off her league with *Athens*, and renewed it with *Sparta* for fifty years ; in consequence of which the *Argives* abolished democracy, which city hitherto had subsisted in their, and to compliment their new allies, not only set up an aristocracy among themselves, but assisted the *Lacedemonians* with a considerable body of troops, to force the *Sicyonians* upon the same measure : thus ended the fourteenth year of the *Peloponnesian* war, which was now opened again with circumstances more dangerous than before.

In the very next summer, *Argos* changed her party again, for falling into an early dislike of aristocracy, which to those who were free before seemed little better than a tyranny, they fell upon the *Lacedemonians* in their city, and upon such of their own citizens as they thought were of their party, and having killed some and banished others, they renounced their new-made league with *Sparta*, and renewed their old one with *Athens*. They likewise began to follow the advice which *Alcibiades* had given them, and with indefatigable industry wrought on the long walls which were necessary to join their city with the sea. The *Athenians*, in the mean time, being convinced that *Perdiccas* king of *Macedonia* had betrayed them, and been the chief occasion that their expeditions against the *Chalcidians* and the city of *Amphipolis* had miscarried, renounced their league with him, and declared war against him. These were the events of the fifteenth year.

Alcibiades at the beginning of the next year came with a fleet of twenty ships into the territories of *Argos*, to assist his friends and to put an end to the disputes which reigned in that

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² THUCYD. DIODOR. & PLUT. ubi supra.

city ; in order thereto, he caused three hundred of the inhabitants, who were suspected of favouring the *Lacedemonians* to be seized and carried away ; after which they sailed to the island of *Melos*, which, though but small and of inconsiderable force, had always acted with inflexible obstinacy against the *Athenians* ; the general contented himself with besieging the capital, and when he found that the reduction thereof would be a work of time, he turned the siege into a blockade, and, leaving a considerable body of forces in his lines here, returned to *Athens*. *Philocrates* the son of *Endemus*, being afterwards sent with supplies to the camp before *Melos*, he reduced the place to such distress, that the inhabitants yielded at discretion ; whereupon the *Athenians* put every man who was able to bear arms to the sword, and carried the women and children captives to *Athens*. *Thucydides* and *Plutarch* both mention this extraordinary act of severity, but they differ pretty much with respect to the circumstances attending it ; *Thucydides* speaks of this as the act of the general and his army, provoked by the obstinate defence of the inhabitants of *Melos* ; *Plutarch* says, it was done by virtue of a decree of the people of *Athens*, which, if it was not proposed, was at least promoted, by *Alcibiades* ; *Diodorus Siculus* relates this fact also, but generally, and without any circumstances at all. The *Athenians* from *Pylus* made various incursions into *Laconia*, which the *Lacedemonians* did not resent as a breach of the peace, but gave leave only to their subjects to make reprisals on the *Athenians*. As to affairs in *Macedonia*, they received no very material alteration, except that the *Athenians* made some incursions into the territories of king *Perdiccas* ; these were the events of the sixteenth year of the war^a.

THE *Athenians* determined in the beginning of this year to send a fleet and a great army into *Sicily*, the occasion was this : the *Egestines*, conceiving themselves exceedingly ill-treated by their countrymen, sent to desire aid from the *Athenians* ; their ambassadors arrived the year before, but as no resolution was taken, or at least put in execution, till now, we thought it proper to give the whole story at once. *Alcibiades* and his faction were of opinion, that this was a very happy conjuncture, and that the *Athenians* ought readily to embrace an opportunity of conquering *Sicily*, for with them, to invade and to conquer were synonymous terms, that from thence they might pass over to *Africa*, and reduce *Carthage* and *Libya* under their dominion ; after which they intended to conquer *Italy*. People of sense saw the madness of these schemes, but durst not

^a THUCYD. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi supra.

oppose them; *Nicias* alone, though he was held the most timorous man in *Athens*, had the courage to oppose both the nobility and the people, and to set all things forth in their true light. He said, that *Athens* had already as much work upon her hands as she could do, that a breach with *Sparta* was inevitable, that the war must of consequence be carried on in all parts of *Greece*, and that fleets and armies sufficient for this purpose would try the utmost strength of *Athens*. That *Sicily* was not so easy a conquest as many apprehended, since it was a very populous island, and its inhabitants remarkable both for prudence and valour. That the *Carthaginians*, who were by far more powerful than the *Athenians*, had in vain attempted to reduce this island, and that in case the *Athenians* could prevail, it would be found no easy task to preserve their conquest, against the united power of the *Sicilians* and all their other enemies in *Greece*. His discourse, however, had no manner of weight, the *Athenians*, deluded by their own ambassadors, who reported strange things of the wealth of the *Egystines*, decreed, that a fleet should be sent to their assistance with a land-army on board, naming *Nicias* for the general, and giving him *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus* for his colleagues. Nothing could give greater uneasiness to any man, than this nomination did to *Nicias*; he represented the expence of the war, in hopes that it might deter his countrymen from engaging in it, but in vain; they cut off all objections of that sort, by giving the generals absolute authority to do whatever seemed to them most proper for the service of the state. While these preparations were making, an accident happened which put the whole city in confusion; the *Hermæ*, i. e. the statues of *Mercury*, of which there were a multitude in and about the city, were all of them defaced in one night; nor could the authors of this fact be discovered, notwithstanding a proclamation offering impunity and reward to the informer; yet, in consequence of a clause therein, inviting any person, of what condition soever, to discover former sacrileges, some servants and slaves deposed, that a long time before, certain young men heated with wine had ridiculed some religious mysteries, and that *Alcibiades* was amongst them; his enemies, catching at this, commenced a prosecution against him, to which *Alcibiades* readily offered to answer, asserting his innocence, and protesting against accusations brought in his absence; but his enemies, being determined to destroy him, procured others to move, that for the present he should have licence to depart on his command, and that after his return a day of trial should be assigned him; to which proposition he very unwillingly

ingly was forced to accede. The fleet equipped on this occasion consisted of a hundred galleys, but they were better, and better provided, than any the *Athenians* had ever sent to sea before, and when joined by their allies at *Corcyra*, made up a hundred and thirty four galleys; of heavy-armed troops there were five thousand one hundred, of which fifteen hundred were *Athenian* volunteers. This great fleet staid some time at *Corcyra* in order to send some light frigates to the coast of *Sicily*, and to take proper measures with their allies for the debarkment of the forces. At *Corcyra* the generals differed; *Nicias*, who never had any opinion of the war, finding that their confederates were far less powerful than they had been represented, inclined to send only a squadron of sixty ships to their relief. *Alcibiades* alledged, that it would be highly dishonourable for the *Athenians*, after fitting out a fleet at such an immense expence, to content themselves with sending only a part of it to perform what the whole was designed for; *Lamachus* differed in opinion from them both; he said, that, their allies being no longer to be depended on, they ought now to consider what could be done against their enemies; and as an army was always most terrible at first, before the minds of the soldiers were discouraged by hardships and fatigues, he gave his vote for sailing directly for *Syracuse*, landing their troops as near it as possible, and giving the enemy battle under their own walls; at last, however, he came over to the opinion of *Alcibiades*, after which the fleet sailed for *Sicily*, where the army was landed, and with much ado took possession of *Catania*; from thence they made some excursions, but with little success. But long they had not been in this island before orders from *Athens* arrived, directing *Alcibiades* to return and abide his trial, the city being all in an uproar on the old affair of defacing the *Mercuries*. It was a state-trick plaid off by the enemies of *Alcibiades* to ruin the mighty interest he had in *Athens*; to the same end they gave out, that he had entered into a conspiracy to betray the city to the *Lacedemonians*, and that he had persuaded the *Argives* to undertake something to their prejudice. It was therefore determined to put him to death upon his return, but it being apprehended, that the causing him to be arrested in sight of his army might produce great commotions therein, those who were sent to bring him home were ordered to treat him with great decency, and not to discover by any means the severe resolution taken against him. They executed their commission very exact'y, so that *Alcibiades* and those of his army, who were accused as well as he, had not any suspicion; but in the course of their voyage, gathering from the seamen somewhat of what was intended,

and

and being informed, that a person out of fear of death had acknowledged himself guilty and impeached them, they wisely determined not to trust an enraged and superstitious multitude, but to provide for their own safety, by withdrawing as soon as they had an opportunity; which offering itself quickly after, they gave their convoy the slip, and retired to such parts of *Greece*, as, out of hatred to the *Athenians*, were most like to give them shelter; as for *Alcibiades*, he afterwards went to *Sparta*, and was well received there. The army in *Sicily* took this proceeding very heavily, however, the command devolving on *Nicias*, he managed it the best he could, as well for the sake of his own honour, as from the apprehensions he was under of being accused, in case any accident happened; for, having a just idea of the temper of his countrymen, he dreaded above all things a prosecution before the people, who heard accusations willingly, and believed the most just defences but slowly. By a stratagem he and his colleague *Lamachus* brought their army near *Syracuse*, and afterwards engaged the inhabitants of that city to make a sally, wherein they suffered some loss, and grew in great fear of an enemy whom hitherto they had in a manner despised; the *Athenians*, however, retired, and took their winter-quarters at *Catana*. In the interim the *Syracusians*, by the advice of *Hermocrates*, sent deputations to *Sparta* and *Corinth* to desire aid against the *Athenians*, while in the mean time themselves wrought hard in repairing the fortifications of their city, and in laying waste the country in the neighbourhood of the *Athenian* camp. The moderation of *Nicias* and the complacency of *Lamachus*, a well-disposed man and an excellent officer, but little esteemed by the *Athenian* people because he was poor, drew many of the cities of *Sicily* to side with them, so that at last the island was divided into two factions, the one friends, the other enemies, to the state of *Athens*. As for the *Syracusians*, who were at the head of the latter, they depended chiefly on the succours they had demanded from *Greece*; the *Corinthians* readily promised and sent them assistance, and also sent ambassadors to *Sparta* to co-operate with those whom the *Syracusians* had sent thither; but the *Spartans*, not caring to offend the *Athenians* further, hesitated much at their propositions, till *Alcibiades* informed them of the *Athenian* designs; then they dispatched *Gylippus* with a small body of troops to assist the *Syracusians*, and at the same time determined to renew the war with *Athens*, and to invade *Attica* itself; this was the first step to the ruin of *Athens*, for by the persuasion of the same person they determined to fortify *Dicelea* a castle in *Attica*,
which

which hindered the inhabitants of *Athens* from returning to their farms when the enemy was withdrawn, cut off their supplies from their silver mines at *Laurium*, and served as a receptacle for all the malecontents, and indeed for all the banditti in the neighbourhood. It is strange, that this was never thought of before, and that it should be resolved on now at the recommendation of *Alcibiades*, who in a short time had gained as great or greater credit at *Sparta* than he had ever at *Athens*. He procured this confidence by addicting himself to their customs, by conforming to them in his dress and manner of living, and in short by throwing off every thing which seemed to speak him an *Athenian*, and going more heartily than any of the *Lacedemonians* themselves did into such measures as had a direct tendency to their destruction. Towards the end of the year, the army in *Sicily* being much weakened, the generals sent to demand a supply of money and horsemen, which the *Athenians* readily decreed; this was the seventeenth year after the commencement of the *Peloponnesian* war¹.

Nicias, having received the succours he demanded, sailed to *Syracuse*, where he had several rencounters with the townsmen, but had the better of them in all; the *Athenian* fleet sailing into the haven of *Syracuse*, a very brisk action happened, in which *Lamachus* was killed; after which *Nicias*, causing new works to be thrown up before the place, straightened the *Syracusians* so much, that they thought of capitulating, but in the interim *Gylippus* with his *Spartan* succours arrived. In *Greece*, the *Athenians*, in support of their allies the *Argives*, invaded the territory of *Epidaurus*, and thereby openly broke the truce which had hitherto, though in a doubtful manner, subsisted between them and the *Lacedemonians*. *Gylippus*, by dint of conduct, defeated the designs of *Nicias* against *Syracuse*, who notwithstanding began to form new projects, and to exert his utmost skill, though in a very bad state of health, for furthering the *Athenian* affairs in that island. New supplies were in the mean time decreed to him at *Athens*, *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon* being joined in conjunction with him: the latter sailed in the midst of winter with ten gallees and a great sum of money into *Sicily*. *Demosthenes* remained behind, being employed in providing all things necessary for a great fleet, which was to be sent thither in the spring. A small one in the mean time, consisting of

¹ THUCYD. lib. vi. DIODOR. lib. xiii. PLUT. vit. Alcibiad. & Nicias.

twenty gallies, was sent to cruize on the coast of *Peloponnesus*, and these were all the remarkable things which happened in the eighteenth year of the war ^k.

EARLY in the spring, *Agis* king of *Sparta*, at the head of a very numerous army of *Lacedemonians*, *Corinthians*, and other nations of *Peloponnesus*, invaded *Attica*, and, according to the advice which *Alcibiades* had given, seized and fortified *Decelea*, which stood at an equal distance from *Athens* and the frontiers of *Bæotia*. In the mean time the *Athenians* seemed less concerned for their own safety than for their conquests in *Sicily*; for they ordered a fleet of thirty ships to be equipped for spoiling the coasts of *Peloponnesus*, at the same time that they sent *Demosthenes* with sixty of their own gallies, and five belonging to the island of *Chios*, to support *Nicias*, and to carry on effectually the war against the *Syracusians*, who about this time received a powerful succour from the *Peloponnesians*. When *Demosthenes* arrived, he found things in a very declining way, *Nicias* having sometime before sustained some loss at sea, wherewith himself and his army were much dispirited, though it had been occasioned chiefly by the warmth of other commanders, who paid too little regard to the general's orders. *Demosthenes*, who commanded the supply, affected to censure *Nicias*'s conduct, as if he had wanted activity, and was not at all desirous of carrying on the war; to shew therefore of how different a disposition himself was, he would cause *Epipolæ* to be attacked, and that too in the night, which was accordingly done, but with very bad success; for all speaking the same language, they were unable to distinguish foe from friend; so that a mighty slaughter happened, which exceedingly weakened the *Athenian* fleet. *Demosthenes* was then for sailing away as fast as possible, conceiving that, since himself could do nothing, there was nothing to be done in *Sicily*; *Nicias* on the contrary insisted positively on continuing the siege, *Lurymedon* joined with *Demosthenes*, but *Nicias* could not be prevailed on to depart from his sentiment; which was, that the *Athenians*, having once sat down before a town, ought not to rise without taking it. The true motive, however, to his obstinate behaviour was his old apprehensions of the people of *Athens*; he remembered how they banished two generals for coming from *Sicily* before, though they had all the reason in the world for what they did; he chose therefore to trust fortune, sickness, and the enemy, rather than the people of *Athens*. Yet when they received

^k THUCYD. DIODOR. ubi supra.

certain intelligence, that *Gylippus*, with a body of *Spartans* and other *Peloponnesian* troops, was arrived, *Nicias* agreed that it was fit to depart, and immediately thereupon orders were issued to the army; but just as they were ready to retire, an eclipse of the moon happened, which terrified *Nicias*, who was a very superstitious man, so much, that he would needs keep the army there seven and twenty days longer. The *Syracusians*, as soon as they were informed of this, attacked the *Athenian* camp, and provoked them to fight both by land and sea. At last a naval engagement happened, in which *Eurymedon* was slain; and though *Gylippus* and his squadron were beaten, in consequence of which the *Athenians* erected a trophy, yet they had apparently the worst of it, since the *Syracusians* and their allies immediately bent all their endeavours to shut them up in the port. *Nicias* and *Demosthenes*, seeing the miserable condition in which they were, concluded at last to draw their forces into a smaller camp nearer their ships, that they might be at hand to assist each other; and when this was done, they resolved to venture another engagement at sea, in hopes of breaking through; but in case they were so unfortunate as to fail therein, they determined with themselves to burn their vessels, and to march over land to *Catana*; according to this resolution they attacked the *Syracusians* in the mouth of the haven with wonderful bravery and resolution, the land armies being spectators on both sides. This was the most bloody battle, and by far the most obstinate which the *Athenians* had ever fought; in it they sunk and burnt many of the enemies fleet, but were themselves so much weakened, that though the generals resolved to hazard another engagement, yet the men absolutely refused to go on board, alledging, that it was impossible for them to undergo two services at once. It was thereupon determined to retire the next night by land, which if they had done, it is very probable they might have escaped; but being deceived by the industry of *Hermocrates*, they put it off till the third day after. *Nicias* with his troops led the van, *Demosthenes* brought up the rear, but the *Syracusians* pressed so hard upon them, that *Demosthenes* was forced to halt, whereupon he drew up his forces in order of battle; but, the *Syracusians* surrounding him, and many of his men beginning to desert, he thought fit to capitulate, and having stipulated that none of his men should be put to death on any pretence whatsoever, he and his troops to the number of six thousand yielded up their arms and became prisoners. The next day the *Syracusians* overtook *Nicias*, who thereupon encamped on



on an eminence; and disposed all things for making the best defence he could; *Gylippus* immediately sent to inform him that *Demosthenes* had surrendered, and advised him to do the like, which he refused; but he offered to give hostages for the repayment of the expence of the war to the *Syracusians*, if they would suffer him and his army to retire; but this was refused him, whereupon he continued his march fighting as he went, till he arrived at the river *Asinarus*, where the soldiers, throwing themselves in without any order, miserably destroyed each other, and were at the same time killed without mercy by the enemy, so that they perished by hundreds, without making any effort for their lives. *Nicias* himself surrendered to *Gylippus*. When the *Syracusians* returned to the city, the *Sicilians* pressed violently to have the generals put to death, which the *Lacedemonians*, and especially *Gylippus*, opposed as much as they were able, out of generosity with regard to *Demosthenes*, who was the most bitter enemy of the *Spartans*, and who, as we have before shewn, projected the seizing of *Pylus*; out of gratitude with respect to *Nicias*, who had ever been a friend to *Lacedemon*, and who had been the chief author of the peace. At last, if we may believe *Thucydides*, the *Syracusians* prevailed, and *Nicias* and *Demosthenes* were put to death. *Plutarch* says, they killed themselves in prison (M). Of the
 soldiers

(M) The character and services of *Nicias* are sufficiently settled in the text; here therefore we shall speak only of his misfortunes, which were derived from the fear of the people and his superstition; he carried with him into *Sicily* one *Stilbides* a philosopher, who had weaned him from many of his follies, and had possibly saved him at last, if he had lived; but happening to die sometime before the last defeat at *Syracuse*, *Nicias* had nobody about him who could account for an eclipse of the moon; for as to eclipses of the sun, *Pericles* had put their being ominous out of every body's head by an action mentioned in note K. In their last retreat, *Nicias* in the midst of his misfortunes behaved with the greatest dignity and composure; after he was taken prisoner, perceiving that the *Syracusians* continued still to massacre his soldiers, though they were absolutely in their power, he threw himself at the feet of *Gylippus*, whom he addressed in these words: *In the midst of victory, O Gylippus, suffer yourself to be touched with pity, not of me, whom an excess of misery has made famous, but of those unhappy Athenians. Consider that fortune is never so changeable as in war, and do not forget how the Athenians, whenever they got the better of the Lacedemonians, always used their victories with moderation and generosity.* The *Lacedemonian*, moved at this, raised up *Nicias*, and gave orders that the slaughter should cease, but those orders were very indifferently obeyed,

foldiers who were made prisoners, numbers were put to death, many sent to work in the quarries, and a very few returned by stealth to the sea-ports, and from thence made their escape to *Athens*. This was the end of the *Sicilian* war, wherein the *Athenians* lost not only the conquest they aimed at, or that reputation which they had so long maintained, but their fleet, their army, and their generals. When advice of these losses came to *Athens*, they were for a long time not believed; but when the thing could be no longer doubted of, they grew very

obeyed, many hundreds being killed afterwards. Authors differ exceedingly about the melancholy catastrophe of this great man. *Thucydides* says, that the *Syracusians*, against *Gylippus's* will, put *Nicias* and *Demosthenes* to death, or, as the word literally signifies, cut their throats. *Plutarch* tells us, that one *Timæus* wrote, that *Hermocrates* sent the generals word that the *Syracusians* would put them to death, and that thereupon they slew themselves. *Diodorus Siculus* is still wider from *Thucydides* than any of the rest, for he makes *Gylippus* the author of their death, against the will of the wisest of the *Syracusians*, and has inserted an oration of his to that purpose. *Justin* from *Trogus Pompeius* says, that *Demosthenes* slew himself, but that *Nicias* submitted, and was made prisoner; undoubtedly *Thucydides* deserves most credit; with his account of the matter therefore we will close this note: “*Nicias* and *Demosthenes* they killed against *Gylippus's* will. For *Gylippus* thought the victory would be very honourable, if, over and above all his other success, he could carry home both the generals of the enemy to *Lacedemon*. And it fell out, that one of them, *Demosthenes*, was their greatest enemy, for the things he had done in the island and at *Pylus*; and the other upon the same occasion their greatest friend. For *Nicias* had greatly laboured to have those prisoners which were taken in the island to be set at liberty, by persuading the *Athenians* to the peace: For which cause the *Lacedemonians* were inclined to love him. And it was principally in confidence of that, that he rendered himself to *Gylippus*. But certain *Syracusians* (as it is reported) some of them for fear (because they had been tampering with him) lest being put to the torture he might bring them into trouble, whereas they were now well enough; and others (especially the *Corinthians*) fearing he might get away, by corruption of one or other (being wealthy), and work them some mischief afresh, having persuaded their confederates to the same, killed him. For these, or for causes near unto these, was he put to death, being the man that of all the *Grecians* of my time had least deserved to be brought to so great a degree of misery (93)”.

(93) *Thucyd. lib. vii. prop. fin. Diodor. lib. xiii. Plut. in vit. Nic. Justin. lib. iv. c. 5.*

angry with those who had advised the war, and with such as had pretended to publish prophecies and oracles in favour of it; they resolved, however, to take all necessary measures for supporting the dignity of the state, to leave the administration of affairs to grave and wise persons, to live with greater frugality at home, and to treat their confederates better abroad; the expediency of these resolutions appeared suddenly, for as soon as the news of the defeat in *Sicily* was spread throughout *Greece* all such as had been confederates with *Athens* began to shew their dislike of her, while the *Lacedemonians* were preparing by all means whatsoever to carry on the war with greater vigour than before. The *Athenians* caused the promontory of *Sunium* to be fortified with all diligence, cut down vast quantities of timber, and wrought hard to equip a new fleet, with which preparations ended the nineteenth year of the *Peloponnesian* war. In the beginning of the next year, the *Chians* sought to revolt from *Athens*, and to put themselves under the protection of the *Lacedemonians*, with a view to which they sent privately ambassadors to the latter, who, in concert with their allies, promised to send such a fleet as might protect them; but this promise was easier made than kept, and besides, the *Athenians* got notice of it in the mean-time, and sent a fleet to *Chios*. The general of this fleet reproached the inhabitants of that island with their perfidy, which they stiffly denied, and indeed the greater part of the people of *Chios* knew nothing of what had been transacted with the *Lacedemonians*. But the *Athenian* general, to put the business out of dispute, insisted, that they should send their quota to join the fleet of *Athens*, whereupon they were constrained to fit out immediately seven gallies, and to send them as he directed. After this the *Athenians* had several small successes at sea, which not a little discouraged the *Peloponnesians*, who would shortly have lost all their resolution, if *Alcibiades* had not exerted his eloquence to persuade them to carry on the war. He advised them to send him with a small fleet to *Ionia*, where he promised to engage the cities to revolt from the *Athenians*, and to negotiate a league between *Sparta* and the great king, from whence he assured them, that such advantages would be derived as must effectually sink their rival. The *Lacedemonians* coming at last into his measures, he passed over, as he had proposed, into *Ionia*, and there actually effected a great part of what he had promised, which struck the *Athenians* with such a panic, that they instantly ordered a thousand talents, which had hitherto been reserved untouched, to be laid out in the service of the war, for which also they made other great preparations. As soon as they were able they sent several squadrons of ships to

sea, with directions to reduce, first of all, such places as had revolted, and then to act generally against the *Peloponnesians*; most of these squadrons were successful, so that *Lesbos*, *Ciazmenæ*, and other places, which, upon the prospect of the downfall of *Athens*, had revolted from her, were constrained to fall under her dominion again. *Alcibiades* in the mean time acquitted himself well to the *Lacedemonians*, by drawing *Tissaphernes* the king of *Persia*'s lieutenant into a league with them. The *Spartans*, however, were displeased with the terms thereof, and sought to have them altered, which gave the *Persians* much distaste. The hatred which *Agis* had conceived against *Alcibiades*, for debauching his wife, began now to produce terrible effects; for he persuaded the *Lacedemonians* to send orders to their general in *Ionia* to put the *Athenian* to death, notwithstanding all the service he had done their state. *Alcibiades*, gaining some intelligence of this, retired to *Tissaphernes*, and laying aside the *Lacedemonian*, as he had formerly done the *Athenian*, he became now a perfect *Persian*; and, by the politeness of his address, gained so much on *Tissaphernes*, who was a professed enemy to the *Greeks*, that he stiled his gardens of pleasure, after he had been at vast expence in adorning them, *Alcibiades*, by which name they went ever afterwards. When the *Athenian* perceived that *Tissaphernes* placed a mighty confidence in him, he gave him a just light into the affairs of *Greece*; he told him, it was not for the interest of the *Persian* king that *Athens* should be destroyed, but, on the contrary, that she and *Sparta* might be maintained as rivals to each other, that the *Greeks* might never have an opportunity of turning their arms upon his master; but if it should at any time be found convenient to rely upon one of them, he advised him to trust *Athens*, because she would be content with the dominion of the sea; whereas the pride of the *Spartans* would always instigate them to new conquests, and especially excite a desire of setting all the *Greek* cities at liberty. For the present he put them upon detaining a part of the pay which had been promised to the *Peloponnesian* seamen, that they might thereby be kept in dependence, as also to countermand the order given to the *Phœnician* fleet to join that of *Peloponnesus*. When *Tissaphernes* had given into these councils, *Alcibiades* privately wrote to some of the officers of the *Athenian* army which lay at *Samos*, intimating, that he was now treating with the *Persian* on their behalf, adding, that he cared not to return to his country till the democracy was abolished. The reason, offered by him to engage the *Athenians* to this proceeding, was, that the *Persian* king liked not a democracy, but would immediately trust and assist

Athens

Athens, if the government was put into the hands of a few, *Phrynicus* the *Athenian* general, having a great antipathy to *Alcibiades*, and dreading his return, resolved to let nothing slip which might prevent it ; he therefore not only gave his opinion against the proposition which *Alcibiades* had made, but also discovered it to *Astyochus* who commanded the *Lacedemonian* troops ; this man, being brought over to the interest of *Tissaphernes*, revealed *Phrynicus*'s treachery ; *Alcibiades* upon this wrote again to his correspondents at *Samos*, charging their general with treachery, and betraying his country. *Phrynicus*, when he had information of this, wrote a second time to *Astyochus*, reproaching him with betraying him and discovering what he had formerly acquainted him with in confidence, and offered him notwithstanding to betray the army he commanded at *Samos*, which lay in an open town, to the *Lacedemonians* ; which piece of intelligence *Astyochus* instantly revealed to *Alcibiades*. *Phrynicus* being aware of this, told his soldiers, that the *Lacedemonians* were about to attack them by land and sea, and that therefore they should throw up with all diligence a strong intrenchment round the town to defend themselves, which immediately they did ; so that, when *Alcibiades* wrote again concerning *Phrynicus*'s second treachery, his letters were disbelieved, because the general had taken such care for their safety. Such were the chieftains of *Greece* in these times ; how unlike those who broke the power of *Persia*, and abandoned their country rather than live in it in a state of dependance ? The *Athenians*, always prone to novelty, on the arrival of *Pisander* and the other deputies from the army, who brought with them the propositions of *Alcibiades*, dissolved the democracy, in defence of which they had so often and bravely fought, or rather resolved to dissolve it, for it stood yet a small time. The issue of their present debates was, that *Pisander* with ten deputies should return and treat with *Alcibiades* and *Tissaphernes*, that it might be known on what terms the king of *Persia*'s friendship might be depended on ; and in case they were reasonable to declare, that the *Athenians* would vest the sovereignty in the hands of a few. But before their arrival *Alcibiades* discovered, that *Tissaphernes* did not incline to help the *Athenians* at present on any terms, because they had been lately successful, and *Alcibiades* himself had taught him to help always the weaker party ; when *Alcibiades* perceived this, he set up such high demands in the name of the *Persian*, that the *Athenians* themselves broke off the treaty, whereby he preserved both their friendship and that of *Tissaphernes*. When *Pisander* and his colleagues came to the army at *Samos*, they engaged them to favour the scheme for the alteration

teration of government, and procured a commission to themselves to overturn all the democratic governments that were under the dominion of *Athens*. When they came back to the city, they found their confederates had almost done their work without them, partly by cajoling the people, and partly by privately taking off, or in plain terms assassinating, such as were staunch friends to the people. It was at first proposed, that only the dregs of the people should lose their authority; which was to be vested in five thousand of the most wealthy, who were for the future to be reputed the people; but when *Pisander* and his associates found the strength of their party, they determined to carry matters further, and to erect an oligarchy. In the mean time *Oropus*, a strong city on the borders of *Bœotia*, revolted from the *Athenians*, whereby all *Eubœa* was in danger, the inhabitants thereof being desirous to revolt, and the disturbances at *Athens* giving them hopes to do it with impunity. In the mean time the twentieth year ended of the *Peloponnesian* war ^k.

When *Pisander* and his associates first came from the army, they accused *Phrynicus* to the *Athenians*, and procured him to be recalled; he was a man of consummate parts and prudence, and, according to *Thucydides*, as honest as the iniquities of the times would permit. On his return, finding the temper of the people, he became an enemy to democracy, in hopes that, if he had a hand in settling an oligarchy, *Alcibiades* would be afraid to trust it; there was likewise at *Athens* one *Antiphon*, a man of such mighty parts and eloquence, that the people were afraid of him to such a degree, that he was constrained to avoid speaking in public, and to manage his concerns by other hands; this man devised a new frame of government, and having communicated it to *Pisander*, they contrived together a method whereby to establish it. With this view the latter, who was become very popular, proposed, that ten men should be elected with full power to frame, model, and alter laws; this being done, these ten appointed an assembly of the people at *Colonus*, a place without the city. When they came together there, instead of proposing to them a body of laws, they offered them only this one, *That every Athenian might speak his mind freely*, i. e. *without danger from any of the laws*; which being assented to, *Pisander* produced his scheme, which was, that the old form of government should be dissolved, and that five *Prytanes* might be elected; that these five should choose a hundred; that each of the hun-

^k *THUCYD.* lib. vii. viii. *DIODOR.* lib. xiii. *PLUT.* in vit. Nic.
^l *Alcibiad.* *CORN. NEPOS*, vit. *Alcibiad.*

dred should choose three ; that the four hundred thus elected should become a senate with supreme power, and should consult the five thousand only, when and on such matters as they thought fit. Here was an end of the old government of *Athens*, which was grown into dislike with the people, who were notwithstanding not over-fond of the new ; but those who were for it, being such as were men of great parts, found means to establish it by force ; for when the people were gone out of the city to their ordinary employments, the four hundred, having each a dagger concealed under his vest, attended by a guard of a hundred and twenty men, entered suddenly into the senate-house, dissolved the old senate, paid them their salary, and turned them out, which once effected, the commons were constrained to submit, not knowing what to do, or to whom to apply. The new senate chose *Prytanes*, or *presidents*, out of their own body, and began to establish themselves after the mode of most new governments, by blood, bonds, and banishment ; yet these severities, though they were illegal, were not excessive, and, as soon as their enemies were removed, the four hundred ruled gently enough. They sent ambassadors to *Agis*, who lay with the *Lacedemonian* army at *Decelea*, to acquaint him that they were ready to treat of a peace, and that the *Spartans* might better rely on them than on the democracy ; but *Agis* was of another opinion, he could not imagine, that the *Athenians*, who had stickled so much for democracy, would submit patiently to an oligarchy, established rather through the arts of a few, than according to the general inclination of the citizens ; he therefore gave no answer to the ambassadors sent by the four hundred, but having signified his thoughts of the matter to the *Lacedemonians*, procured a great recruit to be sent him into *Attica*. On the arrival of these succours, he marched boldly to *Athens*, not at all questioning, but that the enemies of the oligarchy would raise a sedition on his approach, and either subvert the government, or so weaken and distract the city, that the *Lacedemonians* might easily take it ; but he was quickly convinced of his mistake, for the people of *Athens*, when he approached their walls, and sent some advance-parties to skirmish with them, attacked and routed those parties, and appeared afterwards before their city with such order and intrepidity, that *Agis*, after receiving some loss, was constrained to retire again to his old post, from whence he sent back the last forces he received to *Lacedemon*. After this the four hundred sent ambassadors to him again, concerning whose negotiations we can say nothing, except that they were treated with greater civility than before. The four hundred, knowing well that the
army

army at *Samos* were generally inclined to a democracy, sent ten deputies thither to appease them, by persuading them, that the government, now subsisting at *Athens*, was only the best sort of democracy, the dernier resort not being in the four hundred, but in the five thousand, a larger number than had ever assembled while the power was in the people; but these deputies were hardly gone from *Athens* before deputies of the army arrived there, signifying, that they had restored the democracy at *Samos*, and that they were resolved to adhere to that form of government, for which the four hundred sent some of these deputies to prison; but one *Carias* who came from the army made his escape and got thither again, making a frightful report of the state of things at *Athens*; upon which a sedition ensued, that might have been very fatal to the state; but moderate men interposing, the generals *Thrasybulus* and *Thrasyllus* contented themselves with taking an oath of all the soldiers, to do their utmost to restore the power to the people, to fight against the *Peloponnesians* and other enemies of *Athens*, and never to yield obedience to, or have any correspondence with the four hundred. They greatly encouraged their forces to be steady in the measures they had taken, by representing to them, that they had not deserted their city, but their city them; that their strength was superior to any that could be sent against them by the four hundred, and that questionless on the public faith *Alcibiades* would come to them, and procure them aid from *Tissaphernes* and the king. These discourses had their effect, the soldiers came unanimously into all that was required of them, chose new officers that might be depended on, and when their generals required it, went and offered battle to the *Peloponnesians*. At the request of *Thrasybulus* they recalled *Alcibiades*, who, on his arrival, made a most eloquent speech to the army, shewing them the true source of his misfortunes, the injustice of their countrymen, and the great danger of the state. Above all things he magnified the power and good will of *Tissaphernes*, though he knew he had little authority for it, yet he could not be said to deceive his countrymen, because by this very method he compelled *Tissaphernes* to become their friend, instilling such a spirit of jealousy into the *Peloponnesians*, as made them no longer able to treat that lord either with confidence or civility. The soldiers, bewitched by his fine words, created him general with full power; and conceiving that with him they carried victory along with them, talked of nothing but sailing directly to *Athens*, and restoring the antient form of government there. *Alcibiades* opposed this extravagant measure; he told the soldiers, that, since they had chosen him their general, he must return

to *Tissaphernes* in order to dispose things for the making a speedy end of the war. The army came readily into this, as they did into every thing he desired of them, and he departed accordingly; when he came to *Tissaphernes*, he gave him to understand, that matters were now quite changed, and that it was in the power of the *Athenians* to be either great friends, or very troublesome enemies, to the subjects of the king, and that, whether they should be either one or the other, depended entirely on his management. Thus he made himself formidable to the *Persians* by boasting of the *Athenian* power, and necessary to the *Athenians* by the display of his interest with the *Persians*. As to the *Peloponnesians*, their affairs went wrong every-where, and all through the procurement of *Alcibiades*: their army mutinied and forced their general to fly to a sanctuary; *Tissaphernes* withheld their pay and deluded them with promises of a fleet; they on the other hand distrusted *Tissaphernes*, and neither knew what measures to take, nor whom to trust. When *Alcibiades* came back to the *Athenian* army, he disposed them to hear reason, and not only to hear it, but to act according to it. The deputies from *Athens* had stayed all this while at *Delos*, being afraid of going to the army, as indeed they well might, the soldiers having passed a vote to put them to death. On the motion of *Alcibiades*, however, they were allowed to come and deliver their message; but no sooner had they done this, than the army cried out as vehemently as ever, that they would have no intercourse with the tyrants, but sail to *Athens* and restore the government; but *Alcibiades* still interposed, he shewed, that, if such a course was taken, all *Ionia* and the *Hellespont* would be immediately lost, so that if they pretended to be true patriots, they must remain where they were and defend the dominions of the state. To the deputies he gave this answer, that they should immediately return to *Athens*, and acquaint the four hundred, that they were commanded to resign their power, and to restore the senate they had ejected; that as to the five thousand, they might retain their authority, provided they used it with moderation, and that they should remember to look well to the concerns of their country at home, since, if they betrayed *Attica*, or the army deserted *Athens*, a reconciliation would not restore the mischiefs such wrong steps might create. On the return of these deputies to *Athens*, all things were in confusion, few regarding the public, almost all anxious for their particular interest. *Phrynicus*, knowing upon what terms he stood with *Alcibiades*, laboured to maintain the government in being; while others endeavoured all they could to gratify the

army. The former were the stronger party, and that they might make a proper use of their strength, they dispatched away ambassadors to *Sparta*, desiring peace upon any terms ; they likewise ordered the *Piræus* to be fortified towards the sea : Upon which *Theramenes*, who was at the head of the other party, cried out, that they were about to betray the city to the enemy, which was rendered the more probable, by the coming of a fleet of forty *Peloponnesian* ships upon the coast ; nor was he much in the wrong, for the four hundred sought first to maintain themselves in the sovereignty they had acquired ; but if that could not be done, to preserve at least the city under their dominion ; and in case that likewise failed, to make a composition for themselves by giving it up to the *Peloponnesians* ; for at all events they were resolved to prevent a popular government from being restored, not doubting, that, if once that was done, they should fall victims. *Phrynicius*, who was sent at the head of the embassy to *Sparta*, being able to effect nothing, returned, and on his return was stabbed in the forum ; after which *Theramenes* and his party, growing bolder, seized the chiefs of the four hundred, upon which a tumult ensued, which had like to have proved fatal to the city, had not *Thucydides* the *Pharjalian* interposed, and engaged the people to be quiet. The soldiers, however, insisted on demolishing the new works in the port, which for the sake of safety was permitted. The next day the four hundred, though in great fear, assembled in the senate-house, and sent some of the members to appease the people, promising to set all things right, and to make every thing easy ; in order to which, they proposed that they should be allowed to choose five thousand men, who should elect four hundred by turns to govern the state, beseeching their countrymen not to destroy themselves by giving up the city to the enemy. With much ado an agreement was made, that, at a day certain, a general assembly should be convoked for settling the state, but when that day came and the assembly was convened, news was brought, that the *Lacedemonian* fleet steered directly for *Salamis*, which put all things in confusion again ; for instead of deliberating upon the matter they came about, they ran in crowds down to the port, where they perceived that the fleet bore away for *Eubæa*, whither immediately a fleet from *Athens* was sent under the command of *Thymochares* ; but his fleet had little success, for being attacked by the *Peloponnesians* without, and betrayed by the *Eubæians* on shore, they were miserably defeated, twenty two ships out of thirty six being taken, most of the others destroyed, and all *Eubæa*, except *Orcus*, revolting. When this news came to *Athens*, the wise and the unwise gave up all things

things for lost, the defeat at *Sicily* seeming a small thing to this, because they had now neither fleet nor army, and had lost *Eubæa*, from whence the city received greater supplies than from *Attica* itself; certain it is, that if the *Spartans* had known their own strength, they would have sailed directly to *Athens* and put an end to the war; but being always slow, and especially so in naval affairs, they gave the *Athenians* time, which of all things they wanted most: when they had gained this, they wrought so hard at their gallies, that in a short space they equipped a fleet of twenty sail; the power of the four hundred they abolished by law, conferred the sovereignty on the five thousand, and acted in all other respects, especially in recalling *Alcibiades*, with such prudence, moderation and firmness, that *Thucydides* thinks the commonwealth never enjoyed so happy a temperature as at this time. *Pisander* and the rest of the vehement sticklers for *Oligarchy* withdrew unheeded to the enemy. But it is now time to return to the army and fleet at *Samos*, and to the view of those things which were performed in *Ionia*. *Tissaphernes* going to *Aspendus*, where the *Phœnician* fleet lay, gave out, that he would comply exactly with all the promises he had made to the *Peloponnesians*. *Alcibiades*, however, persuaded the *Athenians* that he meant nothing less, and either with a view to make this probable to them, or that he might indeed bring it to pass, sailed with thirteen gallies to *Aspendus*, where he held frequent conferences with the *Persian* lieutenant, embroiling him thereby so effectually, with the *Peloponnesians*, and they with him, that he destroyed all their affairs. In his absence an engagement happened between the *Peloponnesian* fleet under the command of *Mindarus*, which consisted of seventy three sail, and that of *Athens* under the command of *Thrasybulus*, consisting only of fifty five; at first, the *Peloponnesians* had the advantage, sinking some of the *Athenian* ships, and running others on shoar; but pursuing the advantage too eagerly, and breaking their line, the *Athenians* supplied by their great skill in maritime affairs their defect in force, and entirely defeated the *Peloponnesians*, taking twenty one of their ships; it is true, they lost fifteen of their own, but a victory at this time, though dear bought, was a prodigious advantage, it raised the hopes of the *Athenians*, gave new life to their affairs, and saved all *Ionia* and the *Hell-spont*. A few days afterwards the *Athenians* took eight gallies coming from *Byzantium*, which had revolted, presently after they reduced that city, and grievously fined its inhabitants for their disobedience. *Alcibiades*, returning with his thirteen gallies, took nine more from the fleet, with which squadron he constrained the *Halicarnassians*

carnasseans to pay a large sum of money, and fortified *Cos*. The news of these advantages coming to *Athens* mightily enlivened the people, and inspired them with hopes of recovering *Eubæa*, and putting an honourable end to the war. These events fell out in the summer of the twenty first year of the war, and here we take leave of our old and sure guide *Thucydides*, who concludes his history at this point of time. The history of the *Peloponnesian* war was continued by *Theopompus* and *Xenophon*, the work of the former comprehended the events falling out in the next seventeen years, that of the latter the next twenty eight. *Theopompus*'s writings are swallowed up by time, but it may be a great part of their contents are preserved by *Diodorus Siculus*. The *Grecian* history of *Xenophon* remains still in our hands; from these materials therefore, with the assistance of *Plutarch*'s writings, we shall continue our memoirs of the *Athenian* affairs ¹.

Year of
the Flood,
2588.
Before
Christ,
411.



Doricus, admiral of the *Italian* gallies, passing to the assistance of the *Lacedemonians* in the *Hellepont*, found the *Athenians* in his way at *Sestos*, whereupon he fled to *Dardanum*, and landing his men endeavoured from the shoar to defend his ships, which he caused to be hal'd on the beach. The *Athenian* fleet, however, attack'd him, and were upon the very point of making themselves masters of all his gallies, when *Mindarus* the *Peloponnesian* admiral came to his assistance with a navy of eighty four sail. The *Athenians* thereupon relinquished their first enterprize, and prepared for a general engagement, *Thrasylbulus* commanding the right wing, and *Thrasyllus* the left. *Mindarus* with his *Lacedemonian* ships had the right in the *Peloponnesian* fleet, and *Doneus* with the *Syracusan* gallies were in the left, *Pharnabazus* with a *Persian* army lay hard by on the shoar, on whose assistance the *Peloponnesians* knew they might depend. The *Athenians*, notwithstanding these disadvantages, fought with great resolution, and the battle was yet very dubious, when a fleet of twenty sail appeared in view; neither party knew to whom they belonged, and therefore both quickened their endeavours to end the fight before their arrival; when they drew near, the admiral's gally hoisted a purple flag, which was known by all to belong to *Alcibiades*. The *Peloponnesian* fleet immediately broke and fled, the *Athenians* took ten ships, and, if a mighty tempest had not arisen, would have taken many more. *Mindarus* was constrained to run his ships into any port, and marched with his men to join *Pharnabazus*, who effectually

¹ THUCYD. lib. viii. prop. fin. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xiii. PLUTARCH. vit. Alcibiad. JUSTIN. lib. 5.

protected them from the *Athenians*. The *Eubœans* having almost generally deserted the *Athenians*, the *Bœotians* proposed to them the joining of their country, by an artificial isthmus, to the continent, to which they assented, and herein they succeeded in spite of the opposition given them by the *Athenians*, and the rapidity of the *Euripus*, i. e. the arm of the sea they were to fill up. *Theramenes* the *Athenian* admiral, finding it impossible to hinder this design from taking effect, sailed away to other places, particularly to *Paros*, reduced them again under the *Athenian* government, and levied exorbitant fines upon such as, he conceived, had willingly deserted him; after which he sailed to join the grand fleet under the command of *Thrasylbulus*; some short time after this conjunction, advice came, that *Mindarus* by the assistance of *Pharnabazus* had taken *Cyzicum* by storm, upon which it was resolved to sail directly thither and fight them. When therefore the *Athenian* fleet had coasted to *Chersonesus*, and were arrived at *Proconnesus*, they anchored there all night, and having landed their men under the command of *Chares*, directed him to march strait to *Cyzicum*; as to the fleet they divided it into three squadrons, the first led by *Alcibiades*, the second by *Theramenes*, and the third by *Thrasylbulus*; *Alcibiades* with his squadron sailed in sight of the *Peloponnesian* fleet, upon which *Mindarus*, having with him eighty sail, put to sea to give him battle. *Alcibiades*, when the enemy drew near, broke and fled, whereupon the *Peloponnesians* pursued him with great joy, when on a sudden *Alcibiades* made a signal for a new line. The *Peloponnesians*, looking about them, saw the squadrons of *Theramenes* and *Thrasylbulus*, of whom they had no intelligence, between them and the shoar; upon this, altering their course, they endeavoured to get into *Cleros*, a port near *Pharnabazus*'s camp; *Alcibiades* pursued them thither, sinking and taking their ships all the way; when they came to the shoar, however, *Pharnabazus* sent them such aid, that the *Athenians* suffered in their turns. *Thrasylbulus* then landed his men to their assistance, giving *Theramenes* orders to land also to join *Chares*, and to come with all speed to their aid. *Alcibiades* dealt with *Mindarus* and his *Lacedemonians*, *Thrasylbulus* fought bravely against the rest of the *Peloponnesians* and their *Persian* succours, notwithstanding they were much out-numbered and were at last surrounded. In that instant *Theramenes* and *Chares* came in with their foot; the battle was long and obstinately fought, till *Mindarus* being killed, the *Persians*, *Peloponnesians*, and *Lacedemonians* all fled; and thus to his immortal glory *Alcibiades* gained a victory at sea, and another at land on the same day, took the enemy's whole fleet, and more spoil than his and the remains of it could carry away. When the news of this

this success reached *Athens*, the people were ready to run distracted; they immediately levied an army of a thousand foot and three hundred horse, and sent thirty galleys to join *Alcibiades*, from whom, as he was now master of the sea, they expected all things. The *Lacedæmonians* conceiving rightly of this war, that it would end in the destruction either of the one state or other, sent *Endius* their ambassador to *Athens* to propose a peace. This minister delivered himself to the assembly of the people, after the *Laconic* manner, in a short, plain, and excellent speech, wherein he shewed, that *Athens* had suffered, and was like to suffer, more than *Sparta* from this war, but inasmuch as the evils occasioned by war were hateful to all good men, he said the *Spartans* desired to free both themselves and their neighbours, from labouring any longer under them, and that on this account only they had sent him to treat of peace. The people at first were inclined to relish what he said, but one *Cleophon*, an orator, a man of mean birth, and formerly a slave, but who had surreptitiously got his name inserted in the roll of citizens, by a petulant harangue put all thoughts of peace out of their heads, and engaged them to send back *Endius* without an answer. This was the last step they had to take for perfecting their ruin, for never afterwards were they in any condition to refuse peace again, and indeed they did it now merely from the hopes they had, that *Alcibiades* would for ever conquer, and fortune, who had hitherto been so unsteady, fix herself now to their side ^m.

In the beginning of the next year, *Thrasybulus*, having repulsed *Agis* king of *Sparta* who led an army to the gates of *Athens*, sailed with a great fleet, and a strong body of land forces on board, to *Ephesus*, which he attacked, but was forced to retreat; he went afterwards to *Lesbos* and other places, where he had better success. The *Spartans*, in the mean time perceiving that the war was transferred far from *Greece*, attacked *Pylus* by sea and land, whereupon the *Athenians* sent a squadron under the command of *Anytus*, but he finding the wind directly against him, after he had been some days at sea, returned directly to *Athens*; upon which the people, according to their usual custom, condemned him to die, which sentence, however, he commuted by paying a vast sum of money, being the first who reversed a judgment in that manner. In the mean time the garrison of *Pylus*, after having made an obdurate defence, rendered upon terms; and

^m XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. i. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xiii. PLUT. in vita Alcibiad. JUVEN. lib. v. CORN. NEPOS, in vita Alcibiad.

thus the *Lacedemonians* pulled this thorn out of their side, after it had vexed them fifteen years. On the heels of this followed another misfortune, the *Megarians* surprised *Nisæa*, which so enraged the *Athenians*, that they immediately sent an army into that country, though it could be of no use; the *Megarians*, by the assistance of the *Lacedemonians*, and some troops from *Sicily*, ventured a battle, wherein they were most shamefully beaten, the *Athenians* killing great numbers of them, and committing horrid devastations in their country. In the mean time *Alcibiades*, *Thrasybulus*, and *Theramenes*, did great things in the *Hellepont* and *Thrace*; at last they besieged *Byzantium*, then well fortified, and having in it a *Lacedemonian* garison under the command of *Glearchus*; some of its inhabitants, however, betrayed it, and let in *Alcibiades* and his army; the garison, however, and such of the *Byzantines* as adhered to them, made so gallant a resistance, that the *Athenians* were on the point of being driven out; when *Alcibiades* saw, he caused proclamation to be made, that the *Byzantines* should be safe in their persons and effects; whereupon they turned out the garison, which were all put to the sword, except five hundred who were sent prisoners to *Athens*. This done, *Alcibiades* received *Byzantium* into favourⁿ.

In the beginning of the next year, *Alcibiades* and *Theramenes* returned in triumph to *Athens*, they brought with them a fleet of two hundred ships, and such a load of spoils as had never been seen in *Athens* since the *Persian* war. The people left their city destitute, that they might crowd to the port to behold *Alcibiades* as he landed; old and young blessed him as he went by, and the next day when he made an harangue in the assembly, they directed the record of his banishment to be thrown into the sea, ordered the *Eumolpides* to absolve him from the curses he lay under, created him general with absolute power, and in fine endeavoured to cover him with as many favours as he had conferred benefits on them. The sweetness of his temper, his complacence towards all degrees of people, and the care he took of applying the immense riches he brought to the discharge of taxes, made the best of the *Athenians* ready to own that he deserved the honours that were paid to him; neither did he long indulge to himself the enjoyment of his glory, but soon put to sea with a fleet of a hundred ships, in order to do further service to his country. He was scarce departed when *Agis* king of *Sparta* made a bold

ⁿ XENOPHON. DIODOR. PLUT. CORN. NEPOS, JUSTIN. ubi supra.

attempt upon *Athens*; he came with an army of twenty eight thousand men, in the night, to the very walls, slew the watch, and gained a part of the walls. The *Athenians*, greatly amazed, ran to arms, and in the morning sent out a body of horse, equal to the cavalry of the *Peloponnesian* army; they fought under the walls and in the fight both of the *Lacedemonians* and the *Athenians*; at last the *Athenians* prevailed, and drove the *Peloponnesian* cavalry back on their foot, whereupon *Agis* retired, finding it impossible to prevail against the city. *Alcibiades* in the mean time, leaving part of his fleet under the command of *Antiochus* his pilot, with strict orders to do nothing till his return, sailed into the *Hellepont*, to assist some of the cities which yet stood firm to the *Athenians*. When he was gone, *Antiochus* little regarding his orders, went and provoked *Lysander* the *Lacedemonian* admiral to fight, which he, finding *Alcibiades* was absent, very readily did. In this engagement the *Athenians* were beat, losing fifteen ships, with *Antiochus* their commander. On the news of this defeat *Alcibiades* returned, and would have provoked *Lysander* to a second battle, but that prudent general would not hazard the glory he had acquired. In the mean time, the *Athenians* being persuaded that this disgrace was owing to the indolence and luxury of *Alcibiades*, and listening also to certain stories they were told, that he corresponded with *Pharnabazus*, and the *Lacedemonians*, they instantly stripped him of his command, naming ten new generals, among whom were *Conon*, *Thrasybulus*, and *Pericles*, the son of the famous *Pericles*. *Conon* having demanded the fleet from *Alcibiades*, he readily yielded up his command, but refused to return to *Athens*. He then with his own ship passed over into *Thrace*, built a castle for his own security, and erected a little principality in the sight of his many and potent enemies.

THE next year *Conon* the *Athenian* general engaged *Calliocratidas* the successor of *Lysander* in a sea-fight, wherein he is said to have shewn greater conduct than any admiral before him had done, in the disposition of his fleet; however, he was worsted, lost thirty of his ships, and was closely besieged in *Mitylene*. News of this coming to *Athens*, the people were in great confusion; they admitted all sorts of persons to the freedom of their city, who would assist them in this war, and with much ado equipped a great number of ships, which were sent away to *Samos*, where their fleet

° THUCYD. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vita Alcibiad. CORN. NEP. in vita eiusd. JUSTIN. lib. 5.

rendezvoufed,

rendezvoused, with strict orders to relieve *Conon* at any rate. In obedience to these commands, the whole fleet, consisting of a hundred and fifty sail, bore away from *Samos*: *Gallacratidas*, receiving advice thereof, and leaving a force sufficient to block up the city, sailed with a hundred and fifty ships to *Malea*, a promontory of *Lesbos*. The same night that he arrived there, the *Athenian* fleet came to *Arginusæ*, a place over against *Lesbos*. In the morning a general engagement ensued, which was fought with great obstinacy, till at last, the *Lacedemonian* admiral being sunk, the *Athenians* gained a great victory, with the loss, however, of nineteen of their own ships with most of the men in them; but the *Peloponnesians* lost seventy nine. It might have been expected, that the people of *Athens* would have been extremely grateful to those generals, who had gained them this victory, but the very contrary happened, for *Theramenes* having accused his colleagues of having taken no care to save the dying, or to pay the last rites to the dead, they were immediately recalled, two of them, not caring to trust the people, fled, but six of them returned home and stood their trial, alledging that they were hindered by a tempest from doing what they were now accused of neglecting; but *Theramenes* making a most laboured and pathetic oration against them, in which he now and then stopped, that the cries of those who lamented the dead might be heard, and producing in the end a man who pretended to have escaped in a meal-tub, and who deposed that the people when drowning desired, that the *Athenians* would revenge them on their generals, the people against law and reason condemned them all to death. *Socrates* the philosopher was at that time one of the prytanes, and resolutely refused to do his office. *Diomedon*, one of those who were condemned, rising up, desired to be heard, whereupon silence being made, he spoke thus, *We all of us wish, ye men of Athens, and wish it from our hearts, that the sentence pronounced against us, may issue in the prosperity and happiness of this city; but since we are prevented from paying our vows for the victory, it is but just and fit that you return thanks to providence for it.* They were then all haled to execution, and suffered like brave men, with great resolution, calmness, and fortitude; their names are, *Diomedon*, *Thrasyllus*, *Calliades*, *Lyfias*, *Aristocrates*, and *Pericles*, the only son of the famous *Pericles*. A little while after, the madness of the people turned the other way, *Cleophon* the demagogue, who had been very busy in this matter, was killed in a sedition, upon which the rest who had stirred in that affair fled, but *Calixe-*

nus, who pronounced the sentence, returned afterwards, and being hated by all men was famished to death^P.

THE next year, the *Athenian* fleet assembled at *Samos* under the command of *Conon*, while *Lyfander* took the command of what fleet the *Peloponnesians* had left; he being unable to fight with so small a force, and having too great a one to lie idle, sailed first to *Thasus* which he took, afterwards he sailed to the coast of *Attica*, where being able to do nothing of great moment, he returned to his old station, and some time afterwards besieged and took *Lampsacus*. The *Athenians* hearing of this, sailed under the command of *Conon* and *Philocles* with a fleet of a hundred and eighty ships; first to *Sestos*, and then to the river *Ægos* where *Lyfander* lay, daring him to fight, which he, being much inferior in strength, refused. While they remained here, the *Athenians* grew idle and careless, and having a camp on shoar spent their time in revelling and drunkenness. *Alcibiades*, residing in this neighbourhood, could not remain an unconcerned spectator; he came therefore to the officers, and earnestly besought them to be more vigilant. He told them, that *Lyfander* was both a wise and a fortunate general, and that it became them to take care of him. They answered, that they wondered at his assurance, who was an exile and vagabond, to come and give laws to them, threatening, if he came any more, to seize him and send him to *Athens*; they afterwards concluded among themselves what they should do with the *Peloponnesians*, when they were taken prisoners, and resolved, at the motion of *Philocles* their general, to cut off their right hands, or, as *Plutarch* says, their right thumbs, that they might never be able to hold a spear, but tug at an oar. *Adiamantus*, one of their officers, could not help saying, that such idle discourse was unworthy of *Athenians*; for which they hated him. Some days after, *Lyfander*, taking his opportunity, fell upon them, while they lay in disorder, both by sea and land, and gained one of the most complete victories recorded in history; *Conon* with eight gallies only escaping to *Cyprus*. Afterwards returning to *Lampsacus*, *Lyfander* put *Philocles* and three thousand captives, with all their officers except *Adiamantus*, to death, by the unanimous judgment of all the confederates. This execution over, he reduced all the cities which had been under the *Athenian* power, dismissing all their garisons with great civility; that going home to *Athens*, the city might be full of people, and empty of bread, whenever he came to besiege it, which soon after he

^P XENOPHON. DIODOR. PLUT. CORN. NEPOS. JUSTIN. ubi supra.

did by sea; while *Agis* king of *Sparta* came with a great land-army before it. For a long time the *Athenians* defended themselves, without so much as demanding peace. At last, being fore pressed by famine, they endeavoured to treat with *Agis*, but he referred them to *Sparta*; thither then they sent deputies, who offered to give up all things but their city and port. The *Lacedemonians*, however, would listen to nothing, unless their walls were demolished. On the return of the ambassadors, *Archistratus* proposed complying with those terms to the assembly, for which he was imprisoned, many preferring death to slavery: at length *Theramenes* undertook to treat with *Lyfander*, who after a long attendance referred him to *Sparta*, whither with some other deputies he was presently sent. On their arrival they found the council of the confederates assembled, wherein all gave their votes for the utter destruction of *Athens*, excepting only the *Spartans*, who declared, they would not consent to the ruin of that city, which had so well deserved of *Greece*. On the return of *Theramenes* peace was concluded upon these terms, that the long walls and the fortifications of the port should be demolished. That they should deliver up all their ships except twelve, receive all they had banished, and follow the fortune of the *Lacedemonians*. *Lyfander* caused the walls to be pulled down, all the music in his army playing, on that very day of the year on which they had beat the *Persians* at *Salamis*. He likewise established an oligarchy, expressly against the will of the people; and thus the ruin of *Athens* ended in the twenty seventh year of the *Peloponnesian* war ¹.

As soon as *Lyfander* had demolished the long walls and the fortifications of the *Piræus*, he constituted a council of thirty, with power, as was pretended, to make laws, but in truth to subjugate the state. These are the persons so famous in history under the title of the thirty tyrants; they were all the creatures of *Lyfander*, mere implements of power, who, as they derived their rise from conquest, and the law of the sword, exercised their offices in a suitable manner; that is, with the highest testimonies of pride, insolence, and cruelty. Instead of making laws, they governed without them, appointed a senate and magistrates at their will, and, that they might do all things without danger of controul, they sent for a garrison from *Lacedæmon*, which was accordingly granted them, under the command of *Callidius*, upon their promise to pay the soldiers regularly. One of the first steps they took was to

¹ XENOPHON. *Hellen.* lib. ii. DIODOR. lib. xiv. PLUT. in vit. *Lyfander*: CORNELIUS NEPOS, in vit. *Ejusd.* JUSTIN. lib. xv.

punish all informers, who by false accusations had taken off honest men and disturbed the state ; this, though severe, was popular ; but when, through flattery and bribes, they had wholly drawn over *Callidius* to their party, they suffered bad men to live in quiet, and turned their rage against the good. *Critias* and *Theramenes* were at the head of the thirty, men of the greatest power and abilities in *Athens* ; the former was ambitious and cruel without measure, the latter retained some bowels for his country ; the former pushed on all the bloody schemes framed by his confederates, and carried into execution many of his own ; the latter always opposed them, at first with moderation, at last with vehemence. He said, that power was given them to rule, and not to spoil, the commonwealth, and that it became them to act like shepherds, not like wolves, and that they ought to beware of rendering themselves at once odious and ridiculous, by attempting to domineer over all, being such a handful of men as they were. The rest, disliking much the former part of his discourse, caught hold of the latter, and immediately chose out three thousand whom they made the Representatives of the people, and to whom they granted this notable privilege, that none of them should be put to death, but by judgment of the senate, thereby openly assuming a power of putting any other *Athenian* citizen to death by their own authority. A glorious use they made of this new-assumed privilege, for as many as they conjectured to be no friends to the government in general, or to any of themselves in particular, they put to death, without cause, and without mercy. *Theramenes* openly opposing this, and absolutely refusing to concur in such measures, *Critias* accused him to the senate, as a man of unsteady principles, sometimes for the people, sometimes against them, always for new things and state revolutions. *Theramenes* owned, that he had sometimes changed his measures, but alledged, that he had always done it to serve the people ; he said, that it was solely with this view that he made the peace with *Sparta*, and accepted the office of one of the thirty ; that he had never opposed their measures while they cut off the wicked, but when they began to destroy men of fortune and family, then he owned he had differed with them, which he conceived to be no crime against the state. While *Theramenes* was speaking, *Critias* withdrew, perceiving that the senate were thoroughly convinced of the truth of what *Theramenes* had said ; but he quickly returned with a guard, crying out that he had struck *Theramenes*'s name out of the list of the three thousand, that the senate had therefore no longer cognizance of the cause, which the thirty had already judged, and condemned him to death.

Theramenes,

Theramenes, perceiving that they intended to seize him, fled to the altar, which was in the midst of the senate-house, and laying his hands thereon said; *I do not seek refuge here, because I expect to escape death, or desire it, but that tearing me from the altar, the impious authors of my murder may interest the gods in bringing them to speedy judgment, and thereby restore freedom to my country*: the guards then haled him from the altar, and carried him to the place of execution, where he drank the poison with undaunted courage, putting the people in mind with his last breath, that as they struck his name out of the three thousand, they might strike any of theirs. His death was followed by a train of murders, so that in a short time sixty of the worthiest and most eminent citizens of *Athens* fell by the cruelty of the thirty. Amongst these the most pitied was *Niceratus* the son of *Nicias*, a man universally beloved for his goodness, and universally admired for his virtues. As for the *Spartans*, they, losing their former generosity, were extremely pleased with these things, and by a public decree commanded, that such as fled from the thirty tyrants should be carried back bound to *Athens*; which extraordinary proceeding frightened all *Greece*; but the *Argives* and *Thebans* only had the courage to oppose it; the former received the *Athenian* exiles with humanity and kindness, the latter punished with a mulct such of their citizens as did not rise and rescue the *Athenian* prisoners, who, in pursuance of the *Lacedemonian* decree, were carried bound through their territories^r.

Thrasybulus, and such as with him had taken shelter in the *Theban* territory, resolved to hazard something, rather than remain perpetual exiles from their country; and though he had but thirty men on whom he could depend, yet considering the victories he had heretofore obtained in the cause of his country, he made an irruption into *Attica*, where he seized *Phyla*, a castle at a very small distance from *Athens*, where in a very short space his forces were augmented to seven hundred men; and though the tyrants made use of the *Spartan* garison, in their endeavours to reduce him and his party, yet *Thrasybulus* prevailed in various skirmishes, and at last constrained them to break up the blockade of *Phyla*, which they had formed. The thirty and their party conceiving it very advantageous for them to have the possession of *Eleusina*, marched thither, and having persuaded the people to go unarmed out of their city that they might number them, took

^r XENOPHON. *Hellen.* lib. ii. DIODOR. lib. xiv. PLUT. in vit. *Lyfand.* *Alcibiad.* CORN. NEPOS. in vit. *Lyfand.* JUSTIN. lib. v.

this opportunity most inhumanly to murder them. The forces of *Thrasybulus* encreasing daily, he at length possessed himself of the *Piræus*, which he fortified in the best manner he could; but the tyrants, being determined to drive him from thence, came down against him with the utmost force they could raise. *Thrasybulus* defended himself with great obstinacy, and in the end they were forced to retreat, having lost before the place not only a great number of their men, but *Critias* the president of the thirty, another of the same body, and one who had been captain of the *Piræus*; when they came to demand the dead from *Thrasybulus* in order for their interment, he caused a cryer he had with him to make a short speech, in a very loud voice to the people; intreating them to consider, that as they were citizens of *Athens* without, so those against whom they fought, and who fought to preserve themselves within the fort, were *Athenian* citizens also; wherefore, instead of thinking how to ruin and destroy their brethren, they ought rather to consult how all differences ought to be composed, and especially ought to rid themselves of those bloody tyrants, who, in the short time they had had the administration in their hands, had destroyed more than had fallen in the *Peloponnesian* war. The people, though moved by these discourses, differed among themselves; the consequence of which was, that they expelled the thirty, and chose ten men out of each tribe to govern in their stead, whereupon the tyrants retired to *Eleusina*. The citizens, however, though they changed the government, made no agreement with those in the *Piræus*, but sent away deputies to *Sparta*, as did also the tyrants from *Eleusina*, complaining that the *Athenians* had revolted, and desiring their assistance to reduce them. The *Spartans* sent thereupon a large sum of money to encourage their confederates, and appointed *Lyfander* commander in chief, and his brother to be admiral, resolving to send sea and land forces to reduce *Athens* a second time, intending, as most of the *Greek* states suspected, to add it now to their own dominions. It is very probable, that this design of theirs would have taken effect, if *Pausanias* king of *Sparta*, envying *Lyfander*, had not resolved to obstruct it. With this view he procured another army to be raised against the *Athenians*, of which himself had the command, and with which he marched immediately to besiege the *Piræus*. While he lay before the place and pretended to attack it, he entered into a private correspondence with *Thrasybulus*, informing him what propositions he should make

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in order to force the *Lacedemonians*, who were suspected by all their allies, to grant them peace^f.

THE intrigues of *Pausanias* had all the success he could wish ; the *Ephori*, who were with him in the camp, concurred in his measures, so that in a short space a treaty was concluded on the following terms ; that all the citizens of *Athens* should be restored to their houses and privileges, excepting the thirty, the ten which had succeeded them, and who had acted no less tyrannically than they, and the eleven, who during the time of the oligarchy had been constituted governors or keepers of the *Piræus* ; that all should remain quiet for the future in the city, and that if any were afraid to trust to this agreement, they should have free leave to retire to *Eleusina*. *Pausanias* then marched away with the *Spartan* army, and *Thrasybulus* at the head of his forces marched into *Athens*, where, having laid down their arms, they sacrificed with the rest of the citizens in the temple of *Minerva*, after which the popular government was restored. Yet quiet was not thoroughly established, the exiles at *Eleusina* having endeavoured by the help of money to raise an army of foreigners, by whose aid they might recover the authority they had lost ; but first depending on their friends in the city, they sent some of the principal persons amongst them, as deputies to treat with the citizens, but secretly instructed them to sow jealousies, and excite discords among them : Which the latter quickly perceiving, put these persons to death, and then remonstrating to those at *Eleusina*, that these contentions would undoubtedly end either in their own, or the destruction of their country, they offered immediately to pass an act of oblivion, which they would confirm with an oath. This being accepted, those who had withdrawn returned to the city, where all differences were adjusted, and both parties most religiously observed the agreement they had made, and thereby thoroughly resettled the state. In this whole transaction, the virtue of *Thrasybulus* deserves chiefly to be admired. When he first seized the castle of *Phyla*, the tyrants privately offered to receive him into their number instead of *Theramenes*, and to pardon at his request any twelve persons he should name ; but he generously answered, that his exile was far more honourable than any authority could be, purchased on such terms ; and, by persisting in his design, he accomplished, as we have seen, the deliverance of his country. A glorious deliverance it

^f XENOPH. DIODOR. PLUTARCH. CORN. NEPOS. JUSTIN.
ubi supr.

was, since, as *Isocrates* informs us, they put fourteen hundred citizens to death, contrary to, and without any form of law, and drove five thousand more into banishment, procuring also the death of *Alcibiades*, as many think, though at a great distance from them (N). Much about

(N) We are here to speak of the misfortunes of *Alcibiades*, a man who deserved much of his country, and would have deserved more, if her impatience had not prevented his services, and her ingratitude deprived him of the power of serving her. *Plutarch* tells us, that he was removed from his employment, not because he had done any fault, but because he had not performed all which the *Athenians* hoped from him ; his success in his first expedition had so elated them, that they would not afterwards believe he could fail of achieving any thing, which he desired to achieve, tho' his ships were ill provided, and tho' he had no pay for his soldiers ; when therefore he was sent to *Cbios* and *Ionia*, they concluded the first news they heard would be, that he had reduced both ; being disappointed in this their fond opinion, they grew angry, and persecuted him a-new, for not doing what in the nature of things it was not possible he should have done. With the public madness of the people conspired the private envy of the chief men amongst them. *Thrasibulus* began to dislike him, and most of the ten commanders, who afterwards perished by popular rage, now busied themselves in turning it on him, of which when *Alcibiades* had notice, he retired, according to his old maxim, that it was foolish to study a defence against an accusation, when it was possible to fly from it. In his expedition into *Thrace* he made use of such as offered their service, and he did it with honourable intent ; first, to settle a secure retreat for himself ; and secondly, to preserve the *Greek* cities in his neighbourhood from the insults of these *Thracians*, who as they yielded no obedience to the king, so they consulted nothing but their own interest, preying, as occasion served, on any who were least able to resist. After the entire destruction of the *Athenian* fleet, and the flight of *Conon* to *Cyprus*, *Alcibiades* thought himself no longer safe in his castle ; for the *Lacedemonians*, his inveterate enemies, being now every where powerful, he was afraid they should take this opportunity of avenging the many defeats they had received from him ; he therefore retired first into *Bythia*, but finding himself not safe there he went to *Pharnabazus*, who received him with great civility, and, as he believed, with great friendship. In *Athens* the people, fighting under the thirty tyrants, placed all their hopes in *Alcibiades* ; they knew his love for his country, and they doubted not but he would make some effort to relieve her. The tyrants themselves expected the same thing, and especially *Critias* their chief, who had been his most intimate friend, and at whose motion the decree had been made for recalling *Alcibiades* from banishment ; but the lust of power destroys all ties, whether of

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blood

about this time, that is, a little after the popular government was settled again in *Athens*, *Socrates* was condemned and put to

blood or affection. He who was before his friend, became now his bitter enemy, and sending to *Lyfander* assured him, that *Athens* would never be quiet, or *Sparta* safe, till *Alcibiades* was destroyed. The *Lacedemonian* general, scorning to defile himself with an assassination, treated these notices with the contempt they deserved; but *Critias*, applying to the magistracy of *Sparta*, procured an order to be sent from thence to *Lyfander*, which he durst not disobey. Upon receipt of this order, *Lyfander* sent away a messenger to *Pharnabazus*, desiring him to put it in execution. *Pharnabazus* committed the affair to *Magæas* his brother, and to his uncle *Susamithres*. *Alcibiades* resided at that time in a small village in *Phrygia*, together with *Timandra* a mistress of his. As he slept he had this dream: he thought himself attired in his mistress's habit, and that she, holding him in her arms, dressed his head and painted his face as if he had been a woman. Others say, he dreamed, that *Magæas* cut off his head and burnt his body; and it is said, that it was but a little while before his death that he had these visions. They who were sent to assassinate him had not courage enough to enter the house; but surrounding it first they set it on fire. *Alcibiades*, as soon as he perceived it, getting together great quantities of cloaths and furniture, threw them upon the fire with a design to choak it; and having wrapped his robe about his left arm, and holding his naked sword in his right, he cast himself into the middle of the fire, and escaped securely through it, before it had time to take thoroughly the furniture and other materials he had thrown into it. The *Barbarians*, as soon as they saw him, retreated, and none of them durst stay to expect him, or to engage with him; but standing at a distance they slew him with their darts and arrows. When he was dead, the *Barbarians* departed, and *Timandra* took up his dead body, and covering and wrapping it up in her own robes, the very best she had, she buried it as decently and as honourably as her present circumstances would allow. She buried him in a town called *Melissa*; and we learn from *Athenæus*, that the monument remained to his time, for he himself saw it. The emperor *Adrian*, in memory of so great a man, caused his statue of *Parian* marble to be set up thereon, and ordered a bull should be sacrificed to him annually. *Ephorus* the historian, as he is cited by *Diodorus Siculus*, gives quite another account of his death, than that before recited from *Plutarch*. He says, that *Alcibiades* having discovered the design of *Cyrus* the younger to take up arms, informed *Pharnabazus* thereof, and desired that he might carry this news to the king; but *Pharnabazus* envying him that honour, sent a confident of his own, and took all the merit to himself, which *Alcibiades* suspecting, went to *Paphlagonia*, and sought to procure from the governor thereof letters of credence to the king, which

to death. He was not only a philosopher, or one who in words professed the love of wisdom, but one who in deeds, as well as by his excellent sayings, demonstrated that he was truly wise. As a soldier, he had been present in several engagements; in one he preserved the life of *Alcibiades*, in another he carried off a friend of his who was wounded, upon his back, in a third shewed as much courage and conduct as the most experienced generals. In all the campaigns wherein he served, he distinguished himself by enduring hardships with patience, executing punctually whatever he was commanded, and complying readily with any thing that was desired of him; for though he was exceedingly temperate and strictly sober, yet if his company was desired he refused not to go to entertainments, and to drink there as other people did. He refused to meddle at all with matters of state, till he grew far in years, and was then elected into the senate by his tribe. He opposed, as we have already related, the judgment given against the generals for not burying the dead, though *Theramenes* his friend had promoted it; and when he was called upon to put that judgment into writing, as his office required, he said he was unacquainted with the law terms, and at last absolutely refused it. Afterwards he sought to rescue *Theramenes*, when he was accused by his colleagues; after his death, he continued to speak his mind freely, which gave some umbrage to the thirty, who notwithstanding suffered him to live, because *Critias* was his intimate friend. But the danger he was in hindered him not from disclosing his mind to his associates, particularly he said one day to *Antisthenes* on account of the eminent men who were daily taken up: “Doth it repent thee, that we have “done nothing memorable, or at all comparable to what those monarchs have performed, who “are celebrated in tragedies, such as *Atreus*, *Thyestes*, “*Agamemnon*, and *Egisthus*? They are in those plays be- “headed, feasted with their childrens flesh, and some “way or other destroyed at last; but no poet had ever the “hardiness to introduce the death of a hog upon the stage.” One of his friends complaining, that of late he was grown a no-body, and could pretend to no post or office, *Socrates* demanded tartly, Are you sorry for it? At another time he delivered himself in a public conversation thus: “A herdsman “would be very disingenuous, who, in case the cattle grew “worse and the herd thinner by his management, would not *Pharnabazus* understanding, hired people to murder him. He was destroyed in the fortieth year of his age (1).

(1) *Plutarch. in vit. Alcibiad. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiv. Corn. Nep. in vit. Alcib. Athen in Deipnos.*

“ confess himself an ill herdsman ; but the governor of a ci-
 “ ty would be yet more disingenuous, if seeing his citizens grew
 “ worse and thinner, he should not own himself an ill go-
 “ vernor”. Which being reported to the tyrants, *Critias*
 and *Charicles* sent for him, and forbid him to converse with
 any man under thirty, on pain of having his head placed some-
 where else than upon his shoulders ; but not being yet satis-
 fied of his fidelity to their government, they summoned him
 to the senate-house, and ordered him to go with some other
 persons, whom they named, to seize one *Leon*, a man of
 rank and fortune, whom they determined to put out of the
 way, that they might enjoy his estate ; this commission *Soc-
 crates* flatly refused, and not satisfied therewith, added also
 his reason for such refusal. *I will never willingly, said he,
 assist an unjust act.* Charicles replied sharply, *dost thou think,
 Socrates, to talk always in this high style, and not to suffer ?
 Far from it.* added he, *I expect to suffer a thousand ills, but
 none so great as to do unjustly.* Upon which he went directly
 home, where he would not have been long safe, if the tyrants
 had not shortly after been obliged to turn their thoughts to the
 contriving of means for their own safety, rather than to pro-
 ject how to injure and destroy others. The cause of this great
 man’s death was the pique one *Anytus* had taken against him,
 who drew in *Melitus*, a bold young man, and *Aristophanes*
 the comic poet. The last of these broke the ice first, brought
Socrates upon the stage in a comedy of his called *the clouds*,
 wherein he represents him as a man given to a subtle fallaci-
 ous manner of arguing, whereby he could make a bad cause
 seem good, an introducer of new gods, whilst himself wor-
 shipped none, and as a petulant railer at those things which o-
 thers held sacred. *Socrates* himself went to the *Theatre*,
 where he sat in the most conspicuous place ; and when one of
 his friends asked him if it did not vex him to be thus treated,
 he answered, *Not at all ; I fancy I am at a feast where every
 one enjoys me.* A long time after this *Anytus*, conceiving the
 season now proper for the execution of that vengeance which
 he had so long meditated, engaged *Melitus* to prefer a com-
 plaint against him to the senate, which he did in these words.
*Melitus, son of Melitus, a Pythian, accuseth Socrates son of
 Sophroniscus, an Alopetician. Socrates violates the law, not
 believing the deities whom this city believeth, but introducing o-
 ther new gods. He violates the law likewise in corrupting
 youth, the punishment death.* When the day of trial came on,
Melitus opened the prosecution with a very poor harangue,
 in which he was often prompted, and had much ado to get
 through it. The crimes he therein alledged were, that *Soc-*

crates persuaded his scholars to condemn the laws of the republic; that he was the intimate friend of *Critias* and *Alcibiades*; that he taught young people to be disrespectful to their parents, by telling them, that he would make them more knowing than their fathers, with many other things of a like nature. When he had done, *Anytus* began a long and malicious harangue, whercin he was favourably heard; and after him *Lyco* in a set rhetorical speech supported the accusation. When these had done speaking, *Socrates* went up into the orators desk, and from thence spoke after this manner to the people; “ I am surprised, O *Athenians* ! how *Melitus* came
 “ by this extraordinary piece of knowledge, that I do not
 “ worship the gods the city worships. Others have seen me,
 “ and so might *Melitus* too, if he had pleased, sacrifice at com-
 “ mon festivals on the public altars; how do I introduce
 “ new deities, when I profess in all my actions to be directed
 “ by the voice of God? they who observe the notes of
 “ birds or the answers of men are guided by the voice.
 “ None doubts of thunder, that it proceeds from the supreme
 “ power, and is oraculous. That the priestess on the tripod
 “ conveys to us by her voice what she receives from the god,
 “ who doubts? and that he foreknows future events, and
 “ communicates them to whom he pleases, all men believe
 “ and confess as well as I. Many call such as foretel future
 “ things, soothsayers and diviners. I ascribe these things to
 “ the dæmon, and I conceive, speak more religiously therein,
 “ than they who fancy I know not what divine power in
 “ birds; that I am no impostor herein, many can attest,
 “ who have asked my advice, and never found it fail; let
 “ such as are incredulous hear this also to confirm their opi-
 “ nions; as to my being favoured of the gods, when *Chæ-
 “ ræphon*, in the presence of many witnesses, inquired of
 “ the oracle at *Delphos* concerning me, *Apollo* answered,
 “ that no man was more free, more just, more wise; yet the
 “ same god said more of *Lycurgus* the *Lacedemonian* law-gi-
 “ ver, that he knew not whether to call him a god or a man.
 “ Me he compared not with the gods, though he gave me
 “ the priority amongst other men, but trust not the gods
 “ herein, consider me exactly yourselves, whom have you less
 “ a slave to sensual pleasures? Whom more free? I accept
 “ neither stipends nor gifts. Whom more just than him who
 “ conforms himself so to the present time, as that he stands
 “ not in need of the defence of any other? who will say
 “ that he deserves not the title of wise, who since he was able
 “ never lost any opportunity of learning, by inquiry, all the
 “ good possible? And that I took not the pains in vain, is e-
 “ vident

“ vident from hence, that citizens and strangers, studious of
 “ virtue, have preferred my conversation to that of other men,
 “ Why do you think so many desire to oblige me by gifts,
 “ whom they know to have no capacity of requiting them?
 “ or how can you account for my engaging so many, with-
 “ out requiring any return from them? that when the city
 “ was besieged, and every one lamented the wretchedness of
 “ his condition, I shewed no alteration of temper, but re-
 “ mained the same as before; that while others lay out their
 “ money on exterior things to please themselves, I furnish
 “ myself from within, with such things as please me better.
 “ If none can controvert what I say, how comes it to pass,
 “ that I deserve not commendation both of gods and men,
 “ instead of being charged, as I am now by you, *Melitus*,
 “ that with these instructions I corrupt youth? Every one
 “ knows what it is to corrupt youth; can you name one
 “ whom I of religious have made impious, whom from a
 “ modest deportment I have rendered impudent, of a frugal
 “ disposition prodigal, of a sober habit debauched, of a har-
 “ dy way of life effeminate? know ye any of these”? “ I
 “ know those, answered *Melitus*, whom you have persuaded
 “ to be more obedient to you than to their own parents”.
 “ With respect to instruction, I confess I have, answered
 “ *Socrates*, for that was my sphere, not theirs. In regard
 “ to their health, men consult physicians before their parents;
 “ in law-suits they apply to council, not to cousins; and in
 “ war you inquire as to your general’s skill in arms, not who
 “ are his allies”. “ With good reason, cried *Melitus*, and
 “ fit we should”. “ Is it so, said *Socrates*: If others are pre-
 “ ferred for such things as they excel in, and with reason
 “ too, can you think it fit, because in the opinion of some
 “ I have an advantage beyond others in educating of
 “ youth, which is a matter of the greatest consequence to so-
 “ ciety, that therefore I ought to suffer death? *Anytus* and
 “ *Melitus*, O my judges, may procure that judgment, but
 “ hurt me they cannot: to fear death is to seem wise and not
 “ to be so, for it is to pretend to understand what we really
 “ understand not; no man knows what death is, or whether
 “ it be not the greatest happiness which can arrive to us, yet
 “ all fear and shun it, as if they were sure it would be the
 “ greatest misfortune”. *Plato* would also have spoke in his
 defence, and going up into the desk, opened his speech thus:
Though I, Athenians, am the youngest of those that come up in-
to this place. The people immediately cried out, *of those*
which go down, which they constrained him to do without
 speaking another word; then proceeding to vote, it was car-
 ried

ried against *Socrates* by a majority of 281 one voices. He might, however, have escaped with a fine, which his friends offered to pay for him, but he contented himself with saying, that to pay a fine was to acknowledge an offence, and that what had provoked a prosecution against him deserved rather the highest rewards, and a maintenance cut of the public stock, than a pecuniary mulct. At this the judges were so much incensed, that they judged him to a capital punishment by an additional majority of 80. He might easily have avoided this, if his friends could have prevailed upon him to have made his escape ; but he refused, drank the poison in their presence, praying to God to make his passage from this life happy, and shewed the same calmness and resolution in death, for which throughout his life he had been famous (O).

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(O) *Socrates* happened to be condemned the very day after the sacred ship set sail for *Delos*. The reader must observe, that this ship went annually in commemoration of the mighty deliverance of *Theseus* in *Crete*, and in consequence of his vow. It was a rule of their religion never to be broken through, that from the time of the departure of this ship from the port of *Athens* to the time of its coming back, no malefactors were ever put to death ; this sometimes, by means of contrary winds, occasioned the intervention of a considerable space, as happened in the case of *Socrates*, who was in prison thirty days before his death ; in this time he was visited by his friends, some of whom offered to carry him away by force, at which he laughed. *Why*, said he, *do you know any place out of Attica where death never comes ?* *Plato* hath wrote a long discourse concerning the manner of his death ; we will from thence transcribe only so much as relates immediately thereto, though indeed the whole is an admirable piece, and extremely well worth the reading. “ It was now sunset, for he had staid long within, when the officer entered, and “ after a little pause, said, I have not, *Socrates*, observed that carriage in you which I have found in others ; but as I thought you “ the most generous, the mildest, and best of all men, that ever “ came into this place, so I now see you hate me not, for that “ whereof others are the cause: you know the message I bring, “ farewell ; bear what you cannot remedy. With that he departed “ weeping ; and fare thee well, said *Socrates*, I am well: how civil is this man ? I found him the same all the time of my imprisonment, he would often visit and discourse with me, used me “ always courteously, and now see how kindly he weeps for me ; “ but come, *Crito*, let us do as he bids us, if the poison be ready “ let it be brought. The sun is yet scarce set, answered *Crito*, “ others take it late after a plentiful supper and full cups ; make “ not so much haste, there is time enough. He replied, they who “ do

IT is easy to judge that, from the usage they gave the worst men amongst them, the *Athenians* least deserved to meet with

“ do so think they gain time, but what shall I gain by drinking it
 “ late, only deceive myself, as covetous of life, and sparing of that
 “ which is no longer mine ? Pray let it be as I say ; then *Crito* sent
 “ one of the attendants, who immediately returned, and with him
 “ the man that was to administer the poison, bringing a cup in his
 “ hand. To whom *Socrates* ; Prithee honest friend, for thou art
 “ well versed in these businesses, what must I do ? nothing, said he,
 “ but as soon as you have drank, walk till you find your legs begin
 “ to fail, then lie down, and in so saying he gave him the cup.
 “ *Socrates* took it chearfully, not changing either countenance or
 “ colour ; and, looking pleasantly upon him, demanded whether
 “ he might spill any of it as a libation, who answered, he had
 “ made no more than would just serve. Yet, said *Socrates*, I may
 “ pray to God, and will, that my passage hence may be happy,
 “ which I beseech him to grant, and in that same instant drank it
 “ off easily, without any disturbance. Many of us, who till now
 “ had refrained from tears, when we saw him put the cup to his
 “ mouth and drink off the poison, were not able to contain any
 “ longer ; which *Socrates* observing, *Friends*, said he, *what mean*
 “ *ye ? for this reason I sent away the women, lest they should be so*
 “ *unquiet : I have heard we should die with gratulation and applause,*
 “ *be quiet then and take it patiently.* These words made us with
 “ shame suppress our tears ; when he had walked a while, per-
 “ ceiving his legs to fail, he lay down on his back as the execu-
 “ tioner directed him ; who, looking on his feet pinched them
 “ hard, asking him if he felt it ; he answered no ; he did the like
 “ to his legs, and shewing us how every part successively grew cold
 “ and stiff, told us when that chillness came to his heart he would
 “ die ; not long after he spake these his last words, O *Crito*, I
 “ owe *Æsculapius* a cock, pay it, neglect it not. It shall be done,
 “ said *Crito* ; will you have any thing else ? He made no answer,
 “ lay still a while, then stretched himself forth ; with that the
 “ executioner uncovered him, his eyes were set, *Crito* closed
 “ them. This was the end of the best, the wisest, and most just of
 “ men”. Tho’ *Leo Allatius* and some others have endeavoured
 to represent the time of the death of *Socrates* as a point not easily
 settled, yet they are certainly in the wrong, since there is scarce a
 great event in the whole *Greek* history, the time of which is more
 unquestionably settled. The *Arundelian* marbles, and many other
 authorities, shew that it happened when *Laches* was archon, in the
 first year of the ninety fifth olympiad, that is 2599 years after the
 flood, and four hundred before the birth of Christ. The reader
 may possibly be desirous to know what became of his enemies :
 and because we shall have no opportunity of inserting it in the his-
 tory, we will add it in this note. The *Athenians* grew very quick-
 ly

with patriots; yet so it was, that, notwithstanding her ill usage, never any city was more beloved by her citizens. *Conon*, who, after the misfortune which befel him at the battle of the *Hellepont*, which was followed by the destruction of *Athens*, had kept himself close in *Cyprus* and never ventured home, now conceived in his mind a mighty project, no less than the restoring of the *Athenian* affairs to their antient state, and bestowing once more upon that city the empire of the sea. With this view he caused a project to be transmitted to the *Persian* king, wherein he endeavoured to demonstrate, that the pride of the *Lacedemonians* would be extremely detrimental to his affairs; that their dominion once thoroughly settled in *Greece*, they would presume to give laws to *Asia* also, especially with respect to the *Greek* cities therein; and that therefore it would be expedient for the *Persians* to consider of some means for putting it once more in the power of *Athens* to check the insolence of that aspiring state, and thereby preserve the great king's dominions in peace and safety. *Conon's* memorial was quickly supported by facts; two *Lacedemonian* armies, within the compass of a few years, passed over into *Asia*, the last under *Lysander* and *Agésilas*, which performed great things, and would have performed greater, if the *Persian* king had not, by sending some of his agents with vast sums of money into *Greece*, raised so many and so powerful enemies against *Sparta*, that she was constrained to recal *Agésilas* to her assistance. The expediency of *Conon's* advice being so fully made known, he, as a person perfectly well skilled in maritime affairs, was preferred to be admiral of the *Persian* fleet; the *Athenians* in the mean time had the courage to join with the *Argives*, and other states, in a war against the *Lacedemonians*, which they pursued with variety of fortune. *Conon* attacked the *Lacedemonian* fleet, which was nearly equal to that of the *Persians*, which consisted of ninety sail, and after an obstinate engagement, wherein the *Spartan* admiral was killed, totally defeated it, taking

ly sensible of the mischief they had done, and because it was irreparable, they so hated its authors, that they would not suffer them to light fire at their houses. They would not answer them a question. They would not bathe with them; and if they were seen to touch ever so large a vessel of water, they threw it away as impure, until these men, unable to bear this usage longer, hanged themselves; and for the same reason the *Athenians*, that they might blot from their minds the memory of so black an action, forbade the name of *Socrates* to be mentioned in the *Theatre* (2).

(2) *Plato in Phæd. Plut. de Invidia & odio.*

fifty ships and five hundred prisoners. Afterwards he and *Pharnabazus* obliged most of the states, dependent on *Lacedemon*, to change sides, particularly those of *Coos*, *Nisæa*, *Teos*, and *Chios*; *Mitylene*, *Ephesus*, *Erythrea*, and other places followed their example, and thus the *Lacedemonians* at once lost the empire of the sea. *Conon* determined after this unexpected success to return to *Attica*, and in his way thither brought over the *Cyclades*, reduced *Cythera*, put a garison therein, and, after having confirmed the *Corinthians* in their league with the *Athenians*, sailed from thence to *Athens*, where he promised the citizens to rebuild the long walls and to re-fortify the city, which he accordingly performed as far as in him lay, hiring a multitude of workmen, and landing a great body of men from the fleet; the *Thebans* also sent five hundred carpenters and masons, and other cities did the like; but *Tiribazus*, who commanded the *Persian* armies in *Asia*, envying *Conon's* great success, gave out, that he made use of the *Persian* power merely to get towns and countries for his own citizens. To answer which charge he sent for him to *Sardis*, where upon his first appearance he threw him into prison*.

THE disturbances in *Greece* gave the *Athenians* an opportunity of re-establishing their affairs, and making themselves once more considerable; the *Corinthian* war particularly, as it lasted a considerable time and with various success, served as a kind of school to the *Athenian* youth who addicted themselves to arms; and it served the better, because the *Athenian* general, who then commanded, was *Iphicrates*, not only the best officer of *Greece* in his days, but who, in his knowledge of the art of war, exceeded all who went before him; others had studied it from the glory resulting therefrom, *Iphicrates* looked upon it as a science, for which he laid down rules, and brought things nearer a certainty than it was ever conceived they would have been. *Plutarch* tells us, that he was the son of a shoe-maker, but *Cornelius Nepos* does not mention any thing of his family; the first exploit by which he distinguished himself was in a sea-fight, where finding himself wounded and unable to remain on board the enemy's ship, he caught up one of the soldiers in his arms and carried him on board his own, which shews, that he had great strength of body, as well as mighty presence of mind. We are told further with respect to his person, that it was wonderfully venerable, and that he struck with awe all such as

* XENOPHON. lib. iv. DIODOR. lib. xiv. CORN. NEPOS in vita Cononis.

conversed with him. He shewed his good sense in altering the habit and arms of the *Athenian* soldiers which had been used to his time ; instead of large heavy shields, he gave them light ones ; instead of short spears, long ones ; and instead of little stabbing swords, weapons of a more useful size. In this war of *Corinth* he gained by his skill great advantages over armies, more numerous, and composed of better soldiers than his own. He carefully fortified his camp, though it was in the country of his allies ; and when some of his officers, who thought he gave the soldiers needless trouble, asked him, who he was afraid of ; I am afraid, answered he, of being forced to use that expression, which of all others least becomes a general, *I did not think of it.* *Agésilas* king of *Sparta*, whose troops had been elsewhere always victorious, were notwithstanding beaten with great loss by this *Athenian*, which exceedingly grieved *Agésilas*, and made him abate somewhat of that haughtiness he had hitherto shewn upon all the offers which had been made to him for peace. Abroad the affairs of the *Athenians* went but ill ; the exiles from *Rhodes*, which was now under a democratic government, went to *Sparta*, and boasting there of their great interest, and of the facility with which their country might be brought to change sides and join with the *Lacedemonians*, two fleets were sent to that island. The *Athenians*, greatly alarmed at this, dispatched the famous *Thrasylbulus*, to whom they owed their deliverance, to prevent the designs of the *Lacedemonians* from taking effect. When this great captain came into these seas, he received such intelligence from *Rhodes*, as thoroughly convinced him, that any attempt he made thereupon would be fruitless ; he therefore sailed to the *Hellepont*, where he reconciled two *Thracian* princes, and made them confederates with the *Athenian* state ; after this he bent his endeavours to the reducing such cities as, taking advantage of the bad state of the *Athenian* affairs, had revolted from them. In pursuance of this scheme, he reduced *Byzantium* and *Chalcis*, and afterwards sailing over to *Lesbos*, where all the cities had revolted except *Mitylene*, he brought them again under the obedience of *Athens*, and levied considerable sums of money, by way of fine for the revolt ; after these victories he set sail for *Rhodes*, hoping, that the fame of them would awe the people of that island, and contribute to the end for which he had been sent thither. First of all he exacted a sum of money from *Apandus*, but after it was paid him, his soldiers having plundered some of the inhabitants without his knowledge, it so much provoked them, that in the night, when *Thrasylbulus* thought himself safe, and expected

pected no harm, they suddenly entered his camp, where they committed great slaughter, and in the beginning thereof slew him, which so terrified his soldiers, that, making what haste they could to their ships, they withdrew without attempting to prosecute further the expedition on which their general had been sent. This end had *Thrasybulus*, a man who in point of virtue was inferior to none, in fortune superior to most, and in the glory of freeing his country from servitude, without any view to his own interest, scarce equalled by any. The *Athenians* to supply his place were constrained to send *Iphicrates*, for they had not now, as formerly, choice of generals; their insolence and their misfortunes having either driven away or extinguished all their great men. *Iphicrates* had only with him eight galleys and twelve hundred men, when he joined the remains of *Thrasybulus*'s fleet, hitherto commanded by one *Argyrius*; he having intelligence, that *Anaxibius*, the *Lacedemonian* admiral, proud of some small successes he had obtained, lay very carelessly at *Abydos*, immediately sailed thither, and intercepting him one day abroad with twelve more governors of towns, fell upon and slew them, after which *Iphicrates* sailed to *Chersonesus*. Shortly after this *Ægina*, at the motion of *Eteonius*, revolted, whereupon the *Athenians* sent one of their admirals with a fleet to reduce it, which could not be effected; on the contrary, the inhabitants of the island, as soon as the *Athenian* fleet was withdrawn, began to infest the coast of *Attica*, which vexed the *Athenians* exceedingly, and constrained them to keep a squadron continually at sea, to protect as well the villages on the shore, as their ships employed in trade, an evil they had not experienced since the close of the *Peloponnesian* war. The affairs of the *Lacedemonians* obliging them to remove the fleet they had in the neighbourhood of *Ægina*, the *Athenians* sent *Eunomes* with a strong squadron to keep in *Gorgopas*, who was left to command there. *Gorgopas*, finding his much outnumbered by the *Athenian* galleys, retired into port and landed his troops, which when the *Athenian* admiral perceived, he put to sea in the night, carrying a light in his poop, that the rest of his ships might steer after him. *Gorgopas* instantly reembarked his men, and stood away after the *Athenian* fleet, keeping aloof, till *Eunomes*, entering a port of *Attica*, began to land his men, which when he had half finished, *Gorgopas* fell upon them with great vigour, and after an obstinate fight carried off four galleys to *Ægina*; this loss was a little after repaired by *Chabrias* the *Athenian* general; for he sailing to *Cyprus*, with a fleet which had a body of land-forces on board, landed in *Ægina* in the

night-time, and having posted the major part of his forces in a valley near the temple of *Hercules*, ordered the rest to advance towards a place called the *Three Towers* at break of day; *Gorgopas*, as soon as he had intelligence of the *Athenians* landing in the island, marched with what forces he could to oppose them, and sent orders to all who were on board the fleet, to hasten to him with the utmost speed, which accordingly they did; and these rushing all by the ambuscade where *Chabrias* lay, he suddenly charged them in flank and rear, while the other *Athenians* fell upon them in front; *Gorgopas* with eight *Spartans* being quickly slain, the rest betook themselves to flight, of whom *Chabrias* cut off near four hundred men, which with the want of the subsidies they expected from *Sparta*, so broke the spirits of the inhabitants of *Ægina*, that they undertook nothing for a considerable time after. At length *Teleutias* being sent from *Sparta* to command the gallies in that island, he so wrought upon the people by his fair speeches, that they went on board the ships, and offered to follow him where he pleased. He, having sacrificed, and taken a day's provision on board, put out to sea, and having in the night rode very near the port of *Athens*, as soon as it was day, he sailed strait into the *Piræus*, where he took several gallies and a great number of prisoners. These he sent presently away to *Ægina*, and afterwards cruizing along the coast, carried off several trading vessels and an immense booty, out of which having given his men a month's pay beforehand, he so raised their spirits, that they were ready to undertake any thing. In the height of their ardor he fell upon an *Athenian* squadron of eight gallies and took them; after which drawing together a fleet of eighty sail, with twenty gallies of *Syracuse*, he roamed about without rival, and maintained the dominion of the sea for the *Lacedemonians*¹.

Peace of THE *Spartans*, willing to secure the great advantages they
 Antalcidas had obtained, ordered *Antalcidas* their admiral to settle with
 Year of the ministers of the king of *Persia* the terms of a general
 the Flood, peace in *Greece*; for, on account of the *Corinthian* war and
 3612. the vast expence of keeping so many fleets at sea, *Sparta* was
 Before grown weary of fighting, though she had the better of her ri-
 Christ. val. The *Athenians* on the other hand, wearied out with con-
 387. tinual misfortunes, were far from being averse to the putting
 an end to the war; for which the rest of the cities of *Greece*

¹ XENOPHON. lib. iv. v. DIODOR SICUL. lib. xiv. CORN. NIPROS, in vit. Iphic. Thraſyb. & Chabr.

were anxious, provided the peace was not prejudicial to their interests; they therefore sent all of them agents to *Tiribazus* to know what terms the king his master would propose. The *Persian*, having first shewn them the great king's seal, opened his dispatch; the contents of which were, that the king thought it just the cities in *Asia* should belong to him, and remain under his jurisdiction, and that all the rest, little and great, should remain free; of the islands, however, he claimed *Clazomenæ* and *Cyprus*; *Lemnos*, *Imbros*, and *Sciros*, he left to the *Athenians*, because they had belonged to them time out of mind, declaring moreover, that if any of the *Greek* states rejected these terms, he and the rest of the confederates would compel them to accept them by continuing the war by sea and land. The *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* accepted them, and became once more friends and allies; this from its author was stiled the peace of *Antalcidas*, which in the mean was very scandalous to *Sparta*, who, after so long pretending to vindicate the liberties of the *Grecian* cities in *Asia*, now delivered them up to the king ^u.

THE design of this peace was evidently the raising *Sparta* to an uncontrollable dominion over the *Grecian* states, which she began to exercise immediately after it took effect, failing first on the *Mantineans*, and afterwards on other little states, at last on *Thebes* itself, where, without the least provocation, the *Lacedæmonians* seized the citadel, and enabled the *Thebans* of their faction to tyrannize over their country, of whom four hundred fled to *Athens*, which city was far from making the same figure now as formerly; the *Grecians* remembering with aversion her cruelty when in power, and seeing with disdain her indolence under the affronts of *Sparta*. The *Theban* exiles, however, found here not only a safe place of refuge, but all the kindness and assistance they could reasonably expect from the principal men of *Athens*, who laboured hard to persuade the people, that it was both safe and honourable for them to succour these unhappy men. The exiles, unsatisfied with being safe abroad, longed to live with freedom at home; they therefore found means to set on foot a conspiracy in *Thebes*, and by the private assistance of the *Athenians* brought matters so to bear, that they got possession of the city; but fearing lest the *Lacedæmonians* should send mighty succours to their garrison in the citadel, they sent deputies to *Athens*, beseeching the people to call to mind with what kindness they had received the *Athenians*, who were banished by the thirty tyrants, and

^u XENOPHON. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. AGESIL. & ARTAX. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Iphicr.

how far it was owing to their aid that the *Athenians* recovered that liberty which they now enjoyed, conjuring them not to desert them now, when the *Thebans* were ready to fight against *Sparta* for the liberty of *Greece*, but to afford them such succours as might enable them to fight with hope. The people, having heard the *Theban* deputies, came presently to a resolution of sending away such a body of auxiliaries, as might at once demonstrate their gratitude to the *Thebans*, and their care of the liberty of *Greece*; with this view they sent *Demophoon* at the head of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, who marched with prodigious diligence to *Thebes*, where they enabled those of their party to take the citadel, which they effected before the *Lacedemonians* could relieve it; after which the *Athenians* returned home. From this time forward they fought by all means to raise a party against the *Spartans*, by putting themselves at the head, by which they hoped to recover their antient lustre. The forces, however, of the *Lacedemonians*, being as yet much greater than their own, made them sometimes obliged to dissemble their hatred to that state, and also to discountenance those orators who were notoriously enemies to *Sparta*. An accident happened at last which entirely changed the face of things, and constrained the *Athenians* to declare openly against *Lacedemon*. One *Sphodrias* a *Spartan*, who commanded at *Thespiis*, undertook a bold expedition, in which if he had succeeded, his countrymen must have been absolute lords of *Greece*; for he marched suddenly with a great body of troops towards *Athens*, and hoped to seize the fort of *Piræus* in the night; but when he had marched as far as *Eleusina*, the sun began to appear, upon which his soldiers refused to march any farther. That he missed his blow was far from being the worst consequence of his rashness; the *Athenians* were so much alarmed, that they seized certain *Spartan* ambassadors who were in their city, and made them prisoners, conceiving, that they were privy to this attempt; but they, asserting their innocence, assured the people of *Athens*, that *Sphodrias* should be called to a severe account, and pay with his life for this infamous attempt, whereupon they were released; but *Sphodrias* being brought to a trial and acquitted, the *Athenians* instantly declared war, accounting it better to hazard all things in the field, than to be in danger of having their throats cut in their houses by such sudden expeditions. They named on this occasion three generals, *Timotheus*, *Chabrias*, and *Callistratus*, directing them to levy an army of twenty thousand foot and five hundred horse; they likewise ordered a fleet to be fitted out of two hundred sail. To shew that they did not intend to fight for themselves only, but that they

would

would do justly by all their confederates; they restored all the lands, which had been divided among their citizens, out of *Attica*, to their antient proprietors, and offered such reasonable terms to their allies, particularly the fixing a senate, which was to consist of one deputy from each city, at that they presently drew over a great number to their side, and exceedingly alarmed the *Lacedemonians*. The fame also of the *Athenian* generals was of no small service to their country, for *Timotheus* was exceedingly esteemed on account of his father *Conon*'s merit, and for his own magnanimity and prudence; *Chabrias* was reputed one of the first generals of his age, and *Callistratus* was a man of great worth and high accomplishments; as for *Iphicrates*, the king of *Persia* had begged him of the *Athenians*, and they held the friendship of that prince, in consideration of the great services he received from that experienced general. In the mean time the *Lacedemonians* invaded *Bæotia* under the command of their king *Agésilas*, who with a mighty army braved the *Thebans* and their allies in the neighbourhood of their own city. *Chabrias*, who commanded them, took post along the descent of a hill; and when *Agésilas* led the *Spartan* army in battalia towards them, *Chabrias* ordered his soldiers to lean one knee on the ground, to let their shields hang carelessly on their arms, but to keep their spears extended as if they intended to continue in their posts, and to expect the *Spartans* without putting themselves into any hurry. *Agésilas* having weighed within himself the advantage they had in ground, the intrepidity of the men, and the experience of their general, retired without attempting to force them. Afterwards the *Athenians* obtained some advantages, and in consequence of them obliged *Gleombrotus* king of *Sparta* to retire without entering *Bæotia*. *Chabrias* in the interim was recalled to take upon him the command of the *Athenian* fleet which was to go against *Naxus*; he besieged the capital of that island, but in vain, *Pollis* the *Lacedemonian* coming with a great fleet to its relief. *Chabrias* desirous to regain the honour of his country, reembarked his forces, and offered the *Lacedemonians* battle; the engagement was long and obstinate, at last, however, he gained an absolute victory, though with the loss of eighteen gallies, the *Lacedemonians* losing twenty four, besides eight that were taken with all their men. But *Chabrias* did not pursue this victory as he might have done, being deterred by the fate of the six generals, who had suffered for not succouring the wounded and burying the dead; as it was, he recovered the *Athenian* reputation at sea, for this was the first naval victory, which, with their own proper forces, the *Athenians* had acquired since the *Peeloponnesian*

sian war. Afterwards he failed against the *Thracians*, and delivered the *Abderites* whom they had treated with great cruelty ; but while he was here taking care of the affairs of the city and providing against the return of the barbarians, he was, as some say, assassinated, none knew by whom, or for what reason. The *Athenians* sent *Timotheus* to supply his place, which he effectually did, proving more formidable to the *Lacedemonians* in his single person, than all their enemies beside ; for by his eloquence, affability, and justice, he drew many of their allies to forsake them, and by his great skill in maritime affairs, he vanquished them in a sea fight at *Leucades*, so that all things went prosperously for the *Athenians* on this side. *Artaxerxes* king of *Persia* endeavoured all this time to reconcile the *Grecians* among themselves, because he wanted mercenaries to be employed in a war he intended against *Egypt*. The *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians* themselves were weary of war, and therefore suffered themselves to be the more easily intreated ; besides, they were both apprehensive, that the *Thebans* would at length run away with that authority for which they had so long contended ; they therefore clapped up a sudden peace, which was ill kept, upon these terms, that all cities should be free ; to which the *Thebans* would by no means yield, for they would never consent, that all the little cities of *Bœotia* should be freed from their dominion. *Iphicrates*, much about this time, quitted the *Persian* service, where he had been entrusted with the command of twenty thousand *Greeks*, escaping with a single ship to *Athens*. The reason of this was, that *Pharnabazus* and he had differed, whereupon the *Athenian*, fearing that this *Persian* general would serve him as he had *Conon*, that is clap him into a prison and put it out of his power to defend himself, chose rather to quit his command than hazard his liberty, and therefore retired in the manner before mentioned ; he was quickly followed to *Athens* by *Persian* ambassadors, who charged him with mighty crimes, and earnestly desired that he should be punished ; to which the *Athenians* answered, that they would punish him when he was proved guilty ; but in the mean time, having occasion for his service, they made him admiral of their fleet. The late peace having given the *Grecian* cities a just title to freedom, disputes arose in many of them, whether aristocracy or democracy should prevail, and these disputes not being accommodated by words, sedition and civil war ensued in several places, especially in *Zacynthus* and *Cercyra* ; the *Lacedemonians*, notwithstanding the peace, assisted to the utmost of their power such as were for oligarchy, and the *Athenians*, according to their old practice, befriended every where the democratic government.

Amesippus

Mnesippus the *Lacedemonian* general blocked up *Corcyra*, the inhabitants of which were on the very point of being ruined ; *Timotheus*, who had been sent to their assistance, having found it necessary to sail to *Thrace*, preferring the service of his own country to the necessities of its allies, for which the *Athenians* rewarded him and *Iphicrates* after the old manner, that is to say they condemned them both. But when the former brought along with him many ambassadors, who desired to renew the antient leagues between their constituents and *Athens*, and also proved that he had encreased the fleet with thirty galleys and brought mighty sums into the public treasury, the *Athenians*, in regard to his own and his father's merit, who by rebuilding their walls had made *Athens* once more a city, rescinded their former decree, and restored *Timotheus* to his command. In the mean time *Ctesides* was sent with five hundred men to *Corcyra*, where he was so fortunate as to kill the *Lacedemonian* general, and to leave very little to be done by *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*, who came at length with the fleet. *Artaxerxes* still labouring to reconcile the *Grecian* states, and the *Athenians* having conceived a violent antipathy against the *Thebans* for destroying *Plataea* and *Thespis*, sent deputies to *Sparta* with *Callistratus* at their head, and there concluded a peace on the old terms, that all the cities should be set at liberty, to which, as before, the *Thebans* refused to consent ; this happened in the beginning of the hundred and second olympiad, *Alcisthenes* being archon at *Athens* ^u.

THE *Athenians*, now perceiving that they were become very inconsiderable, endeavoured to strengthen themselves, by proposing an oath to the cities of *Greece*, that they would observe the truce established by the king, and in case any injury was offered to one city, that she should be assisted by all ; this was readily yielded to by all, except the *Eleans* and *Thebans* : between the latter and the *Spartans* a new war broke out, in which the latter was so distressed, that they demanded aid of the *Athenians*, who thereupon sent *Iphicrates*, who in this expedition lost some part of his reputation. Some negotiations for a general peace being set a-foot at the court of the *Persian* king, the *Athenians* amongst the rest sent deputies, and amongst them one *Timagoras* ; the *Thebans*, who now aimed at the dominion of *Greece*, sent *Pelopidas*, a man of superior abilities, who drew to himself the confidence of the *Persian* king, and having found a way to bring over *Timagoras* to his party, he clapped up a peace, whereby it was

The Athenians declare for, and assist the Lacedemonians.

^u XENOPHON. *Hellen.* lib. vi. DIODOR. lib. xv. PLUT. in vit. Agesil. CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Timoth. JUSTIN.

agreed, that *Messene* should be exempted from the *Lacedemonian* government; that the *Athenians* should no more pretend to the sovereignty of the sea; that the cities should be governed by their own laws, and the *Thebans* be esteemed the king's chief friends and allies. *Timagoras* on his return was accused to the *Athenian* people of having betrayed his trust, upon which he was condemned and put to death. The *Argives* falling upon the *Phliasians*, on account of the remarkable fidelity to the *Lacedemonians*, and bringing them to great straits, the latter desired aid of the *Athenians*, who thereupon sent *Chares* to their assistance, who behaved himself with great prudence and valour, and gained two victories against the *Argives*. After this the *Athenians* entered into a strict league with the *Arcadians*, for they were now forced to temporize, and to take such opportunities, as the times offered for maintaining themselves in any show of power. *Timotheus* their last great commander gave, however, some degree of credit to their arms, by reducing *Torone* and *Potidæa* in *Macedonia* under their obedience, and raising the siege of *Cyzicum*. The war still continuing between the *Thebans* and *Lacedemonians*, *Epaminondas*, desiring to put an end to it at once, fought the famous battle at *Mantineia*, against the *Lacedemonians*, *Arcadians*, *Acheans*, *Eleans*, and *Athenians*; of the latter there were six thousand, who behaved very well in the left wing, where they were posted, but were at last put to flight by the *Thebans*; however, they rallied again and remained in the field of battle till the engagement was over, wherein, indeed, the *Thebans* had the victory, but it cost them very dear; for they lost here *Epaminondas* their glorious general, who first inspired them with the thoughts of attaining the sovereignty of *Greece* both by land and sea. Some stir in *Arcadia* engaged the *Athenians* to send thither a great army under the command of *Pammenes*, who performed what he was sent for, and returned home with honour. *Alexander*, prince or tyrant of *Phærea*, having undertaken an expedition against the *Cyclades*, met with some opposition therein from *Leosthenes* the *Athenian*, whereupon he attacked some galleys belonging to that state and took them; upon which the *Athenians* being angry with *Leosthenes*'s bad success, condemned him, and sent *Chares* with a fleet into those parts, who was so far from repairing the disasters which had already fallen out, that by his ill management he greatly increased them, plundering the confederates of the *Athenians*, delaying any attempts upon the enemy, creating seditions wherever he came,

and

and seeming to have nothing else in view but to enrich himself *.

WE are now come to those times in which the *Athenians* came to contend with *Philip* of *Macedon*, unluckily for them, when all their great captains were exhausted, and when this prince appeared with a genius superior to all the politicians and chieftains of his time. The *Athenians* were very early apprehensive of his abilities, and therefore they espoused the cause of *Argius* his competitor, to whose assistance they sent *Mantias*, at the head of three thousand men, with a great fleet. This *Mantias* put things into a good posture at his first arrival; for besides the *Macedonians*, who adhered to *Argius*, the *Pæonians* and the *Thracians* were of his party. King *Philip* advanced, however, with an inferior army, as if he came to an assured victory, rather than to a doubtful engagement. First, he took off the *Pæonians* and *Thracians*, by giving them a prodigious sum of money, and as soon as they were retired, he fell upon *Argius* and *Mantias*, who still lay with their army at *Methone*, and thoroughly routed them. The *Macedonians* of *Argius*'s party he pursued, but suffered the *Athenians* to make an orderly retreat, which mightily affected the spirits of that people, and readily disposed them to an accommodation, wherein they chiefly sought to make themselves masters of *Amphipolis*, to which *Philip* quitted his claim, the situation of his affairs requiring it, and in consequence thereof a peace was concluded. However, he took it shortly afterwards, pulled down its walls, and expelled such of its citizens as had given him offence; the *Athenians* not being able to relieve it, on account of the many troublesome affairs in which they were now engaged, and of which we are next to give an account †.

THE *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantines*, growing weary of the *Athenian* yoke, resolved to throw it off and set themselves free. The *Athenians* on the first notice thereof sent *Chares* with a land army to besiege *Chios*, while *Chabrias* (whom, as we observed, *Diodorus* affirms to have been slain long before,) was to block up the place by sea. *Cornelius Nepos*, who expressly wrote the life of that general, says, that he was no more than a private man in this expedition, but that the soldiers and seamen, having a better opinion of his skill than of their general's, in a manner forced on him the command, which respect of theirs proved his destruction;

* XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. vii. viii. DIODOR. lib. xv. PLUT. & CORN. NEP. ubi supra. JUSTIN. lib. vi. † DIODOR. lib. xvi. PLUT. CORN. NEP. JUST. ubi supra.

The first
Macedo-
nian war.
Year of
the Flood
2639.
Before
Christ,
360.



The social
war.
Year of
the Flood
2643.
Year be-
fore Christ,
356.



for endeavouring first to enter the haven where he had broke in, nobody followed him, so that, being encompassed by the enemy, his galley was sunk, out of which casting himself he might easily have escaped, as others did, but preferring a glorious death to a life without honour, he continued fighting till he was slain. If we may credit the author beforementioned, the *Athenians*, doubting whether *Chares* with his fleet of sixty sail would be able to reduce the confederates again under their dominion, dispatched away sixty other ships under the command of *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*, making them all equal in commission. In the mean time the confederates fitted out a fleet of a hundred gallies, and with it infested *Imbros* and *Lesbos*, taking all snips that fell into their hands, and raising contributions wherever they landed their troops, so that by these methods they acquired mighty sums of money, wherewith they paid their armies and fleets; they afterwards besieged *Samos* both by land and sea. The *Athenian* generals, to constrain them to abandon this design, went and besieged *Byzantium*, which had the effect they proposed, for immediately the confederates raised the siege of *Samos*, and with their utmost force bore away for *Eyzantium*. When they came before the port, they offered the *Athenians* battle; but a great storm arising, *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates* thought it improper to fight, though *Chares* vehemently pressed it; and because he could not carry his point, he sent home to *Athens* and accused his colleagues, at which the people were so incensed, that they cashiered and fined them; *Timotheus*, being unable to pay his mulct, did not return to his country, but retiring to *Chelos* broke his heart. Such was the end of the great *Conon's* son, a man no-way inferior to his father, either in military skill or in love to his country; the *Athenians*, when they hard of his demise, remitted the greatest part of his fine to his son, but they obliged him to pay a tenth of it, which they most unaccountably appropriated to the reparation of those walls, which had been built by his grandfather. *Philip* of *Macedon* in the mean while took *Pydna*, which he afterwards delivered up to the *Olynthians*, after which he besieged and took *Potidæa*, which had so long been under the power of the *Athenians*, and which was of vast advantage to them in all their *Thracian* war. *Chares* the *Athenian* admiral, having now no-body to check him, rashly engaged in an arduous affair, whereby he hoped greatly to serve his country. *Pharnabazus* having revolted from the king of *Persia*, a mighty army was sent against him by the king; *Chares*, hoping that the *Persian* would well repay the favour, joined him with his forces, and together they proved

^an over-match for the king's generals, whom they totally routed. The *Athenians*, as their custom was, struck with the first news of the victory, cried up *Chares* as one of the greatest patriots that could be ; but afterwards, when the *Persian* king by his ambassadors complained of the act, as contrary to the amity which subsisted between them, and when it was reported abroad that the *Persians* intended to lend the confederates a great fleet, the *Athenians* treated *Chares* as a traitor, and cried out vehemently against that action, which they had as vehemently commended, and, in the first transports of fear, resolved to make a peace with the states which had revolted from them, almost upon their own terms ; accordingly peace was concluded, tho' little to the honour of the *Athenians*, after the war had lasted four years ².

THE *Phocian* war broke out the same year, in which the *Athenians* made peace with the states which had revolted from them ; this war concerned all *Greece*, and particularly the *Athenians*, and therefore, though they had nothing to do with the beginning of it, yet it is requisite we should give an account thereof here. The *Phocians* had plowed some of the lands dedicated to the *Delphian Apollo*, for which they were fined by the *Amphiſtyons* or states general of *Greece*, but, instead of submitting to the judgment of that court, the *Phocians*, at the motion of *Philomelus*, a bold and daring speaker, carried their insult on *Apollo* yet farther, and seized on the temple and all its riches ; this put all *Greece* into a flame, the *Locrians* and *Bæotians* made war on the *Phocians*, and to countenance their cause stiled it *sacred* ; the *Phocians*, on the other hand, pretended, that they were far from being sacrilegious persons, for that they meddled not at all with the riches of the temple, but only resumed the honour of protecting it, which had belonged to their ancestors ; but knowing that an army could better support their pretensions than fine speeches, they applied themselves to the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, and prevailed on them to become their allies. The war lasted a long time and with various success, sometimes the *Phocians*, and at other times the *Thebans*, prevailing ; however, it was conceived, that the *Athenians* acted unworthily in sending such great supplies as they did to the *Phocian* commanders, at one time no less than five thousand foot and three hundred horse ; because it was certain, that the chief reason which induced them thereto was the high pay given to their troops, and as the money expended on this occasion was raised, either by the coinage, or sale, of the dedicated things

Phocian
War
Year of
the Flood
2644.
before
Christ,
355.



² DIODOR. PLUT. CORN. NEP. JUST. ubi supra.

in the temple of *Delphos*, it was considered as a sacrilege to receive any part of this theft, especially for defending the robbers. But indeed the *Athenians* were much degenerated in their manners, of which their inclinations to these sort of proceedings may pass for a manifest proof; for though it is certainly beneath a wise and free people to run, as the *Athenians* had formerly done, into gross and cruel superstitions, yet it has been in all times accounted a certain sign of corruption and degeneracy, when people lose all sense of religion, and openly affront those powers they pretend to worship. It is true, the *Athenians* pretended to colour the assistance afforded by them to the *Phocians*, by pretending they were their old allies, and that they endeavoured to raise up their power to balance that of the king of *Macedon*; but even at this distance of time we may conclude, that these were merely pretences, since it is certain, that when *Iphicrates* intercepted some statues of gold and ivory, sent by *Dionysius* the *Sicilian*, they sent him orders to sell them publicly, notwithstanding they were dedicated to the *Olympian Jupiter* and to the *Delphian Apollo*. But it must be owned, that not *Athens* only, but all *Greece*, was at this time governed by money; the *Persian* king, who had always made use of gold to preserve himself from the unwelcome visits of the *Greeks*, and to purchase their assistance when he found it necessary, employed it now more than ever, and laid out greater sums in *Greece* than any of his predecessors; because bribery, like other vices, rises higher by degrees, and when men have been accustomed to take money, they require larger wages than those which contented them at first. *Philip* of *Macedon*, having found a way to render the gold mines in *Thrace* infinitely more beneficial to him, than they had been to the *Athenians*, openly practised the same art, maintaining pensioners in all the states of *Greece*, and in *Athens* among the rest. The *Phocian* chiefs had nothing else to support their cause but money, and that they parted with it very freely, we may guess from what *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* tell us; that in a few years they squandered ten thousand talents, which falls little short of two millions of our money. The orators, or, as the *Athenians* stiled them, the *Demagogues*, that is, such as led the people by their speeches, were most of them retained by some or other of these parties. *Demosthenes* himself, who was by far the most worthy of that number, was not unimpeached of accepting *Persian* gold. He became about this time eminent, and therefore, according to our custom of giving the characters of *Athenian* statesmen, it is necessary, that we should here draw his, since he was the *Pericles* of his time. and in right of his eloquence

eloquence held a kind of dominion over his fellow citizens. He was the son of an eminent *Athenian*, who had raised a great fortune from the manufacture of sword-blades, but was far from being a blacksmith, as *Juvenal* would have us believe. *Demosthenes* himself seemed least of all designed by nature for an orator, his person was far from being handsome, his tongue was too large, his voice weak and broken, and his gesture very uncouth. His father dying when he was young and his own constitution being weak, his mother indulged him to the prejudice of his education, and his guardians, taking advantage of his tender years, imposed on him to the prejudice of his fortune; these unforeseen accidents led him to commence orator, for being engaged by that time he was seventeen years old in several law-suits, he pleaded his own cause, which no law forbade, and having from thence attained an ability of speaking, he attempted, when of a proper age, to harangue the people, in which he succeeded so ill, that it had like to have discouraged him from speaking more; but his passion for becoming an orator enabled him to get the better of nature and the people; to render his tongue flexible, he accustomed himself to speak with stones in his mouth; to raise his voice to a proper pitch, he declaimed on the sea shore; to repress a habit he had got of shrugging his shoulders, he hung a sword drawn in his chamber, at such a height, that when he practised his orations it pricked his shoulders whenever he pulled them up: long practice supplied him with all things, and knowing he had nothing to trust to but his merit, he by study and patience acquired a manly solid eloquence, not only superior to that of his contemporaries, but also excelling all that went before, and all who have come after him, which his orations, yet in our hands, demonstrate beyond a question. He declared himself, in loud terms, against the prevailing follies of his countrymen, he reproached them with their fickleness, faithlessness, and want of true regard for the public interest. He exclaimed against their vanity, in attributing to themselves the merit of their ancestors, and fancying that the reputation of the antient *Athenians* would support the vices of their posterity. He expatiated on the necessity of pursuing the old method of making war, by maintaining an army of free citizens, not of mercenaries, and taking care of their naval affairs; he advised them to be kind to their allies, and ready on all occasions to assist them, whereby they might keep war at a distance, enure their subjects to marital toils, and revive the glory of the *Athenian* name. He exhorted them to live always upon good terms with the *Persian*, because it was no longer in his power, or indeed in his will,

to think of conquering them ; but, on the contrary, it was his interest to preserve them from being conquered, as it was theirs to preserve the independency of all the states of *Greece*. Above all, he cautioned them against the growing power of the *Macedonian*, he observed, that the dominion of republics seldom lasted long, whereas monarchies lasted the longer for being powerful ; whence he inferred, that they ought to fear *Philip* more than the *Thebans*, and not suffer themselves to be amused, either by his specious pretences of loving peace, or of his affection to the *Athenian* state ; but in these discourses, as he shewed himself a true patriot, so there wanted not many pretended ones, who strenuously pleaded the cause of *Philip*. But the *Macedonian* in the mean time did not altogether depend either on his money, or the friends purchased by his money, but endeavoured by force to establish himself in that absolute power over *Greece* which he affected. He made use of the war then raging between the *Phocians* and the *Bæotians* to march into *Greece*, and though he had ill success in two engagements, yet he overcame at last, and, partly by force, partly by fraud, gained possession of the streights of *Thermopylæ* ; then it was that *Demosthenes* endeavoured to rouse the *Athenians* to a proper sense of their danger, and to that end composed the first of those orations which bear the title of *Philippic*, and which to this day are held inimitable in their kind ; he shewed the *Athenians*, with great perspicuity and candor, that it was to no purpose to make use of palliations in their dangerous condition, or to fancy that to apply a remedy to this evil and that, would preserve them from ruin. He proved to them, that *Philip's* plain and settled design was to advance himself to the sovereignty of *Greece*, in consequence of which they must become his subjects, tho' he might perhaps call them his allies. He therefore advised them to think of forming a plaister as broad as the sore, and instead of opposing *Philip* here and there, in sending succours as they had two or three times already done to places taken before they could arrive, to begin a war in earnest, to excite all their confederates to rise in arms, and concur with them in destroying the power of an ambitious prince, who would neither be contented with his own, nor suffer other people to enjoy their possessions in quiet. He concluded with assuring them, if they trusted any longer to expedients they would be ruined, because *Philip* would every day grow stronger, and they weaker ; whereas, by following vigorous and uniform counsels, they might possibly retrieve all things, and reduce *Philip* and his *Macedonians* to their primitive obscurity.

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The *Athenians* listened, as they were wont to do, attentively to his discourse, and came to some resolutions which were suitable thereto ; but contented themselves with this, and took no care to put their votes in execution. To say the truth, they were at this time very unfit for great undertakings ; the general they chiefly relied on was *Chares*, a man of great vices, and small abilities ; it is true, *Phocion* was then in their service, but they employed him in a trifling war in *Cyprus*, where it was not in his power to do them much good ; besides he was so modest that he never sought command, nor instigated wars that he might raise his authority by them, though, taken as a soldier and an orator, as a statesman and a general, he was by far the greatest *Athenian* of his time. As he was a most disinterested patriot, he could have no great affection for *Philip*, but as he perfectly well knew the disposition of his countrymen, and how unlikely they were to support long such measures as were necessary to pull down the *Macedonian* power, he did not express himself vehemently, but chose rather to cultivate the esteem which on all occasions *Philip* shewed for the state of *Athens*, as a means of preserving her, when things should be in that state which he conceived they wanted virtue to prevent. From this character the reader will easily discern, that *Demosthenes* and he could not well agree, the former was always warm, his language copious, and his designs vast and surprizing ; *Phocion* on the other hand was of a mild temper, delivered himself in very few words, and proposed things at once fit and easy to be done ; yet he seldom or never concurred with the people, but spoke as poignantly against their vices as *Demosthenes* himself, insomuch, that this orator once told him, *The Athenians, Phocion, in some of their mad fits will murder thee.* The same, answered he, *may fall to thee, Demosthenes, if ever they come to be sober.* At this season such of the *Athenians* as had a competent share of eloquence and knowledge in state affairs, applied themselves to the management of the assemblies, to the practice of pleading, and other civil matters ; such again as had spent their time in the army, addicted themselves wholly to military employments, endeavoured to obtain such commands as were at once honourable and lucrative, and meddled little with the civil polity, seldom aspiring to the supreme magistracy, but confining themselves wholly to what they conceived their sphere. *Phocion* was too wise not to discern how dangerous such a conduct must in the end prove to the state ; he saw that their speakers would dwindle into declaimers, and their officers

become soldiers of fortune, valuing nothing but their rank and their pay. He applied himself therefore alike to both, he spoke frequently in the assemblies, but in few, plain, and significant words; he refused no commands that were assigned him, never canvassed for any, and lived and died poor. The *Chalcidian* cities fell most of them into the hands of *Philip*, in the last year of the hundred and seventh *olympiad*, and the year following he made war on the *Olynthians*, a people who had hitherto been a match for him, and had frequently been an overmatch for his predecessors. When the news of this expedition was spread through *Greece*, *Demosthenes* exerted his utmost eloquence to engage the *Athenians* to aid the people of *Olynthus* to the utmost of their power, and there are still remaining three excellent orations on this subject. The reasons offered by him appeared so clear, and the necessity of sending succours to *Olynthus* was made so evident, that relief was decreed. The supplies sent were small, but they came so opportunely, that the *Olynthians* received great advantages from them; which being reported at *Athens*, the people became insolent with their good fortune, and affected to give out, that the *Athenians* had nothing more to do than to appear in a war, in order to carry victory to the side they favoured; but *Demosthenes* shewed them the vanity of these light conceits in his third oration on the *Olynthian* war, wherein he told them, that there was indeed some merit in beginning well, but that they were in danger of losing even this, if they did not proceed with the same spirit, and enable their confederates not only to repulse the invasion of *Philip*, but also to invade him in their turns, and to carry that terror into *Macedon*, which of late years *Philip* had struck through all his neighbours. But the *Athenians* were not able to relish such high-seasoned discourses, they were content to send a squadron now and then to the coasts of *Thrace* with a small body of land troops on board; but to think seriously of a war like that which their fore-fathers had sustained against the *Peloponnesians*, and for it to forego all their public diversions, and relinquish all the donatives which they at present received from the revenue of the state, was what the *Athenians* of those times could not be brought to endure; what therefore *Demosthenes* had predicted came exactly to pass, *Olynthus* could not long resist the power of *Philip's* armies and his bribes; on the contrary, two of its citizens betrayed the place into his hands, where having exercised all that his cruelty and his avarice could dictate, he marched away, big with

with new projects for aggrandizing his own empire and ruining his neighbours †.

THE *Phocion*, or, as the friends of *Philip* affected to call it, *the sacred war*, was open yet, and the *Bæotians* and their allies, who were unable to carry it on with their proper forces, entreated the king of *Macedon* to come down into the heart of *Greece*, and put an end thereto. But *Philip*, being at that time intent on his conquests in *Thrace*, did not listen so readily to this proposal as was expected; the true reason was, that he grew apprehensive of the *Athenians*, and was in some doubt whether, considering their great interest in *Thrace*, they might not be able to stir up much mischief in his absence. He therefore proposed to make peace with them, and, his party in *Athens* having drawn over many to an opinion that this would be a mighty advantage to their republic, *Æschines* with some other deputies were sent to treat with him. He made these ambassadors wait his leisure, until he had finished his affairs in *Thrace*; then he came suddenly down into *Thessaly*, proposing to pass immediately into *Phocis*, which grievously alarmed the *Athenians*, notwithstanding their ministers had concluded a peace for seven years. *Demosthenes* advised them to send and demand a ratification of the treaty before he passed the *Pylæ*, as also to persuade him not to undertake a war against the *Phocians*. On the other hand, the *Bæotians* sent to intreat him to continue his march and come speedily to their assistance. *Philip* heard all the ambassadors, and though their demands were diametrically opposite, he promised them all to do as they desired, and thereby kept them in a state of dependence, till he seized the post of *Thermopylæ*; then coming down with a mighty army into *Locris* in the third year of the hundred and eighth *olympiad*, he put an end to the sacred war by his presence only; for the *Phocians*, finding themselves too weak to give him battle, made a treaty, whereby their general obtained leave to march away with such as would follow him; the rest were left to the mercy of *Philip*, who referred them to the *Amphictyons*, which great council, in return for this eminent service, took from the *Phocians* their double voice, and gave it to *Philip* and his subjects, who till then had no voice at all. Returning crowned with glory into his own country, he bent his arms first against the *Illyrians*, and soon after, when he conceived the *Athenians* unable to help them, he attempted to bring the *Perynthians* under his dominion. *Perynthus* was seated on

* DIODOR. lib. xvi. PLUT. in vit. DEMOST. & PHOCION
JUSTIN. lib. ix. DEMOST. Olynth. & Philip.

the shore of *Propontis*, and as it always favoured the *Athenians*, had incurred the *Macedonian's* high displeasure. The inhabitants, however, were not easily subdued, they had learned from the *Athenians* to set a high value on their liberty, and prepared to defend themselves valiantly, when they heard that *Philip* was marching against them. The *Persian* king beginning to doubt the designs of the *Macedonian*, whose ancestors had been his tributaries, gave instructions to his lieutenants, who were nearest *Perynthus*, to favour the inhabitants as much as possible; the *Byzantines* also, doubting much the intentions of *Philip*, sent *Perynthus* a very great supply, insomuch, that they not a little weakened their own forces, of which *Philip* having intelligence, he left part of his army to block up *Perynthus*, and marched at the head of the rest to surprize or besiege *Byzantium*; at the news of this the *Athenians* were indeed affrighted; they therefore decreed, that succours should be immediately sent, and with more than ordinary care put it in the power of *Chares*, who was elected general, to sail with a good fleet and a numerous army to the assistance of the *Byzantines*; yet this effected nothing, for when the fleet appeared off of *Byzantium*, the inhabitants of that city refused to let it enter their port, having before experienced the worth of the *Athenian* admiral, and knowing him to be no better than a pirate with a commission. *Chares*, having dressed this refusal in the worst colours possible, dispatched advice of it home, where it put the *Athenians* into a mighty chafe, and caused many of them to say in the assembly, that it was a pity they had assisted the *Byzantines* at all; upon which *Phocion*, rising up, addressed them in the following concise terms: *My masters, you ought not so much to blame the jealousy of your allies, as the base behaviour of your generals, who have rendered you suspected even to those who are unable to support themselves without your assistance.* Upon this the people, with their usual inconstancy, dropped their former opinion, and unanimously chose *Phocion* general, who, immediately sailing to the *Hellepont*, received the command of the fleet from *Chares*, and again appeared before *Byzantium*, landed his forces, and would have encamped without the city; but the *Byzantines* would by no means permit it, setting open their gates, and joyfully receiving the *Athenians* when they had *Phocion* for their general; who quickly obliged *Philip* to return to his own dominions, took many of his ships, recovered several places into which he had put garisons, and exceedingly harrassed the frontiers of his kingdom. So that it appeared, that the *Macedonian* was
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not invincible, when opposed by a man of probity as well as of abilities ^a.

SOMETIME after this the *Megarians* privately sought the friendship of the *Athenians*. *Phocion*, being apprehensive that the *Bæotians* would exert themselves to prevent this union, caused an assembly to be called very early in the morning; where having presented the petition from *Megara*, and backed it with great warmth, the *Athenians* came into it very readily; whereupon he made proclamation, that all such as would go on this expedition should immediately assemble in arms, and a great number presenting themselves very readily, he without more ado put himself at their head, and marched directly away to *Megara*, where he was very joyfully received. He re-edified the long walls, joining that city to its port *Nisæa*, and thereby effectually secured it to the *Athenians*; after this he was sent again among the islands, to regulate all things for the interest of his country. *Philip* in the mean time neglected nothing which might either tend to the raising of his own power, or depressing that of the *Greek* states; but, above all, desiring to humble the *Athenians*, he came suddenly down to *Phocis*, and having seized *Elatæa*, he there assembled a mighty army with a resolution to invade *Attica*, for which purpose there was an absolute necessity of passing through *Bæotia*; the *Athenians* upon this were in the utmost confusion, so that *Demosthenes* had need of all his eloquence to keep up their spirits; at last, however, he prevailed upon them to declare war against *Philip*, and to send to the *Bæotians* to intreat them to stand fast for the liberty of *Greece*; he also engaged them to raise a very considerable army in an instant, and to choose *Chares* and *Lyficles* generals, who without more ado marched into *Bæotia*, where they were kindly received, and promised all things. *Philip*, however, resolving to have as few enemies as he could to deal with, sent *Python* into *Bæotia* to persuade the people of that country to be quiet; to him the *Athenians* opposed *Demosthenes*, whose eloquence prevailing, the *Bæotians* joined their utmost force with the *Athenians*, and resolved to hazard all in a general engagement. *Demosthenes* magnified this at *Athens* as a mighty stroke of policy, because he put the war at a distance from *Attica*, to which *Phocion* shrewdly replied: *Let us not be so careful about the place where we are to engage, as how to get the victory; that is the only way to keep the war at a distance; whereas, if we are overcome, the very worst of calamities will be soon at our doors.* *Phocion* had the

^a DIODOR. PLUT. JUSTIN. ubi supra.

resolution also to express at the same time a dislike of the war, and a doubtfulness of its event, nay even to propose an accommodation, and the renewing of the peace with *Philip*, when an *Athenian* of very bad character cried out, *Darest thou, Phocion, think of dissuading the Athenians from the war, now the sword is drawn? Yes, I dare*, returned he, *though I know that in time of war I shall always be thy master, whereas in peace thou perhaps may be mine.* The event shewed how just a notion *Phocion* had of things; for *Philip* coming down at last with an army of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse, the *Athenians* and *Bæotians* met him at *Cheronæa*. In this battle, which began at the rising of the sun, *Alexander* commanded one wing, and his father the other; the confederate army was divided according to the nations of which it consisted, the *Athenians* having the right, and the *Bæotians* the left; at the beginning the confederates had the better, whereupon *Stratocles* an *Athenian* commander cried out, *Come on, brother soldiers, let us drive them back to Macedon*; which king *Philip* hearing, said very coolly to one of his officers, *These Athenians do not know how to conquer.* Whereupon he directed the files of his phalanx to be streightened, and drawing his men up very close, retired to an eminence hard by, from whence, when the *Athenians* were eager in their pursuit, he came down like thunder, broke, and routed them with prodigious slaughter. *Demosthenes* acted very unbecomingly in this engagement, for he deserted his post, and was one of the first that fled. *Philip* did not preserve that wisdom after his victory which he had shewn in the fight; for he danced about like one distracted with joy, and coming up to the band of *Athenian* prisoners, treated them with scoffs and ill language; upon which *Demades*, who was one of them, could not help reproving him: *Since fortune, O Philip, said he, seems to have assigned thee the part of Agamemnon, why wilt thou play Therites?* At which *Philip* blushing ordered him to be immediately released, and discharged likewise the rest of the *Athenian* captives, who sending afterwards to demand their baggage, *Philip* said laughing, *I believe these people don't think we beat them in earnest.* He ordered it, however, to be given them; he likewise sent ambassadors to *Athens* to renew the peace; which was done. After this *Philip* convoked a general assembly of the *Greeks*, into which *Demades* persuaded the *Athenians* to insist on being received. *Phocion* opposed it, alledging that they ought first to be informed what *Philip* would demand in that assembly; however, it was carried against him; but when it afterwards appeared, that the *Athe-*
nians

nians were by this rash step obliged to furnish the king with a body of horse and a squadron of ships, they repented their meddling at all, and reproached in the assembly *Demades* and the other orators, who were so forward in the business, expressing at the same time a doubt, whether they ought to comply with articles so unworthy of the *Athenian* state. *Phocion* upon this stood up again, *I foresaw, gentlemen, said he, what would happen, and therefore I was against this step when it was first proposed; but since it is once taken, I am for it, and advise you to bear it as well as you can, always remembering the conduct of your ancestors, who suited their behaviour to their fortune, sometimes giving laws, sometimes receiving them, but doing both with a good grace, whereby they not only preserved their own city, but also all Greece.* The kindness expressed by the king towards the *Athenians* was not over sincere, since he doubted so far of them as to require, on the marriage of his daughter *Cleopatra*, that a deputy should be sent from them with a gold crown, as from the rest of the cities, which was accordingly done, and presented to him in the midst of the marriage solemnities, with this remarkable compliment; that if any conspirator against *Philip* fled to *Athens*, he should be delivered up. At this marriage, however, *Philip* was murdered, which gave a new turn to affairs at *Athens*; *Demosthenes* and his party making great rejoycings, wearing chaplets of flowers, and behaving as if they had gained a great victory; which *Phocion* reprehended, bidding them remember, *that the army, which had beat them at Cheronæa, was lessened but by one.* This reproof, however grave, however poignant, had little effect; the very people who put *Lysicles* their general to death, merely because he was so unlucky as to command them in that battle, who directed *Demosthenes* to exalt the memory of those who fell therein in a funeral oration, who in contradiction to these measures had just now flattered the king by sending him a crown of gold, ran again into the same extravagancies, and heard with pleasure all the harsh things the orators could say of the young *Alexander*, whom they represented as a giddy wrong-headed boy, ready to grasp all things in his imagination, and able to perform nothing: But he soon gave them occasion to understand, that they were mightily mistaken, by his quick dissolution of that confederacy which they formed, not only for depriving him of the command of *Greece*, but even of his hereditary dominions; for *Demosthenes* taking pains to inspire all the states with high notions of liberty, the *Aitolians* first of all made a decree to recal the exiles whom *Philip* had driven out of their country. The *anti-oligarchs*

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drove out the *Macedonian* garison, the *Thebans* cast out that which had been established in the citadel, the *Arcadians*, as they had refused to give their votes for *Philip's* becoming general of *Greece*, so they now rejected *Alexander*; the *Argives*, *Eleans*, *Lacedemonians*, and others in *Peloponnesus*, all spoke the same language, and all determined to throw off that yoke which the *Macedonians* had imposed; they likewise treated with *Attalus*, *Alexander's* uncle, who aspired to the kingdom, to favour his pretensions; so that if the son of *Philip* had really been as weak as the *Athenian* orators would have represented him, he must have been crushed by such a load of opposition; but he, far from being dismayed, came first into the council of the *Amphietyons*, where he procured himself to be recognized general of *Greece*. He then marched immediately towards *Thebes* with a numerous army, sacked and plundered it, and thereby struck such a terror into the rest of the confederates, that nobody durst oppose him. As to the *Athenians*, he refused to admit them into his favour, unless they delivered up to him *Demosthenes*, and, as some say, nine more of their orators; other historians say, but seven. This struck the assembly with the utmost terror, none knowing what to say, or what to propose; at last they called upon *Phocion* and desired his opinion, upon which, arising up and pointing to his friend *Nicias*, *These persons*, said he, *whom Alexander demands of you, are they who have brought you into these miserable circumstances; circumstances so miserable, that if he demanded that friend of mine, I should advise you to deliver him, innocent as he is. As for my own life, if that would purchase your safety, I would resign it chearfully; but truly it pierces my heart, that those who have fled for succour from the desolation of Thebes, should have so little hopes of safety here; surely it would be more for our interest to pacify the conqueror in time, and to intercede for both cities, than to hazard another battle.* Demosthenes contented himself with saying, *that once on a time the wolves offered to make peace with the sheep; but first, said he, they would have them give up their dogs.* The stream, however, was too strong, and therefore he and his party were forced to give way. The first decree which the *Athenians* passed for making peace, and which they sent to *Alexander*, he would not deign to take notice of, but turned his back upon the ambassadors, as if they had not been worthy of his notice; but when *Phocion* presented the second decree, he received him very graciously, and not only granted him his requests, but listened to his advice, nay he had the complaisance to tell him at parting, *Your Athenians ought to have their eyes about them, for, if I should miscarry, they only are worthy to command.*

The friendship, which *Alexander* contracted with this general, was not broke off or interrupted by his expedition into *Asia*; on the contrary, he wrote to him frequently, offered him mighty presents, and even his choice of four cities; nay, what was still a greater mark of his regard, when he no longer used in his letters the phrase of *Alexander wishes health*, he preserved it to him and *Antipater*, as if they had been his equals. When that conqueror had occasion for gallies to compleat his fleet, he sent to demand those which had been promised him by the *Athenians*: the orators, as they were wont, opposed this as derogatory to their freedom; at last *Phocion* being required to speak, delivered his sentiments freely, which were, that the gallies should be immediately sent; *For*, said he, *till you can put yourselves at the head of Greece, I would have you the friends of those who are at the head of it.* *Harpalus*, one of *Alexander's* commanders, having in several respects failed in his duty, and dreading the resentment of his prince, fled with an immense quantity of treasure, which he had amassed together out of the spoils of *Asia*. *Athens* was the city of *Greece* he thought the most proper place for his retreat; and therefore thither he came and brought his plunder along with him, not doubting, that, since he came laden with wealth, he should meet with friends enough to be purchased. Accordingly most of the orators came flocking about him, to know how they might be serviceable, and upon what terms; as for *Demosthenes*, his good sense engaged him to make a warm oration against receiving a person who was little better than a thief, and thereby involving the commonwealth in a war, at once dangerous and unjust; but a few days after, when the treasure was publicly brought ashore and laid up, *Demosthenes* being present took notice of the king's golden cup, whereupon *Harpalus* desired him to poize it in his hand, and consider its weight; which he did, and then asked the price of it; *To you Sir* (said *Harpalus*), *it shall come with twenty talents*; at night accordingly it was sent, and *Demosthenes*, when he was called upon the next day in the assembly to deliver his opinion, shewed his neck, which was swathed round with several rollers, and made signs, that he was unable to speak; upon which some of the wits said, *The orator had got a silver quinsy.* As for *Phocion*, *Harpalus* knew well that he was of another disposition, and therefore he sent him no less than seven hundred talents, and offered to commit himself and all his affairs to his disposal; but *Phocion* treated those who came to him very roughly, and threatened not to be content with words, if he went on thus to corrupt the people; when the matter came to be debated the last time in the assembly,

those who had received his money railed most at *Harpalus* to conceal their own guilt, whereas *Phocion* expressed a great regard for his misfortune, and treated him in such gentle terms, that *Harpalus* again offered him money ; but he was impregnable, and in the end the *Athenians* expelled the *Macedonian* the city, and ordered the court of *Areopagus* to take cognizance of such as were impeached of bribery ; which court dealt very severely with them, and particularly fined *Demosthenes* fifty talents, and ordered him to be imprisoned till it was paid, but he shortly after made his escape from thence and fled to *Agina*, where he remained till after the death of *Alexander*, which was no very long time ^a.

This great event altered all the affairs of *Greece* ; the *Athenians* had been much dissatisfied with him, for designing to take from them *Samos*, in order to restore it to its antient inhabitants ; and therefore, when *Asclepiades*, the son of *Hipparchus*, brought the first news of it to *Athens*, the people ran immediately into the market-place, where many contradicted it, but the majority cried out, that what *Asclepiades* had related was true. *Phocion*, fearing they would do some mad action or other, cried out, *Well, suppose it is, if it be true to day, it will be true to morrow, ay, and the next day, so that we shall have time enough to deliberate coolly.* The orators unanimously concurred in prompting the people to make war, and indeed all *Greece* was in commotion ; so that at length it was carried by a great majority, that the *Athenians* should take upon them the defence of the common liberty, should free all the cities from their garisons, should fit out a fleet of two hundred and forty sail, and that all men under forty years old should take up arms. *Leosthenes* was the commander, who drew together a very fine army, with which he marched against the *Macedonians*. *Antipater*, as soon as he had intelligence of this, sent to *Craterus* in *Cilicia* to come to his assistance, but in the interim he marched into *Thessaly* himself with 13000 foot, and 600 horse. The *Thessalians* joined him with a great body of cavalry ; but when *Leosthenes* approached, and it appeared, that the *Athenians* and their confederates were by far more numerous, the *Thessalians* deserted to them ; yet *Antipater* had the courage to venture a battle, in which his troops were thoroughly beaten, and himself constrained to fly ; but he shewed himself a great general in his flight, for arriving with some foot at *Lamia* a city in *Thessaly*, he caused the place to be fortified, and received into it all his

^a DIODOR. lib. xii. PLUT. in vit. Demosth. & Phocion. JUSTIN. lib. xi. & xii.

troops as fast as they came up, so that he drew together again 8 or 9000 men, and prepared to make an obstinate resistance. *Leosthenes*, coming up with the confederate army, invested and attacked this city, but finding that it could not be taken by storm, he was constrained to make a regular siege: *Antipater* watching his opportunity, though he was every day attacked by fresh troops, made a sally upon the workmen, and put them in great disorder. *Leosthenes*, coming to encourage them, was unfortunately killed with a stone, which greatly dispirited the *Greeks*; however, they chose *Antiphalus* their general, and continued the war, notwithstanding *Antipater* had escaped out of *Lamia*; not long after they routed the *Macedonians*, under the command of *Leonatus*, which victory was their ruin; for flighting the *Macedonians*, many returned home to their respective cities. *Antipater* having joined the remains of *Leonatus's* army, and being joined afterwards by *Craterus*, who yielded to him the command, he soon after fought and routed the *Greeks* under the command of *Antiphalus* and *Memon*: though there were but five hundred men slain in this battle, yet the confederates were so dispirited that they sent to *Antipater* to treat of peace; but *Antipater* refused to treat at all of a general peace, professing at the same time, that he was willing to hear and receive ambassadors from each of the cities, and to consider their respective demands. At first the *Greeks* rejected this with scorn, but when several of the *Thessalian* cities were taken by storm, they were glad to treat upon the terms prescribed, upon which *Antipater* received the ambassadors very kindly, and granted almost every thing they desired; thus the *Athenians* were deprived of all their confederates, and in a short time reduced to the utmost extremity. In this distress *Phocion* with some of the orators were deputed to go to *Cadmea*, where *Antipater* was encamped, to procure from him, if possible, an honourable peace; when they came thither, *Phocion* intreated that the terms might be adjusted there, whereas *Craterus* was for marching into *Attica*, and treating with the *Athenians*, as it were, at their own doors; saying it was unreasonable to burden their friends with an army, while they were treating with enemies. *Antipater* replied, that what he said was just; But yet, continued he, let us grant this favour to *Phocion*. In fine, a treaty was concluded, or rather *Antipater* imposed upon the *Athenians* these conditions; that *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides* should be delivered up, that the ancient way of raising taxes in the city should be restored, that they should receive a garison into *Munychia*, defray the charges of the war, and submit to some other taxes. *Phocion* was very desirous that

they might be spared the garison; but *Antipater* answered, *I will deny thee, Phocion, nothing, but what will inevitably tend to thy ruin and my own.* In consequence of this treaty, *Menyllus*, a man of great sweetness of temper, and one of *Phocion's* friends, was sent to command the garison, which entered *Munychia*; *Demosthenes* in the mean time fled, fearing to be delivered up to *Antipater*; and being pursued by some persons in that nobleman's service, poisoned himself (P).
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(P) As to the character and eloquence of *Demosthenes*, we have spoken at large in the text; as to his works, the greatest part of which have escaped the injuries of time, the reader is to expect an account of them elsewhere; in this note we have nothing in view but his misfortunes and death, which to have related at length would have broke in on the thread of our history, and to have passed over in few words, must have offended the peruser. When he was banished, that is voluntarily, by flying from prison, some of his enemies followed him out of town; from these he endeavoured to hide himself, but they having him in view, kept close to him, and at last coming near, called him by his name; and when he came out, exhorted him to bear his misfortunes patiently, and presented him with a sum of money for his support; whereupon *Demosthenes* broke out into a louder lamentation than ever, crying out, *Alas, how shall I support myself under so heavy an affliction, since I am forced to leave a city, where one's very enemies are more kind and generous than any friends I can hope to find elsewhere?* To say the truth, his love for his country made him bear his exile but very indifferently, the greatest part of which he spent either in *Ægina* or *Træzene*, from whence he could see the coast of *Attica*, towards which he would frequently look with tears in his eyes; he had a just sense, however, of the dangers to which wise men are exposed in democratic governments; for looking once at the citadel, he could not help breaking out into this exclamation; *O Goddess Minerva, whence comes it, that thou delightest in three such fierce and untractable creatures, the owl, the dragon, and the people!* When *Leosthenes* led the *Greeks* against *Antipater*, and endeavoured to prevent slavery from being induced by all the commanders of *Alexander the Great*, *Demosthenes* exerted his eloquence again, and was indefatigable in stirring up all the little states to remain firm in their confederacy for supporting the *Grecian* liberty. Amongst the rest, he travelled to the *Arcadians*, among whom one *Pytheas* an agent of the *Macedonians* was very busy; this Man, seeing the *Athenian* ambassadors and *Demosthenes* with them at a public assembly, could not help crying out, That as it is a certain sign there is some disease in the family where asses milk is brought, so the coming of an *Athenian* embassy was a never-failing indication, that the city to which they came was indisposed. *Demosthenes* immediately retorted this comparison: As asses milk, said he, is never carried
into

The *Macedonian* garison being settled in *Athens*, a great number of the lower citizens were disfranchised and sent into

into a house, but with intent to restore the health of those who dwell therein, so the *Athenians* never send their ambassadors to any city, but with a view to cure it of those distempers with which it is afflicted. On the report of this the *Athenians* instantly recalled him, found a means to satisfy his fine, and paid him the highest honours they could invent. But his prosperity was of a very short continuance; for in *September* the *Greeks* lost the battle of *Cranon*, in *October* the *Macedonian* garison entered *Athens*, in *November* *Demosthenes* fled to avoid death, which followed and overtook him in the same month; for one *Archias* a player, having undertaken to *Antipater* to find him out, receiving intelligence, that he had taken sanctuary in the temple of *Neptune* in the little island of *Calauria*, he passed over thither with a small detachment of *Thracian* guards. When he found *Demosthenes*, he would fain have persuaded him to go with him to *Antipater*, assuring him, that he would receive no harsh treatment, which was very improbable, because most of his friends were already murdered. To these fine speeches therefore the orator answered: O *Archias*, *I was never much pleased with you as a Player, and now I am as little moved by you as a Negotiator.* *Archias* beginning at this to grow angry and to threaten him; Now, said *Demosthenes*, *thou speakest like the oracle of Macedon; before thou didst but act a part. Therefore forbear only a little, while I write a word or two home to my family.* Having thus spoken he withdrew himself farther into the temple, and taking some paper as if he meant to write, he put the quill into his mouth, and biting it as he was wont to do when he was thoughtful or writing, he held it there for some time. Then he bowed down his head and covered it. The soldiers who stood at the door, supposing all this to proceed from pusillanimity, in derision called him effeminate faint-hearted coward. And *Archias* drawing near desired him to rise up, and repeating the same kind things he had said before, he once more promised to make his peace with *Antipater*. But *Demosthenes*, perceiving that now the poison had pierced and seized his vitals, uncovered his head; and fixing his eyes upon *Archias*, Now, said he, *as soon as you please you may act the part of Creon in the tragedy, and cast out this body of mine unburied; but,* continued he, turning towards the altar. O gracious *Neptune*, *I, for my own part, while I am yet alive, arise and depart out of this sacred place, without profaning it; but Antipater and the Macedonians have not left so much as thy temple unpolluted, but have defiled it by my death.* After he had thus spoken, he desired to be held up, because already he began to tremble and stagger, as he was going forward and passing by the altar, he fell down, and with a groan gave up the ghost (3).

(3) *Plutarch. in vita Demosthen. prope fin.*

Thrace, where *Antipater* assigned them a place to build a city, and lands to cultivate. In the mean time political affairs were managed by men of the better sort, and especially by *Phocion*, who was in very high credit with *Antipater* and the *Macedonians*. He was for proceeding still on his old maxim of complying with the times, and making no attempts beyond the reach of their power. Happy had it been for the *Athenians*, if they had gone into this way of thinking; but they were continually repining at the loss of that power, which they knew not how to manage; abhorred the sight of the *Macedonian* garison, which they knew not how to remove; and earnestly longed for an alteration of circumstances, though there was no reason to hope that such an alteration would be for their benefit. They were continually pressing *Phocion* to apply to *Antipater* for removing the garison, and at last finding all their solicitations in vain, they turned their eyes on *Demades* the orator, who was also in the *Macedonian* interest, and had been greatly favoured by *Antipater*. This man, willing to do the people a pleasure, and at the same time to make a display of his interest, readily undertook the proposed embassy. This *Athenian* was a man of parts and eloquence, but probity and disinterestedness were not among the number of his good qualities, as we may guess from this saying of *Antipater's*, *That he had two friends at Athens, Phocion and Demades, the former a man who would receive no satisfaction for the services he did him, and the latter who would never be satisfied how much sooner he received.* Whether *Antipater* had lately left off his liberality towards this orator, or whether *Demades* had reason to hope greater appointments from *Perdiccas*, who was *Antipater's* mortal enemy, is a point we cannot determine; but so it was, that *Demades* had entered into a correspondence with *Perdiccas*, and had put him upon invading *Macedonia* and *Greece*, and assuming the government of them himself, making use in one of his letters of this expression, *That at present they leaned on an old rotten staff*, meaning *Antipater*. It so fell out, that all these transactions, and particularly this very letter, were found out, while *Demades* and his son *Demius* were soliciting the recall of the garison; upon which *Antipater* ordered the son to be put to death, not only in the presence of the father, but in such a manner, that his blood flew all over him. After this *Demades* himself was put to death, and the *Athenians* left without hopes of ever seeing this bit taken out of their mouths.

• DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xviii. PLUT. in vita Demosth. & Phocion. JUSTIN. lib. xxvi.

ON the death of *Antipater* two factions sprung up in *Macedonia*, the one headed by *Polyperchon*, who had the custody of the person of the king*, and the other by *Cassander* the son of *Antipater*; the latter sent *Nicanor* to command the garrison in *Athens*, a man of great art and a good soldier; with him *Phocion* often conversed, labouring all he could to persuade him to use the citizens kindly, and to leave the government in the same condition in which he found it; *Polyperchon*, on the other hand, desiring to recover the Greek cities from his rival *Cassander*, published a decree in the king's name, restoring them all to freedom, particularly *Athens*, directing the garrison immediately to withdraw from thence, and the democracy to be restored. This had its effect, for it put the *Athenians* all into confusion; *Nicanor* refused to obey the decree, and because *Phocion* corresponded with him afterwards, the people accused him of being an enemy to his country, whereas he desired nothing more than to see their liberty restored, which it was not likely to be on a bare decree unsupported by arms, *Nicanor* paying no respect to *Polyperchon's* orders. Not long after *Polyperchon* came with the king and a great army into *Attica*, or at least to the borders of *Attica*, whither *Phocion* was sent, and deputies from the *Athenians* to accuse him; *Polyperchon*, willing to keep up to the terms of that decree which he had published, sent back *Phocion* and his friends chained in carts, with this message, *That though he was convinced they were traitors, yet he left them to be judged by the Athenians as a free people.* As soon as there was silence made that he could be heard, *Phocion* demanded, whether they intended to proceed against them by form of law; and some crying out that they would, *Phocion* demanded, how that could be, if they were not allowed a fair hearing; but perceiving by the clamour of the people, that no such thing was to be expected, he cried out, *As for myself, I confess the crime objected to me, and submit myself to the judgment of the law; but consider, O ye Athenians, what have these poor innocent men done, that they should be involved in the same calamity with me?* The people at this cried aloud, *They are your accomplices, and that is enough.* Then the decree was read, adjudging them all to death, viz. *Phocion*, *Nicoch's*, *Thendippus*, *Hegemon*, and *Pythocles*; these were present; *Deme-trius Phalerens*, *Callimedon*, *Charicles*, and others, were condemned in their absence. Some moved, that *Phocion* might be tortured before he was put to death; nay, they were for bringing the rack into the assembly, and torturing him there. The majority, however, thought it enough if he was put to

* This was *Aridæus*, the natural son of *Philip*, who, upon the death of *Alexander*, had the title of king given him,

Cassander seizes *Athens*.
Year of the Flood,
2681.
Before Christ,
318.

death, for which the decree was carried unanimously, some putting on garlands of flowers when they gave their votes. As he was going to die, a person who was his intimate friend asked him, if he had any message for his son, *Yes*, replied *Phocion*, *tell him it is my last command, that he forget how ill the Athenians treated his father.* The spleen of his enemies was not extinguished with his death, they passed a decree, whereby his corps was banished the *Athenian* territories, they likewise forbade any *Athenian* to furnish fire for the funeral pile. One *Conopion* an undertaker took up the corps and carried it beyond *Eleusina*, where he borrowed some fire of a *Megarian* woman and burned it. A *Megarian* matron, who attended with her maids, raised on the place an honorary monument, and having gathered up the bones carried them home, and buried them under her own hearth, praying at the same time thus to the *Penates*. *To you, O ye gods, guardians of this place, I commit the precious remains of the most excellent Phocion; protect them, I beseech you, from all insults, and deliver them one day to be deposited in the sepulchre of his ancestors, when the Athenians shall become wiser.* It was not long before this came to pass: when the *Athenians* began to cool a little, and remember the many kindnesses they had received from *Phocion*, they decreed him a statue of brass, ordered his bones to be brought back at the public expence, and decreed that his accusers should be put to death; *Agnonides*, who was principally concerned, suffered; but *Epicurus* and *Demophilus*, who were also concerned in it, fled; however, *Phocion's* son met with them, and executed his revenge upon them, which was almost the only good action he ever did, he having a very small share of his father's *abilities*, and none at all of his *virtues*. It was not long, however, before *Cassander* came with a great fleet into the port of *Athens*, and by the help of *Vicarr*, who commanded in the fort *Munychia*, reduced this city into such straits, that the *Athenians* were content to submit to him upon these terms: that he should leave a garrison in the fort, and appoint some *Athenian* to preside over the city. He accordingly placed *Demetrius Phalereus* in the office of governor, a man of great quality, being descended from *Conon*, and of great fortune, yet neither his birth nor fortune were equal to his virtue. He had studied under the philosopher *Theophrastus*, and from him learned how to behave as an active as well as a contemplative philosopher; he treated the *Athenians* with the utmost kindness, and made use of that power, which he might easily have improved into a tyranny, to do those things for them which their factions had hitherto hindered them from doing for themselves. He increased their public revenues, beautified their city with many magnificent structures,

structures, restored such as were in danger of falling through the injuries of time, and in every other respect gave such signal testimonies of his tender affection for them, that the *Athenians* set up no less than three hundred statues to his honour, most of them equestrian; but because he derived his power from *Cassander*, and they were not able to depose him at their pleasure, they secretly hated him, of which we shall see many instances hereafter c.

Antigonus, the most magnanimous of *Alexander's* captives, and his son *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, i. e. the city-taker, having resolved to free *Greece* from the yoke of *Cassander*, determined to begin with *Athens*. The young prince *Demetrius*, who was the handsomest, and at the same time one of the bravest men of his time, took upon him the command in this expedition, which he executed with great facility; for hoisting false colours he sailed, without the least opposition, into the port of *Athens*, where a multitude of people were assembled on the shore, who, when they discovered their mistake, armed themselves in haste; but *Demetrius* quickly disarmed them, not by force, but by fair words; for he caused a cryer to make proclamation, that he was come thither, by the command of his father, with no other design than to deliver them from the oppression of *Cassander*, to expel the garison which he had placed in the fort, and to restore to them their antient laws and government. The people immediately welcomed him with loud shouts, bestowing on him the title of *deliverer* and *benefactor*. As for *Demetrius Phalereus*, he was in a moment deserted, and the very next moment loaded with reproaches, and in danger of suffering death. He thereupon sent one *Aristodemus* to *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*, to intreat a guard to protect him, and to beg leave of him to retire to *Thebes*: *Demetrius* received this messenger very respectfully, said he came not to injure persons of worth, and granted *Demetrius* both his requests; after this he blocked up the fortress of *Munychia*, and then departed to *Megara*, where *Cassander* had also a garison; having set this place at liberty, he returned to *Athens*, and attacked *Munychia* so briskly, that he took it by assault; after which at the earnest intreaty of the *Athenians* he entered the city in great pomp, and having summoned an assembly, he therein publicly declared, that he did not only freely restore them to their former popular government, but that he would prevail on his father to bestow on them fifteen thousand measures of wheat, and such a quantity of timber as would enable them to build

Demetrius Poliorcetes
frees Athens.
Year of the flood,
2692.
Before Christ,
307.

c DIODOR. PLUT. ubi supra. JUSTIN.

a hundred galleys for the defence of their city. These mighty favours the *Athenians* repaid with most unmanly flattery, for they bestowed on *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* not only the title of *kings*; which hitherto they had not taken, but also stiled them *tutelar deities* and *deliverers*; they appointed a priest to them; and whereas they had till this time marked the year by the name of the first archon, they decreed, that for the future it should be designed by the name of this priest. They caused the portraits of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* to be placed among the number of their gods; they erected an altar where *Demetrius* first alighted from his chariot, and stiled it *the altar of the descent of Demetrius*; they added two new tribes to the ten which already subsisted, and called them *Antigonides* and *Demetriades*. To sum up all, *Stratocles* proposed and had it decreed, that, as often as they sent ambassadors to *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, they should be stiled *ambassadors of the gods*; they changed the name of the month *Munychion* into *Demetrion*. It would be tedious to dwell on the rest of the follies of this degenerate people, who, at the same time that they paid all this court to *Antigonus* and his son, passed a decree, whereby they adjudged *Demetrius Phalereus* to death; ordered all his statues to be thrown down, and even sent persons to execute, as far as in them lay, their decree, by endeavouring to way-lay and murder him, a practice which could not but give those whom they now flattered to understand, that they would be sure to desert them, when they were deserted by fortune. The democratic government was no sooner restored in this city, than the effects of it were abundantly felt, accusations were frequent, condemnations common, to be eminent induced danger, and to be low contempt. At the motion of *Sophocles* the people decreed, that no philosopher should teach unless licensed by the senate and people; which occasioned *Theophrastus* the successor of *Aristotle's* breaking up his school. It is likely, that they were displeased with this great man, because he was much in favour with *Cassander* king of *Macedon*, and because their late governor *Demetrius Phalereus* had been his scholar; however, their resentment did not last long, for they afterwards rescinded this decree, and recalled the philosophers; but their protector *Demetrius* being engaged with all his force in the siege of *Rhodes*, *Cassander* took this opportunity of vindicating his title to *Greece*, and coming with a powerful army to support it, many of the cities revolted to him, so that in a short space he penetrated as far as *Attica*, and laid siege to *Athens*. The *Athenians*, thus distressed, sent for aid to *Demetrius*, who came speedily to their relief; and after obliging *Cassander* to raise the siege,

stript

stript him in a very short time of all his conquests. After this success he put various cities under the power of the *Athenians*, and multiplied his good turns, as if he intended to overwhelm them with benefits. The *Athenians* in return racked their wits to devise new compliments and acts of flattery, still superior to those which they performed before. They assigned *Demetrius* lodgings behind the temple of *Minerva*, in the apartments belonging to the virgins devoted to her service ; this was a scandalous insult on religion, because *Demetrius* was remarkably intemperate with respect to women. But the *Athenians* were so corrupt, that they gave way even to his unnatural lusts, which afforded an instance of private virtue worthy of being recorded to latest times. There lived now in *Athens* a young gentleman so remarkably handsome, that he was stiled the beautiful *Damocles* ; him *Demetrius* pursued where ever he appeared, so that the poor young man was constrained to avoid the public bathing-places, and to go to a private bagnio ; yet even thither *Demetrius* came, and surprised him alone in the bathing-room ; the unhappy youth, with a courage never enough to be commended, threw off the cover of the cauldron, where the water was boiling for the bath, and leaping into it was stifled in a moment. It would have been unpardonable to have dwelt on such particulars as these in any other period of the *Athenian* history ; but the *Athenians* having now forgot to act, we are constrained to entertain the reader with what they said, and having no more victories to speak of, we are forced to record their flatteries. After all his mighty victories, *Demetrius* had a mind to be inrolled in the fraternity of the priests of *Ceres*, and admitted to all the mysteries. Now the constant practice in this case was, that he who desired such admission was introduced as a novice in the lesser mysteries in the month of *November*, and afterwards admitted to the greater in the month of *August* following ; but when *Demetrius* signified his desire it was the month of *March*. *Stratocles* furnished them with an invention which set all things to rights, and which ought everlastingly to be remembered to the dishonour of this servile flattering people. He proposed a decree and procured it to be passed, that the month of *March* should become *November* ; in consequence of which, *Demetrius* was admitted to the lesser mysteries : when this was over, *Stratocles* had it decreed, that the month before called *November* should now be called *August* ; and by virtue of this decree, *Demetrius* assisted at the greater mysteries. *Philippides* the comedian could not help stigmatizing these mean compliances in the following distich :

L 1 2

What

What miracles by flatt'ry wrought are here,
Which in one month hath crowded all the year !

THE pride with which the *Athenians* inspired *Demetrius* and his father, drew upon them first the envy, and then a general confederacy of all the rest of the successors of *Alexander* against them ; this obliged *Demetrius* to quit *Greece* and go into *Asia*, where in one battle his father *Antigonus* lost his empire and his life, and *Demetrius* was constrained to sail with a small squadron of ships from *Ephesus* towards *Athens*, where he had left his queen *Deidamia*, and great part of his navy : but in the islands called *Cyclades* he met with ambassadors from that city, who informed him, that the *Athenians* had made a decree, that no crowned head should enter their city ; a most grateful decree indeed towards a man whom a little before they acknowledged for their saviour and their god ! *Demetrius* did not, however, resent this usage with that warmth which might have been expected ; he only desired, that his ships and his queen might be delivered to him, which was done. However, the *Athenians* were shortly after severely punished ; for their seditions among themselves encouraged one *Lacharis* to seize the sovereignty, and to reduce the people to submit to him, who was but an obscure person, rather than live under the protection of so great princes : but when the affairs of *Demetrius* were a little restored, he began to think of humbling this insolent and inconstant people, who to shew their ingratitude and contempt, passed a decree in full assembly, whereby they made it death for any person to propose a treaty or intercourse with *Demetrius* on any pretence whatsoever. This rather irritated the king, than at all inclined him to lay aside his first design. He therefore first began to interrupt the trade of *Athens*, and to ruin its territories, at last he closely besieged the city ; *Lacharis* in the mean time applied to *Ptolemy* , beseeching some relief, for the *Athenians* were almost starved, *Demetrius* punishing capitally such as attempted to bring them provisions ; by degrees their distress grew so great, that a bushel of salt was sold for forty drachms, and a bushel of wheat for three hundred. At last a hundred and fifty ships laden with corn came from *Egypt*, and anchored at *Ægina* in sight of *Athens* ; but *Demetrius* being at the same time reinforced with three hundred sail from *Cyprus* and other places, the *Egyptians* cut their cables in the night and steered away. *Lacharis*, as soon as he was acquainted with this misfortune, privately quitted the city ; and the *Athenians*, who had no choice but starving or yielding, surrendered at discretion to *Demetrius*, who immediately entered the place with all his forces. He first of all commanded, that the *Athe-*
nians

nians should all instantly assemble in the public theatre, which when they had done, he surrounded it with his guards, and so brought in a body of armed men, who were posted round the stage. The people trembling with fear, expected every moment when the signal should be given for putting them to the sword, when through the door made for the actors, *Demetrius* came upon the stage, where in a short oration he gently reprehended their former ingratitude, and told them at the same time, that he would receive them again into his wonted grace and favour, as an instance of which he presented them with an hundred thousand bushels of wheat, and named such magistrates as were agreeable to the people. The *Athenians* immediately relapsed into their old strain of flattery, their orators were all at work in contriving fine speeches to celebrate the generosity, and extol the clemency, of this great prince, whose valour had acquired, whose abilities deserved, and whose gentleness adorned the diadem he wore. *Dromoclides*, one of the speakers on this occasion, did him a much more acceptable service than the rest; for he besides his compliments preferred a decree, whereby the haven of *Piræus* and the castle of *Munychia* were given to the king, who was far from slighting so acceptable a present: he knew too well the fickleness of that people to trust them again, without taking some security for their behaviour; in *Pyræus* and *Munychia* therefore he placed garisons by virtue of the decree, and in the *Musæum*, because it was convenient and fit for his purpose; thenceforward the *Athenians* were exceedingly faithful, especially when *Demetrius* had possessed himself of the kingdom of *Macedon*; but when he was expelled from thence, and brought into such circumstances that he did not presume to wear the habit of a king, the *Athenians* exerted their old ingratitude, degraded the priest of the two deities, and put all things into their old form. Sometime after their old master getting together an army, came and besieged them, and reduced them to great straits; they had then recourse to *Craterus* the philosopher, who went out to *Demetrius*, interceded with him, and so fully persuaded him, that it would be more for his interest to pass over into *Asia*, that he left them in that liberty to which *Olympiodorus* had restored them^d.

WHILE *Lyfimachus*, *Seleucus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Sosthenes* held Condition by turns the *Macedonian* kingdom, the *Athenians* remained of Athens free indeed, but without making any great figure; when the *till freed Gauls* under the command of *Brennus* threatened the destruc- by *Aratus*.

^d PLUT. in vit. Demet. DIOGEN. LARR. in vit. Theoph. Epicur. & Crat. ATHEN. in Deipnosoph.

tion of the *Greeks* in general, the *Athenians* for a time exerted somewhat of their antient magnanimity, and under their general *Calippus* did great things ; for then the common danger uniting all the *Greeks*, and even the king of *Macedon* himself, they had nothing to fear but the common enemy ; but these dangers over, and the affairs of *Antigonus Gonatus* the son of *Demetrius* once in a prosperous way, the *Athenians* felt the weight of his power ; for he remembering how they had dealt with his father, resolved to punish them for their former behaviour ; and to make sure of them for the future, he first wasted their territories, and afterwards closely besieged *Athens* ; at last unable to hold out, and unwilling to yield, they made the best treaty with him they could, and in consequence thereof admitted a garison, whereby, though they flattered themselves with the face of liberty, they became effectually his subjects, and after his death were left as such to his son *Demetrius*. About this time a spirit of liberty revived in *Greece*, and the *Acheans*, who were far from being a considerable people, not only defended their own freedom, but made it their business to free others, in which they were exceedingly assisted by the mighty genius of *Aratus* the *Sicyonian*, one of the ablest, and in all respects one of the honestest men, that *Greece* or any other country produced ; for he bent all his great qualities, and expended the vast riches which the fame of his virtue procured him, in doing good to others, without having a view to any other reward than the satisfaction of doing good ; this disposition of his, co-operating with the inclination of the *Acheans*, put him on two or three sudden expeditions in order to surprize *Athens*, not with any intent to seize and keep it, but to set the people free ; all which expeditions proved unfortunate, and it so happened, that in the last of them, his forces being dispersed, he wandered about in the night, and with much ado got back to *Corinth*, while a report prevailed he was dead, whereupon the *Athenians* in a giddy ingratitude put on garlands, as if it became citizens to rejoice for the death of their best friends ; sometime after, when *Aratus* was sick in his bed, the *Athenians* suddenly resolved they would be free, and, as if the greatest men, and even nature herself, must submit to their desires, sent for *Aratus* to come to their assistance ; he thinking only of the merit of such an action, and forgetting their former ingratitude, caused himself to be carried thither in a litter ; and having prevailed on *Diogenes*, the *Macedonian* governor, to give up the three fortresses, *Piræus*, *Munychia*, and *Musæum*, for a hundred and fifty talents, he advanced twenty of them out of his own pocket, and then left the *Athenians* absolutely free, having
also

also the protection of the *Acheans* to guard their freedom. This happened in the beginning of the hundred and thirty second olympiad, two thousand seven hundred and forty seven years after the flood, and two hundred fifty two years before Christ. Thus we have traced the history of the *Athenians* in a continued series from their becoming a free people to their junction with the *Acheans*, which hitherto hath not been done in our language, nor, that we know of, in any other^c.

^cPLUT. in vit. Arat. ATHEN. in Deipnosoph. JUSTIN. lib. xxvi. c. 3.

C H A P. XIX.

*The History of SPARTA, from Lycurgus
to its being joined by Philopœmen to
the Achæans.*

*The scope
of this
chapter.*

WE are in this chapter to give the history of the *Lacedemonians*, from the time of *Lycurgus* till they ceased to be an independent state; that is, for a long series of years, while they were the most considerable people in *Greece*, not from extent of territory, not from their numbers or wealth, not from the convenience of their situation, or in short from any other accidental or external cause, but from their wisdom and virtue, their valour, their moderation, their strict regard to honour, their love of liberty, and contempt of luxury under all its various disguises. The stability, as well as glory, of the *Lacedemonian* government was derived from the wise institutions of *Lycurgus*, the celebrated law-giver of *Sparta*, with whose administration we are to begin this chapter; but, previous thereto, it will be necessary to continue the list of the kings of *Sparta* begun in our former section relating to the *Lacedemonian* affairs, that we may preserve the same order which has hitherto obtained throughout this work.

A T A B L E

A TABLE of the *Lacedemonian* Kings.

The <i>Agidæ</i> , or family of <i>Agis</i> .			The <i>Proclidæ</i> , or family of <i>Procles</i> .		
xviii	<i>Archelaus</i>	60	xviii	<i>Charilaus</i>	64
xix	<i>Teleclus</i>	40	xix	<i>Nicander</i>	
xx	<i>Aicamenes</i>	37	xx	<i>Theopompus</i>	
xxi	<i>Polydorus</i>		xxi	<i>Zcuxidamus</i>	
xxii	<i>Eurycrates</i>		xxii	<i>Anaxidamus</i>	
xxiii	<i>Anaxander</i>		xxiii	<i>Archidamus</i>	
xxiv	<i>Eurycrates</i>		xxiv	<i>Agasicles</i>	
xxv	<i>Leon</i>		xxv	<i>Aristo</i>	
xxvi	<i>Anaxandrides</i>		xxvi	<i>Dæmaratus</i>	
xxvii	<i>Cleomenes</i>		xxvii	<i>Leostychides</i>	22
xxviii	<i>Leonidas</i>		xxviii	<i>Archidamus</i>	42
xxix	<i>Plistarchus</i>	1			
xxx	<i>Plistonax</i>	68	xxix	<i>Agis</i>	42
xxxi	<i>Pausanias</i>	14	xxx	<i>Agessilaus.</i>	41
xxxii	<i>Agessipolis</i>	14			
xxxiii	<i>Cleombrotus</i>	9	xxxi	<i>Archidamus</i>	23
xxxiv	<i>Agessipolis</i>	1	xxxii	<i>Agis</i>	9
xxxv	<i>Cleomenes</i>	61	xxxiii	<i>Eudamidas</i>	
xxxvi	<i>Areus</i>	44	xxxiv	<i>Archidamus</i>	
xxxvii	<i>Acrotatus</i>		xxxv	<i>Eudamidas</i>	
xxxviii	<i>Areus</i>	8	xxxvi	<i>Agis</i>	
xxxix	<i>Leonidas</i>				
xl	<i>Celombrotus</i>	40	xxxvii	<i>Eurydamidas</i>	
xli	<i>Cleomenes</i>		xxxviii	<i>Epiclididas</i>	

Lycurgus at first held the crown in his own right, till it was known that his sister-in-law the relict of *Polydectes* was with child; *Lycurgus* then declared, that he acted only as his guardian or protector who should be born of the queen (in case she should be delivered of a son), which was a thing already common among the *Spartans*. The queen, who was an ambitious and profligate woman, privately intimated to *Lycurgus*, that she would make use of means to make herself miscarry, if he would promise to marry her. *Lycurgus* returned her many thanks, accepted a part of her proposal, but intreated her not to hazard her own health by adventuring on any such violent method, assuring her, that for her sake he would take the trouble of making away the child upon himself. The queen, amused by his fair speeches, reckoned on her project as already accomplished when she fell in labour, of which she immediately gave notice to *Lycurgus*, who

*The wife
conduct of
Lycurgus,
protector of
Sparta.*

who sent some of his confidants to be present with instructions, if it was a son, to bring it to him, wherever he was, or whatever he was about; but if it was a daughter, to deliver it to the women; accordingly, the queen being delivered of a boy, his agents brought it to him, where he was at supper with some of the principal persons of the city. *Lycurgus*, taking the child in his arms, immediately produced him at the table, *My Lords of Sparta*, said he, *here is a king born unto us*; then laying the child down on the chair of state, when he observed that all who were present were extremely overjoyed at the sight of so worthy and disinterested an action, he called the young prince *Charilaus*, i. e. *the joy of the people*. He then laid down all pretences to the royal authority, which he had exercised for about eight months, and took the title of protector only. This conduct of his, as it rendered him wonderfully beloved and admired by the people, so it exceedingly irritated the queen with all her family and faction; inso-much, that they immediately began to calumniate *Lycurgus*, and to alledge, that notwithstanding all this fair show, he intended nothing less than to resign the crown to his nephew; nay, *Leonidas*, the brother of the queen, had the assurance to tell him in a dispute which happened between them, *that he was confident it would not be long before he should see him king*. The queen too pretended much concern on the same account, and bewailed to her attendants the fate of her unhappy child. *Lycurgus*, greatly alarmed at these practices, and desiring to avoid not only evil, but the very suspicion of evil, resolved to stifle the voice of malice itself by going into a voluntary exile; which resolution he carried into execution soon afterwards, notwithstanding all the intreaties of the people.

THE injuries which he had received, and the base constructions which had been put on his best actions, did not hinder *Lycurgus* from applying himself with the same diligence abroad, to the study of that science which might render him useful to his country, that he was wont to practise while at home; to this end he devoted all his travels, and like a true patriot was careful, that neither time nor place should alter his attachment to his fellow-citizens. Full of these noble conceptions he first visited *Crete*, an island famous in the most ancient times for the laws whereby it was governed, and for that artful polity which had been established there in the most early ages. As far as can be gathered from *Plutarch*, it was at this time governed by several princes, or was at least cantoned into various independent states, through all which *Lycurgus* travelled, procuring to himself the acquaintance of persons of the first rank, and by their means a perfect know-
ledge

ledge of their laws; some of which he greatly approved, others he slighted. Amongst all the friendships which he contracted in *Crete*, that which stood him in most stead was his intimacy with *Thales* the *Lyric* poet, whom he persuaded to be the companion of his voyages, and afterwards to return with him to *Sparta*; this poet was not a writer of amorous or drunken songs, but one who made use of the sweetness of poetic numbers to recommend temperance, modesty, obedience, and civil harmony; and whose songs paved the way to the admission of *Lycurgus's* Laws, by removing that ferocity and querulous disposition to which the *Lacedemonians* had till then been addicted. From *Crete* *Lycurgus* passed over to the continent of *Asia*, that he might philosophize on the *Ionian* mode of life, which differed greatly from the *Cretan*. Here, as *Plutarch* conjectures, this noble enquirer after truth and virtue found the works of *Homer*, which he eagerly transcribed, and brought over with him into *Greece*, whereas yet they had only scattered episodes of that famous author's poems, which were, however, highly esteemed. From *Ionia* *Lycurgus* went into *Egypt*, a place never forgot by such as went in quest of wisdom; and there he met with that method of distinguishing military men from mechanics, which he afterwards introduced at *Sparta*. As to his voyages to *Spain*, *Afric*, and the *Indies*, *Plutarch* says, the credit of them rests solely upon one author; at this distance of time therefore we can affirm nothing about them. Instead of entering into a field of conjectures, from whence it might be difficult to get out, we will pass to the affairs of *Sparta* during his absence.

THE inhabitants of *Lacedemon*, being in their nature bold and turbulent, were continually quarrelling amongst themselves, or trespassing on the prerogative of their princes; the kings, on the other hand, sometimes joining with the prevailing faction, practised a kind of tyranny, and at other times had much ado to support a legal authority; these confusions were greater or less, according as the princes were men of parts or otherwise. At this time neither of the kings had any shining genius, *Archelaus* had the most wit, but *Charilaus* was the better man, more affable, and more beloved; the people, however, regarded neither of them so much as they did *Lycurgus*: wherefore taking it in their heads that many things went wrong, and that in short the whole frame of the government was out of order since this great man's departure, they sent ambassadors to solicit him to return, which

* PLUTARCH. in vit. *Lycurg.*

ambassadors told him, that though they had indeed kings, whom their birth, their title, and their robes, shewed to be such, yet as to royal qualities, and that disposition of the mind which deserves to rule, they had observed nothing among them since his departure of that kind. We use the words of *Plutarch*, who observes further, that though this language seemed to bear a little hard upon the princes, yet they were far from being averse to his return, hoping that his presence would serve as a bulwark to screen them from the growing insolence of the people. To gratify the unanimous voice of his fellow-citizens, *Lycurgus* shaped his course homewards, in order to put in practice that wisdom, which with so much industry and pains he had acquired. On his arrival at *Sparta* he found all things in a very bad way, the people mutinous, the kings timorous, and no middle rank of people who durst interpose between them. He acted in this case like a great physician; for knowing that palliatives would do little or nothing, he resolved to alter the whole political constitution, in order to introduce health by thoroughly purging out all peccant humours. A glorious undertaking, but attended with mighty difficulties and no less dangers! To surmount those, and to avoid these, he endeavoured first to gain the confidence of the most eminent men of *Sparta*, by communicating to them his scheme, and shewing them the reasons upon which it was founded; and secondly, he sought to secure the obedience of the people, by pretending to the sanction of divinity, and ascribing all he did to the counsels of the *Delphian Apollo*. Having made a journey to *Delphi*, and there offered sacrifice, he returned with an oracle, which stiled him, *Beloved of God, and rather God than man; declared the laws he had framed perfectly good, and promised to make the commonwealth, wherein they were observed, the most famous in the world*. This divine manifesto having wonderfully awed the people, the next thing he had to do was to publish these laws; which that he might perform with security, he appointed thirty of his friends to appear by break of day armed in the market-place; but of these twenty eight only appeared. At the news of these preparations, *Charilaus*, who though honest was very timid, fled to the temple of *Minerva the protectress*, fearing that it was some conspiracy against his person; but when *Lycurgus* sent to inform him of his real design, the king not only quitted the sanctuary, but repaired to the market-place, and entered into the confederacy. The first step taken was the establishing a senate consisting of twenty eight persons, or of thirty, including the two kings; this alone was of very great consequence, since it fixed the form of the government,

ment, which had hitherto fluctuated between *tyranny* and *democracy*; the senate posising the authority both of the kings and of the people, siding with the former, if the latter were seditious, and with the latter if the former were too enterprizing. That the people might not apprehend their condition to be worse than it was before, *Lycurgus* allowed them to meet in a general assembly, which was to be held *sub dio*, and wherein they were not allowed to *deliberate*, but had barely a power of *assenting* or *dissenting* to or from what the kings and senate proposed.

WHEN *Lycurgus* by constituting a senate had secured to himself an accession of power, he proceeded intirely to new-model the commonwealth, and to adjust all things to the scheme he had formed, without any respect whatsoever to their former state and condition; a mighty project, which if we consider, and take at the same time a strict view of those laws which he introduced, we shall have a just idea of his mighty genius, of the form of the *Spartan* government, and of the means whereby a state, which was not considerable either for the number or wealth of its people, maintained itself so long in the sovereignty of *Greece*. We have the rather taken upon us to enter into a distinct detail of the laws of *Lycurgus*, because hitherto only general and imperfect accounts of the *Spartan* republic have been inserted in our histories of *Greece*, and even in books relating more strictly to politics; whereas we shall make it evident, that these superficial draughts of a constitution, are by no means sufficient to give us a just idea of its force and effects. The laws of *Lycurgus* may be properly divided into twelve tables, according to the subjects of which they treated, and by a proper attendance to the contents of these tables, we shall come at that perfect notion of *Lycurgus's* scheme, which is absolutely necessary for the thorough understanding of the *Lacedemonian* history.

IN the first table we shall comprehend such of the *Spartan* laws as regarded religion. The statues of all the gods and goddesses worshipped by this people were represented armed, even to *Venus* herself; the reason of which was, that the people might conceive a military life the most noble and honourable, and not attribute, as other nations did, sloth and luxury to the gods. As to sacrifices, they consisted of things of very small value; for which *Lycurgus* himself gave this reason, that want might never hinder them from worshipping the gods. They were forbidden to make long or rash prayers to the heavenly powers, and were enjoined to ask no more than that they might live honestly and discharge their duty. Graves were permitted to be made within the bounds of the city,
contrary

contrary to the custom of most of the *Greek* nations ; nay, they buried close by their temples, that all degrees of people might be made familiar with death, and not conceive it such a dreadful thing as it was generally esteemed elsewhere ; on the same account the touching of dead bodies, or assisting at funerals, made none unclean, but were held to be as innocent and honourable duties as any other. As to the mode of burying, it was also rendered simple and unexpensive by law ; there was nothing thrown into the grave with the dead body, magnificent sepulchres were forbidden, neither was there so much as an inscription, however plain or modest, permitted. Tears, sighs, outcries, were not permitted in public, because they were thought dishonourable in *Spartans*, whom their law-giver would have to bear all things with equanimity. Mournings were stinted to eleven days, on the twelfth the mourner sacrificed to *Ceres*, and threw aside his or her weeds. In favour of such as were slain in the wars, however, and of women who devoted themselves to a religious life, there was an exception allowed as to the rules beforementioned, for such had a short and decent inscription on their tombs. When a number of *Spartans* fell in battle at a distance from their country, many of them were buried together under one common tomb ; but if they fell on the frontiers of their own state, then their bodies were carefully carried back to *Sparta*, and interred in their family sepulchres.

UNDER the second table let us place the statutes relating to the lands and to the city ; *Lycurgus* divided all the country of *Laconia* into thirty thousand equal shares ; the city of *Sparta* he divided into nine thousand, as some say, into six thousand, as say others ; and, as a third party will have it, into four thousand five hundred. The intent of the legislator was, that property should be equally divided amongst his citizens, so that none might be powerful enough to oppress his fellows, or any be in such necessity as to be therefrom in danger of corruption ; with the same view he forbade the buying or selling of these possessions ; if a stranger acquired a right to any of these shares, he might quietly enjoy it, provided he submitted to the laws of the republic. The city of *Sparta* was unwalled, *Lycurgus* trusting it rather to the virtue of its citizens, than to the art of masons. As to the houses, they were very plain, for their ceilings could only be wrought by the ax, and their gates and doors only by the saw, and their utensils were to be of a like stamp, that luxury might have no instruments among them.

As to the third table, it shall consist of the laws regarding citizens. In the first place they were to be neither more nor
less

less than the number of city-lots; and if at any time there happened to be more; they were to be led out in colonies: as to children, their laws were equally harsh and unreasonable; for a father was directed to carry his new-born son to a certain place, where the gravest men of his tribe looked upon the infant, and if they perceived its limbs strait and thought it had a wholesome look, then they returned it to its parent to be educated, otherwise it was thrown into a deep cavern at the foot of the mountain *Taygetus*. This law seems to have had one very good effect, *viz*, making women very careful, when they were with child, of either eating, drinking, or exercising to excess; it made them also excellent nurses, for which they were in mighty request throughout *Greece*. Strangers were not allowed to reside long in the city, that they might not corrupt the *Spartans* by teaching them new-fangled customs. Citizens were also forbid to travel for the same reason, unless the good of the state required it. Such as were not bred up in their youth according to the law, were not allowed the liberty of the city, because they held it unreasonable, that one who had not submitted to the laws in his youth should receive the benefit of them when a man. They never preferred any stranger to a public office but if at any time they had occasion for a person not born a *Spartan*, they first made him a citizen, and then preferred him.

THEIR laws relating to marriage shall be comprehended under the fourth table. Celibacy in men was infamous, and punished in a most extraordinary manner; for, in the first place, the old batchelor was constrained to walk naked in the depth of winter through the market-place: Secondly, while he did this, he was obliged to sing a song in disparagement of himself; and, thirdly, he had none of the honours paid him which otherwise belonged to old age, it being held unreasonable, that the youth should venerate him, who was resolved to leave none of his progeny behind him to revere them when they grew old in their turns. The time of marriage was also fixed, and if a man did not marry when he was of full age, he was liable to an action; as were such also as married above or below themselves; such as had three children had great immunities; such as had four were free from all taxes whatsoever. Virgins were married without portions, because neither want should hinder a man, nor riches induce him, to marry contrary to his inclinations. When a marriage was agreed on, the husband committed a kind of rape upon his bride, who was not a tender raw girl, but one in the flower of her age, and fit to bring healthy children. Husbands went for a long time secretly, and by stealth, to the beds of their wives,

wives, that their love might not be quickly and easily extinguished. Husbands were allowed to lend their wives, but the kings, however, were forbid to take this liberty; some other laws of the like nature there were, which it is not necessary for us to dwell on, because, as they were evidently against modesty, so they were far from producing the ends for which *Lycurgus* designed them; since, though the men of *Sparta* were generally remarkable for their virtue, the *Spartan* women were as generally decried for their boldness and contempt of decency.

UNDER the fifth table shall stand the laws relating to eating. It was the care of *Lycurgus*, that from their very nomenclature and infancy the *Lacedemonians* should be enured to conquer their appetites, for this reason he directed, that nurses should accustom their children to spare meals, and now and then to fasting; that they should carry them when twelve or thirteen years old to those who should examine their education, and who should carefully observe, whether they were able to be in the dark alone, and whether they had got over all other follies and weaknesses incident to children. He directed, that children of all ranks should be brought up in the same way, and that none should be more favoured in food than another, that they might not even in their infancy perceive any difference between poverty and riches, but consider each other as equals and even as brethren, to whom the same portions were assigned, and who through the course of their lives were to fare alike. Only youths were allowed to eat flesh, older men eat their black broth and pulse, the lads slept together in chambers, and after a manner somewhat resembling that still in use in *Turkey* for the *Janizaries*; their beds in the summer were very hard, being composed of the reeds plucked by the hand from the banks of the *Eurotas*; in winter their beds were softer, but by no means downy or fit to indulge immoderate sleep. They eat all together in public, and in case any abstained from coming to the tables they were fined. *Xenophon* seems to have penetrated farther into the reason of this institution than any other author, as indeed he had better opportunity to do; for, whereas the rest say, that this was only intended to repress luxury, he very wisely remarks, that it was also intended to serve for a kind of school or academy, where the young were instructed by the old, the former relating the great things that had been performed in their memory, and exciting the growing generation therefrom to perform great things also. It was also strictly forbidden for any to eat or drink at home, before they came to the common meal; even then each had his proper portion, that every thing might be

be done there with gravity and decency ; the black broth was the great rarity of the *Spartans*, which was composed of salt, vinegar, blood, &c. so that in our times it would be esteemed a very unfavoury soup. If they were modest in their eating, they were so also in their drinking; thirst was the sole measure thereof, and never any *Lacedemonian* thought of drinking for pleasure ; as for drunkenness it was both infamous and severely punished ; and that young men might perceive with how great reason, slaves were compelled to drink to excess that the beastliness of the vice might appear. When they retired from the public meal, they were not allowed any torches or lights, because it was expected, that men, who were perfectly sober, should be able to find their way in the dark ; and besides it gave them a facility of marching without light, a thing wonderfully useful to them in time of war.

THE laws relating to their habit fall under the sixth table. As the poor eat as well as the rich, so the rich could wear nothing better than the poor ; they neither changed their fashion, nor the materials, of their garments ; they were made for warmth and strength, not for gallantry and show ; and to this custom even their kings conformed, who wore nothing gaudy in right of their dignity, but were contented that their virtue should distinguish them rather than robes. The young lads wore a tunic till they were twelve years old ; afterwards they had a cloke given them, which was to serve them a year ; and their cloathing was in general so thin, that a *Lacedemonian vest* became proverbial. Boys were always used to go without shoes, but when they grew up they were indulged to them, if the manner of life they led required it ; but they were always inured to run without them, as also to climb up and slip down steep places with bare feet ; nay the very shoe they used was of a particular form, plain and strong, and from the place of its invention called *Laconic*. Boys were not permitted to wear their hair, but when they grew up they did not cut it. Baths and anointing were not much in use among the *Lacedemonians* ; the river *Eurotas* supplied the former, and exercise the latter. In the field, however, their sumptuary laws did not take place so strictly as in the city : for when they went to war they wore purple habits ; they put on crowns when they were about to engage the enemy ; they had also rings, but they were of iron, which metal was most esteemed by this nation. Young women wore their vests or jerkins only to their knees, or, as some think, not quite so low, which beyond question was indecent, and as such it is censured both by *Greek* and *Roman* authors. Gold, precious stones,

and other costly ornaments, were permitted only to common women; which permission was the strongest prohibition to women of virtue, or who affected to be thought virtuous. Virgins went abroad without vails, with which married women, on the contrary, were always covered, it being conceived fit for the one to be looked on, but not the other; in certain exercises and shows both the young women and men were naked, a thing for which *Plutarch* endeavours to apologize, as if there could be no nakedness where the mind was in the habit of virtue; this is evidently playing with words, for without question there never was a more immoral, impudent practice than this. The truth is, *Lycurgus* had nothing in view but the rendering the common-wealth of *Sparta* powerful and lasting; and that he might do this, he sought by all means to eradicate the seeds of civil dissensions; hence the equal division of estates; hence the banishment of wealth; and hence the accustoming men to bear with the wantonness of women, that birth, riches, jealousy, which, in other countries and in other states, produced such stirrings and tumults, might be able to effect little or nothing in *Lacedæmon*.

DISCIPLINE and manners, that is the rules regarding these, shall fall under the seventh table. Though the *Spartans* were always free, yet it was with this restriction, that they were subservient to their own laws, which bound them as strictly in the city, as soldiers in other states were bound by the rules of war in the camp. In the first place, strict obedience to their superiors was the great thing required in *Sparta*; this they looked upon as the very basis of government, without which neither laws nor magistrates availed much. Old age was an indubitable title to honour in *Sparta*; to the old men the youth rose up whenever they came into any public place; they gave way to them when they met them in the streets, and were silent whenever their elders spoke. As all children were looked upon as the children of the state, so all the old men had the authority of parents; they reprehended whatever they saw amiss, not only in their own, but in other people's children, and by this method *Lycurgus* provided, that as youth are every where apt to offend, so they might be no-where without a monitor. The laws went still farther; if an old man was present where a young one committed a fault and did not reprove him, he was punished equally with the delinquent. Amongst the youths there was one of their own body, or at most two years older than the rest, who was siled *Iren*; he had authority to question all their actions, to look strictly to their behaviour, and to punish them if they did amiss, neither were their punishments light, but

but on the contrary very severe, whereby the boys were made hardy, and accustomed to bear stripes and hard usage. Silence was a thing highly commended, and greatly valued at *Sparta*, where modesty was held to be a most becoming virtue in young people; nor was it restrained only to their words and actions, but to their very looks and gestures, *Lycurgus* having particularly directed that they should look forward, or on the ground, and that they should always keep their hands within their robes. A stupid inconsiderate person, one who would not listen to instruction, but was careless of whatever the world might say of him, the *Lacedemonians* treated as a scandal to human nature; with such an one they would not converse, but threw him off as a rotten branch, and worthless member of society.

THE studies and learning of this people fall naturally into the eighth table. The plainness of their manners, and their being so very much addicted to war, made the *Lacedemonians* less fond of the sciences than the rest of the *Greeks*; they measured the worth of all things by their usefulness, and, therefore, if they wrote to be read, and spoke to be understood, it was all they sought. For this the *Athenians*, who were excessively vain of their learning, mightily contemned them, insomuch, that *Thucydides* himself, in drawing the character of *Brasidas*, says, he spoke well enough for a *Lacedemonian*. These, on the other hand, valued themselves no less on their roughness, and their steady adherence to the maxims of their ancestors, as, amongst other instances, appears from this answer of a *Spartan* to one of the learned *Athenians*, who upbraided him with the ignorance of his country: *All you say may be true, and yet it amounts to no more, than that we only amongst the Greeks have learned no evil customs from you.* Arts were in no greater credit with them than sciences, a soldier was the only reputable profession in *Sparta*, a mechanic or a husbandman was thought a low fellow; the reason of this was, that they imagined professions which required much labour, some constant posture, being continually in the house, or always about a fire, weakened the body, and depressed the mind; whereas a man free from these incumbrances was at liberty to attend the service of the republic in time of peace, and to fight its battles when engaged in war. Such professions as were necessary the *Helotes* exercised, but for curious arts, and such as served only to luxury, they would not so much as suffer them to be practised in their city; in consequence of which, rhetoricians, fortune-tellers, bankers, and dealers in money were shut out; neither tragedy, nor comedy could obtrude itself on the *Spartans*, they would not bear

the representation of evil, even to produce good ; but other kinds of poetry were admitted, provided the magistrates had the perusal of pieces before they were handed to the public. Above all things they affected brevity of speech, and accustomed their children from their very infancy never to express themselves in more words than were strictly necessary, whence a concise and sententious oratory is to this day stiled *Laconic*. In writing they used the same method, of which we have a signal instance in a letter of *Archidamus* to the *Eleans*, when he understood that they had some thoughts of assisting the *Arcadians* ; it ran thus : *Archidamus to the Eleans. It is good to be quiet.* And therefore *Epaminondas* had reason to glory in having forced the *Spartans* to abandon their monosyllables, and to lengthen their discourses. We need not wonder, that people, so much removed from their neighbours in their customs and manners, should not be desirous of having the customs and laws of strangers published or discoursed of in their city ; this therefore was a law given by *Lycurgus*, and strictly adhered to ; but some, who have inferred from thence that the *Lacedemonians* were equally cautious to prevent strangers from gaining acquaintance with their laws and customs, are somewhat mistaken ; for in this point they were not so strict. The greatest part of their education consisted in giving their youth right ideas of men and things ; the *Iren* or master proposed questions, and either commended the answers that were made him, or reprov'd such as answered childishly ; these questions did not relate either to trivial or to abstruse matters, but to points of the highest importance in civil life ; such as, Who was the best man in the city ? wherein lay the merit of such an action, and whether this or that hero's fame was well founded ? Harmless raillery was greatly encouraged, and this, joined to their short manner of speaking, rendered *Laconic* replies universally admired. Music was much encouraged, but in this, as in other things, they adhered to that which had been in favour with their ancestors ; nay, they were so strict therein, that they would not permit their slaves to learn either the tune or the words of their most admired odes, or, which is all one, they would not permit them to sing them if they had learned them. The love of boys was much encouraged at *Sparta*, but it was a virtuous and modest affection, untinged with that sensuality which was so scandalous at *Athens* ; female friendships were no less frequent, and no less warm ; it is likely, that *Lycurgus* introduced these things in order the better to unite his citizens, which is the more probable, if we consider, that neither in one case, nor in the other, rivals

were

were angry, or bore ill-will towards each other ; but on the contrary, their love to the same person begat a secondary friendship among themselves, and united them in all things which might be for the benefit of the person beloved. There is but one thing more, in respect to their education, which deserves mention, and it is this ; that theft, if it was handsomely concealed, was not held scandalous amongst them ; a most absurd institution, for which many apologies have been offered, which have done as little honour to their authors, as this very law did to *Lycurgus*. When theft was discovered, however, it was severely punished, and what between this practice and the former, the *Spartan* youth were so hardened, that they would endure any thing, after they had committed a theft, rather than suffer it to be known. It would be easy to alledge instances, but to what end ? to prove, that in defence of vice men will dare to suffer pain ? We see it every day, and therefore they are needless ; it was an error in the *Lacedemonian* policy, which we are not bound either to palliate or excuse.

THE exercises instituted by law fall under the ninth table ; in these all the *Greeks* were extremely careful, but the *Lacedemonians* in a degree beyond the rest ; for if a youth by his corpulence, or any other means, became unfit for these exercises, he fell into public contempt at least, if not banishment. Hunting was the usual diversion of their children, nay, it was made a part of their education, because it had a tendency to strengthen the limbs, and to render those who practised it supple and fleet ; they likewise bred up dogs for hunting with great care. They had a kind of public dances, in which they exceedingly delighted, and which were common alike to virgins and young men ; indeed in all their sports girls were allowed to divert themselves with the youths, inasmuch, that at darting, throwing the quoit, pitching the bar, and such like robust diversions, the women were as dexterous as the men ; for the manifest oddity of this proceeding *Lycurgus* assigned no other reason, than that he sought to render women as well as men strong and healthy, that the children they brought forth might be so too ; violent exercises, and a laborious kind of life were only enjoined to the youth ; for when they were grown up to men's estate, that is, were upwards of thirty years old, they were exempted from all kinds of labour, and employed themselves wholly either in affairs of state or in war. They had a method of whipping at a certain time young lads in the temple of *Diana*, and about her altar, which, however palliated, was certainly

certainly unnatural and cruel. It was esteemed a great honour for lads to sustain these flagellations without weeping, groaning, or shewing any sense of pain; and the thirst of glory was so strong in these young minds, that they very frequently suffered death without shedding a tear, or breathing a sigh. A desire of overcoming all the weaknesses of human nature, and thereby rendering his *Spartans* not only superior to their neighbours, but to their species, runs through many of the institutions of *Lycurgus*; which principle, if well attended to, thoroughly explains them, and without attending to which it is impossible to give any account of them at all.

THE tenth table shall comprehend their laws respecting contracts and money-matters. Gold and silver were by the constitutions of *Lycurgus* made no value in *Sparta*; he was so well apprized of the danger of riches, that he made the very possession of them penal; but as there was no living without some sort of money, that is, some common measure or standard of the worth of things, he directed an iron coinage, whereby the *Spartans* were supplied with the useful money, and had at the same time no temptation to covetousness afforded them; for a very small sum was sufficient to load a couple of horses, and a great one must have been kept in a barn or warehouse; the coming in of all foreign money was also prohibited, that corruption might not enter under the name of commerce. The most antient method of dealing, *viz.* by barter, or exchange of one commodity for another, was preserved by law in *Sparta* long after it had been out of date everywhere else. Interest was a thing forbid in the *Spartan* commonwealth, where they had also a law against the alienation of lands, accepting presents from foreigners even without the limits of their own country, and when their authority and character might well seem to excuse them; thus by all possible methods *Lycurgus* sought to shut out corruption, to oblige his citizens to live simply and innocently, without admitting amongst them those seeds of luxury and dissension, which he saw had produced such fatal effects in the regions through which he travelled.

SUCH of the laws of *Sparta* as related to courts of justice may be brought under the eleventh table. Thirty years must have passed over the head of him who had a right to concern himself in juridical proceedings; young men were thought unfit for them, and it was even held indecent, and of ill report, for a man to have any fondness for law-suits, or to be busying himself at the tribunals, when he had no affairs there of his own; by these rules *Lycurgus* thought to shut out litigiousness, and to prevent that multiplicity of suits which is
always

always scandalous in a state. As young people were not permitted to inquire about the laws of other countries, and as they were hindered from hearing judicial proceedings in their courts, so they were likewise forbidden to ask any questions about, or to endeavour to discover the reasons of, the laws by which themselves were governed. Obedience was their duty, and to that alone they would have them kept. Men of abandoned characters, or who were notoriously of ill fame, lost all right of giving their votes in respect of public affairs, or of speaking in public assemblies; for they would not believe, that an ill man in private life could mean his country better than he did his neighbour.

THE military laws of *Sparta* shall compose the twelfth table. Till a man was thirty years old, he was not capable of serving in the army, as the best authors agree, tho' some think, that the military age is not well ascertained by antient authors; they were forbidden to march at any time before the full moon, the reason of which law is very hard to be discovered, if indeed it had any reason at all, or was not rather founded on some superstitious opinion, that this was a more lucky conjuncture than any other. They were likewise forbidden to fight often against the same enemy, which was one of the wisest maxims in the political system of *Lycurgus*; and we shall see, that *Agésilas*, by offending against it, destroyed the power of his country, and lost her that authority which for so many ages she maintained over the rest of *Greece*; for by continually warring against the *Thebans*, to whom he had an inveterate hatred, he at last beat them into the knowledge of the art of war, and enabled them under the command of *Epaminondas* to maintain for a time the principality of *Greece*. Maritime affairs they were forbid to meddle with, though the necessity of things compelled them in process of time to transgress this institution, and by degrees they transferred to themselves as well the dominion at sea as land, as the reader has already seen in the *Athenian* history; but after the *Peloponnesian* war they again neglected naval affairs, from a persuasion that sailors and strangers corrupted those with whom they conversed. As they never fortified *Sparta*, so they were not ready to undertake sieges; fighting in the field was their proper province, and while they could overcome their enemies there, they rightly conceived that nothing could hurt them at home. In time of war they relaxed somewhat of their strict manner of living, in which they were singular; the true reason for this was, in all probability, that war might be less burdensome to them; for, as we have more than once observed, a strong desire to render them bold and warlike was the

the reigning passion of their legislator. For they were forbidden to remain long encamped in the same place, as well to hinder their being surpris'd, as that they might be more troublesome to their enemies, by wasting every corner of their country. They slept all night in their armour, but their out-guards were not allowed their shields, that being unprovided of defence they might not dare to sleep. In all their expeditions, they were careful in the performance of religious rites, and after their evening meal was over, the soldiers sang together hymns to their gods. When they were about to engage, the king sacrificed to the muses, that by their assistance they might be enabled to perform deeds worthy of being recorded to latest times ; then the army advanced in order to the sound of flutes, which played the hymn of *Castor* ; the king himself sung the pæan, which was the signal to charge ; this was done with all the decorum imaginable, and the soldiers were sure either to die or conquer ; indeed they had nothing else to do, for if they fled they were infamous, and in danger of being slain, even by their own mothers, for disgracing their families. History informs us, that a *Spartan* lady, on the news of her son's having fled from a battle, wrote him this short letter, *Fame speaks ill of you, efface it, or be no more*. In this consisted all the excellency of the *Spartan* women, who, if it were possible, excelled in bravery their men, never lamenting over husbands or sons, if they died honourably in the field, but deploring the shame brought on their house, if either the one or the other escaped by flight. The throwing away a shield also induced infamy, and with respect to this, mothers, when they embraced their departing sons, were wont to caution them, that they should either return armed as they were, or be brought back so, that is, when they were dead ; for, as we have before observed, such as were slain in battle were nevertheless buried in their own country. When they had made their enemies fly, they pursued no longer than till the victory was out of doubt, because they would seem to fight rather for the honour of victory, than that they might put their enemies to death. According to their antient rules of war, they were bound not to spoil the dead bodies of their enemies, but in process of time this, and indeed many other of their most excellent regulations, fell into dissuetude. He who overcame by stratagem offered up an ox to *Mars*, whereas he who overcame by force offered up only a cock, the former being esteemed more manly than the latter. After forty years service a man was discharged, that is, it was no longer required of him by law to go into the field, and consequently, if the military age was thirty, the *Spartans* were not held invalids, till

†

they

they were seventy. Thus we have comprized the most considerable of the *Spartan* laws into twelve tables. Some indeed we have omitted, because we shall be obliged to speak of their being enacted elsewhere ^b.

Lycurgus did not put any of his laws into writing, because he would have them written in the hearts of the people; and to impress them the more strongly there, he took great pains to make it be believed, that they were given to him by *Apollo*, wherefore he stiled them *Rhetrae*, i. e. *divine sanctions*. It is not clear, whether or not *Lycurgus* was the author of that political contrivance, which prevailed amongst his countrymen, for lessening the number of their slaves whenever they grew dangerous to the state, and which was stiled *Cryptia*, i. e. the *ambuscade*. Such as had the care of educating the *Spartan* youth picked out the stoutest of them, and, having armed them with daggers, sent them out to destroy their unhappy slaves, which they did, either by surprising them in the night, or falling upon them in the day, when they were at their work, without any crime being pretended against them, and for no other reason than that the state might be safe from their attempts by this reduction of their number. *Plato* greatly condemns this law, for which reason *Plutarch* denies that it was made by *Lycurgus*; but when, or however, it was made, it was indubitably against natural equity, or, to speak with greater propriety, against humanity; a cruel and unnecessary expedient, and unworthy of a virtuous people (A).

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^b PLUT. in vit. *Lycurg.* & in Instit. *Lacon.* ARIST. Polit. PLAT. de Legib. & de Repub. XENOPH. Inst. *Lac.* ÆLIAN. var. Hist. HERAC. PONT. in Fragm. * PLUT. in vit. *Lycurg.* PLATO de Legib. l. i. p. 633.

(A) The cruelty of the *Lacedemonians* towards their slaves, or *Helotes*, is frequently spoken of, and generally decried by all authors, though *Plutarch*, who was a great admirer of the *Spartans*, endeavours every-where to palliate it as much as may be. To give the reader a distinct account of this matter, we must first acquaint him who these *Helotes* are: *Helos* was an antient city in *Laconia*, against which on some pretence or other the *Lacedemonians* made war, and having subdued it, they made all the inhabitants thereof, and of the adjacent district, slaves (1). And in process of time, when they had enlarged the number of persons in this unhappy condition by subjugating other places, they still kept up

(1) *Homer. Iliad. B. v. 585. Strabo, Geogr. lib. viii. p. 363. Pausan. Lacon. 201.*

Sedition in
Sparta.
Lycurgus
wounded in
the eye.

It is not to be conceived, that such mighty changes could be wrought in a country without any opposition, neither indeed were they; for when he proceeded to the division of property, a great sedition arose, wherein at last the people proceeded

the old name, and called them all *Helotes*, which, ceasing then to be a proper name, became common to all who were in this state of servitude. As to the terms of it, they were these: First, their lords could not set them free; and secondly they had no power to sell them, so as that they might be transported out of the *Lacedemonian* dominions (2). Hence it came to pass, that they were prodigiously numerous, which sometimes alarmed the *Spartans*, and made them devise the law above recited to keep them under. *Aristotle* expressly affirms, that it was devised by *Lycurgus* (3). *Plutarch* would gladly have this disbelieved, merely because he thinks it injurious to that legislator; for he offers no other reason for it whatsoever, and at the same time owns, that *Plato* himself had been displeased with *Lycurgus* for the cruelty and injustice of this law (4). *Plutarch* elsewhere informs us, that the *Helotes* were employed to cultivate the lands of their lords, that they did not give an exact account of their produce, but paid a small settled rent, which their lords could not raise without incurring public censure (5). This is *Plutarch's* account of the matter, from whence one would be led to conceive, that these *Helotes* were a kind of bailiffs, stewards, or lower sort of farmers. But other authors speak a quite different language; they tell us, that liberty and slavery were in their extremes at *Sparta*, that none were so perfectly free as the citizens of *Lacedemon*, nor any such despicable slaves as these *Helotes*; they were distinguished, that is, marked out for slaves in their dress, their gesture, and in short in every thing; they wore dog-skin bonnets, sheep-skinvests; they were forbidden to learn any liberal art, or to perform any act worthy of their masters; when their lords were so disposed, these poor men were obliged to drink themselves drunk, that the free-born *Spartans* might see the beastliness of that vice in their behaviour. Once a day they received a certain number of stripes, for fear they should forget they were slaves; and to crown all they were liable to this *Cryptia*, which was sure to be executed on all such as spoke, looked, or walked like freemen (6). To take off somewhat from the horror and scandal of such a practice, the ephori, after they were instituted, at their coming into office declared war against them (7); against whom? why against poor naked slaves, who tilled their lands, dressed their food, and did all those offices for them which they were too proud to do for

(2) *Strabo*, lib. viii. *Pollux*. lib. 3. c. 8. (3) *Polit. lib. ii.*
(4) *In vit. Lycurg.* (5) *Instit. Lacedem.* (6) *Miron. Prien.*
ap. Athen. Deipnos. lib. xiv. (7) *Arist. Polit. lib. ii.*

themselves.

proceeded to blows, and *Lycurgus* found himself obliged to quit the assembly in order to fly to a sanctuary; some of them, however, closely pursued him, and amongst the rest one *Alcander*, a young nobleman of a generous, but too hasty, disposition, who, on *Lycurgus's* looking back, struck him on the eye, and as some say, beat it out; the legislator then stopped, and shewing his face all covered with blood, the people were so struck thereat, that they immediately asked his pardon, and delivered up *Alcander* into his hands to be treated as he thought fit. *Lycurgus* accepted the proposal, and carried *Alcander* home with him, where, instead of punishing, or even reproving him harshly, he received him as his attendant, caused him to wait on him at meals, and kept him always near his person; this mildness was of great service to them both; for *Alcander* perceiving that *Lycurgus* was not, as he had supposed him, a man of a harsh and morose disposition, but of a most sweet and affable temper, he became from his fiercest enemy his greatest admirer, which wrought mightily on the minds of the people, and engaged them to receive as oracles the instructions of *Lycurgus*. Another good it wrought was this, that it became immediately a law, from which they never receded, that no weapon whatsoever, no not so much as a staff, was brought into their assemblies or public councils^d.

WHEN *Lycurgus* had fully perfected his design, and wrought the commonwealth into that form, which, from the consideration of the nature of men and of the different effects of various
Method taken by this legislator to settle his laws.

^d PLUT. ubi supra.

themselves. *Plutarch* according to custom, endeavours to place all this cruelty far lower than the times of *Lycurgus*, and alledges, that it was introduced on account of the *Helotes* joining with the *Mcſſenians* after a great earthquake, whereby a great part of *Lacedemon* was overthrown (8); but *Ælian* tells us expressly, that it was the common opinion in *Greece*, that this very earthquake was a judgment from heaven upon the *Spartans* for treating these *Helotes* with such inhumanity (9). *Thucydides* gives us a glaring instance of the jealousy of the *Lacedemonians* on account of these poor men; he says, that about two thousand of them, being manumitted by law for their great service in the *Peloponnesian* war, were crowned with garlands, led about to the temples, and entertained with shows; after all which they disappeared on a sudden, nor could any body ever tell what became of them (10).

(8) *Plut. in vit. Lycurg.* (9) *Hist. Var. lib. iii.* (10) *Thucyd. de Bell. Pelop. lib. iv. vide etiam Ubb. Emm. de Repub. Lac. Crag. de Repub. Lac. lib. i. c. 11. Meurs. Misc. Lacon. lib. ii. c. 6.*
 O O ? rious

rious governments upon them, he thought most eligible ; his next care was to render this fixed and stable, and to prevent his countrymen from overturning that structure which he had raised, and running back into the condition wherein he found them. After some time he fell upon a method of effecting it, which was this : He called a general assembly, wherein he declared, that he now thought every thing was brought into its proper order, and that there remained behind but one point to be settled, which was indeed of the highest importance, and what he could not acquaint them with, till he had consulted the oracle at *Delphi* ; to which place he was ready to go, provided they would engage themselves to observe his *Rhetræ* inviolably till his return. To this all ranks and degrees of people readily assented, and to bind their assent, *Lycurgus* took an oath upon the spot from the two kings, the senate, and the commons ; after which he departed, as he had proposed, and went to *Delphi*. There he proposed this question to the oracle ; *Shall the laws established in Sparta make that city virtuous and happy ?* The response was, *The laws given to Sparta are excellent, and the city shall continue in the highest renown while it observes the polity of Lycurgus.* This he took in writing and sent to *Sparta*, after which he sacrificed a second time to *Apollo*, and having solemnly taken leave of his friends and of his son, he determined with himself to put an end to his life by fasting, that the *Lacedemonians* might never have it in their power to free themselves from the oath which he had taken from them. *Plutarch* expresses himself in very high terms in respect to the death of *Lycurgus*, he commends it as one of the noblest instances of patriotism, which is to be met with in antient history ; because, says he, the legislator secured a double point by this manner of dying ; he put a most honourable end to a virtuous and well-spent life, and he affixed his death as a seal to his laws, which he left as his last will and testament to his country. He tells us likewise, that his bones were carried home to *Sparta*, and buried under a plain tomb, which, as a mark of the divine favour, he says, was afterwards blasted with lightning, an accident peculiar to *Lycurgus* and *Euripides* the poet. The *Spartans*, to do honour to his memory, erected a temple to him, and sacrificed annually thereat. But after all this pompous account, *Plutarch* himself acknowledges, that authors are not well agreed, how, or where, this great man died ; some say, he ended his days at *Cirrha*, *Apolothenis* affirmed, that he died at *Elis*, *Timæus* and *Aristoxenus* agree, that he finished his days in *Crete*, the latter says the inhabitants shewed his tomb. *Aristocrates* the son of *Hipparchus* wrote likewise that he

he died in *Crete*; but he added, that by the direction of *Lycurgus* the persons with whom he lodged burnt his body, and scattered the ashes thereof in the air, and on the sea, that they might never be transported to *Lacedemon*, to prevent the people apprehending themselves released from their oath. He left behind him one son, whose name was *Antiorus*, who dying without issue, his race became extinct. His relations and friends held an annual assembly in commemoration of the deceased, and that they might therein discourse of, and exhort each other to the imitation of his virtues; the days of this meeting were in honour of the legislator stiled *Lycurgides* ^c (B).

FROM

^c PLUT. in vit. *Lycurg.*

(B) The life of *Lycurgus* was the first which *Plutarch* published, as he himself observes (11). He seems to have had a mighty liking to the *Spartans* and their customs; for, besides this life and those of several other *Spartan* chieftains, we have a treatise of his on the laws and customs of the *Lacedemonians*, and another of *Laconic* apophthegms; he owns notwithstanding, that with respect to the family and the time of the birth of this legislator, there is great uncertainty. He makes him, however, in all things a perfect hero, and alleges his behaviour as a proof that the wise man so often described, and so much commended by philosophers, was not a mere ideal character unattainable by human nature. He is very particular as to the salutation of the prophets at *Delphi*, which, he says, ran in these words: *Welcome, beloved of God, and rather God than man* (12). This oracle was certainly very famous in *Greece*, and generally speaking believed, otherwise *Socrates* would not have quoted it in his defence (13), or *Plutarch* have so often urged it as a full answer to all the calumnies raised against his hero. Yet something may be said, not greatly to the reputation either to the oracle or *Lycurgus*, viz. that this was all contrivance, in order to bring about what could otherwise never have been brought about, the imposing his harsh laws upon the *Spartans*. It is very likely, that he took this hint from the conduct of *Minos* the *Cretan* law-giver, who ascribed all his laws to *Jupiter*; but from whomsoever he took it, an antient author of great note affirms, that the responses of the oracle were framed by his wit, and procured by his money (14). The reader has seen in the *Athenian* history many instances of a like nature, and we shall hereafter shew, that *Lysander* knew how to make *Apollo* speak kindly in his favour, as well as *Lycurgus*. It is clear, that our law-giver depended chiefly on the people's apprehending his institutions to be divine; for this cause

(11) *In vit. Thesei.*
nophon. de Reb. Memor.(12) *Plut. in vit. Lycurg.*(14) *Polyæn. Stratag. lib. i. c. 16.*(13) *Xe-*

*The reigns
of Chari-
laus and
Teleclus.
Year of
the Flood,
2095.
Before
Christ.
904.*



FROM the death of *Lycurgus* the *Lacedemonian* history is for a long time very perplexed, there being no other materials he would never suffer his laws to be put into writing, but trusted them to the memory, that they might at once make the greater impression, and give the government greater power. *Plutarch* affords us an instance of this; he says, that by a *Rhetra* of *Lycurgus* the people had power to assent or dissent from what was proposed to them by the kings and senate; but when by degrees they extended this power, and began to gloss upon the laws, to assent to one part of them and to dissent from another, the kings and senate, that they might be even with them in their own way, added a new clause to the *Rhetra* to this purpose, that if the people should offer any cross proposal, then the senate and kings might reject it. Which clause, by dint of a little of their legislator's art, they imposed as a genuine injunction, and thereby strengthened their own authority at the expence of the peoples (15). Most politicians have held *Lycurgus*'s invention of a senate to have been a most excellent contrivance: *Plato* was so much charmed with it, that from thence he styles its author a divine spirit residing in a human nature (16): yet *Aristotle*, who was an excellent politician, found great fault with that institution; he thought it unreasonable, that senators should be made for life, because frequently mens abilities decay, so that instead of being able to mind public affairs, they become unfit to transact those of their own family. He was likewise offended, that they were left without controul, for he thought, that as all men were liable to errors, so all men ought to be accountable for them, especially if their errors might any way affect the state (17). The last act of *Lycurgus*, of which we have any certainty, is his sending the oracle from *Delphi* to *Sparta*, signifying the approbation given by *Apollo* to all his laws; that he starved himself there is improbable, but that he returned no more to his country seems to be perfectly agreeable to his manner of acting; for he was extremely ambitious of being thought somewhat more than man, as appears from the whole tenour of his behaviour; and his life could never have been closed by any act more shining than this of quitting supreme power, when his countrymen unanimously desired that he should retain it. This shewed, that he was truly disinterested, and did not seek any other reward for the services he rendered *Sparta*, than the glory of having served her. *Solon*, though a person of a different temper, was as disinterested as he; he settled the *Athenian* commonwealth, refused the sovereignty when offered to him, travelled to avoid the importunities of his countrymen, opposed tyranny in his old age, and when he found his opposition vain went into voluntary exile. *Lycurgus* and *Solon* were both great men, but the former had the stronger, the latter the milder, genius, the effects of which appeared in the commonwealths they founded.

(15) *Plut. in vit. Lycurg.* (16) *Plato de Legib. lib. iii.* (17) *Arist. lib. ii. & lib. vi.*

from whence it may be collected, than scattered passages of antient authors, which, as well as we are able, we shall put together. *Charilaus* made war on the *Argives*, but with little success; afterwards he fell on the *Tegeatæ* a people of *Arcadia*; but in this war also he had very bad fortune, for he was taken prisoner in a battle, which was won chiefly by the valour of the women; and to purchase his liberty, he was constrained to take a solemn oath, that he would never make war on this people any more; which oath, however, he kept very indifferently^f. He then turned his arms against the *Acbeans*, who had taken from the *Lacedemonians* several frontier towns, which he and his colleague *Teleclus* recovered. Among these were *Amyclas*, *Pharis*, and *Geronthra*; the first they rased, the inhabitants of the other two cities by agreement were permitted to retire out of *Peloponnesus*; such were the military exploits of *Charilaus* or *Charillus*; he retained always a great respect for his tutor *Lycurgus*, as appears from several of his sayings which have reached our times: for being once asked, why *Lycurgus* had made so few laws, he answered, *Men of few words need but few laws*; and it being demanded of him what kind of polity he held to be most complete, *That*, said he, *wherein most of the citizens contend in virtue without disturbing each other*^g. His colleague of the other regal house was *Teleclus*, a prince of indifferent parts and fortune. Being told before he succeeded to the crown, by some who sought to flatter him, that his father had spoke slightly of him, he answered, *That he was sorry for it, because he would not have done it, if himself had not deserved it*^h. His death gave occasion to the *Messenian* war, but after what manner cannot easily be determined. There was, it seems, a temple of *Diana* seated on the marches between *Laconia* and *Messenia*, to which the inhabitants of both regions resorted; some *Spartan* virgins repairing thither were violated by the *Messenians*, and *Teleclus*, endeavouring to prevent this outrage, was slain; the women also famished themselves to death. This is the *Spartan* side of the story; the *Messenians* reported it thus: That *Teleclus* intending to surprize some of the principal persons of their country, came thither with certain of his friends in female habits, with poignards under their cloaths, and that, a fray happening, *Teleclus* and some of his associates were slain. But there wanted not other causes of ill-will among these people; for the *Spartans* entertained an opinion, that their kings *Eurysthene*s and *Procles* were cheated by their un-

^f PAUSAN. in *Arcad.*^g PLUT. in *Apophtheg.* *LACON.*^h PLUT. ubi supra.

cle *Cresphontes* in the assignment of their territories, the most barren being given to them, and the best reserved to himself. While things were in this situation, an injury done to a private person kindled up the fire of war. Thus it happened; *Polychares* a *Messenian* intrusted *Euephnus* a *Lacedemonian* with some cows, on condition that he should have a moiety of the profit arising from their milk. The *Spartan* sold these cows to certain chapmen, and not only the cows, but the herdsmen who kept them, his merchants agreeing to take them away by force; as soon as this was done, *Euephnus* went to *Polychares*, and told him a melancholy story of certain robbers, who had stolen the cattle and their keepers. But, unluckily for him, while he was in the midst of his tale, came one or two of his herdsmen, who had made their escape, and falsified all he said; upon this the *Lacedemonian* confessed the truth, and told *Polychares*, that if he would send his son home with him, he would give him a moiety of the money, to which the *Messenian* readily agreed. But when they were come to *Sparta*, *Euephnus* most perfidiously murdered the lad, and *Polychares*, coming several times to *Sparta* to demand justice, was forced to retire unredressed and unheeded. He, being exceedingly provoked with such barbarous usage, resolved to take vengeance of the whole nation, and, in consequence of this resolution, killed as many of the *Lacedemonians* as he could meet with, which on the other hand was highly resented by that people¹. These transactions we have thrown together, though they happened at some distance of time, because we were willing to place all the causes or supposed causes of the *Messenian* war in the reader's view at once; we will, however, interrupt this narration a little, that we may preserve in its just order the succession of the *Spartan* kings.

The reigns
of Nican-
der and
Alcamen-
es.

To *Charilaus* succeeded his son *Nicanter*, who reigned thirty nine years, and in the thirty fourth year of whose reign was celebrated the first olympiad; he is said to have carried on the war with the *Argives*, and to have done them a great deal of mischief; but for other great actions of his life, if there were any, they were not recorded. *Teleclus* had for his successor his son *Alcamenes*, who, with his colleague before-mentioned, sent to the *Messenians* to demand justice against *Polychares*, and that he should be delivered up; the *Messenians* were at that time governed by *Androcles* and *Antiochus*, brothers; the former was much against yielding on any terms to the request of the *Lacedemonians*, alledging, that they were the aggressors, and therefore ought to do justice first; the

¹ PAUSAN. in Messen. STRAB. lib. vii. viii. JUTIN, lib. iii. c. 5.

latter was against hazarding the public safety on account of a private person, and therefore declared that he would give up *Polychares* rather than break with the *Spartans*; the disputes on this occasion rose so high, that from words they came to blows, wherein *Androcles* was slain. *Antiochus*, now reigning alone, sent immediately ambassadors to *Sparta*, beseeching the king and senate to consider, that they were originally of the same stock, and that therefore they ought not to be ready on every turn to make war on each other, offering in the present case to leave the decision of this matter either to the *Argives*, who were their common allies, to the *Amphytyonian* council, or to the senate of *Arcopagus* at *Athens*. The *Spartans* gave no answer to these deputies, and while things were in this situation, *Antiochus* died, and was succeeded in his dominions by his son *Euphaes*; to him the *Lacedemonians* made no complaint, neither did they renounce their correspondence with the *Messenians*; yet were they all this time providing secretly for the war, and, when all things were ready, engaged in it without giving the least notice. Before they proceeded to hostilities, the kings and senate called a general assembly, in which the troops appointed for the war took a solemn oath never to return home till they had intirely conquered *Messenia*; which shewed, that this was a war of ambition rather than justice, and intended not to repair their own injuries, but to ravage the country of their neighbours ^k.

Alcamenes king of *Sparta*, at the head of a complete army, entered the *Messenian* territory suddenly, and by night, in consequence of which he easily surpris'd the city of *Amphæa*, the gates of which were open as usual, the inhabitants not having the least suspicion of what afterwards happened. The *Spartans* behaved on this occasion very cruelly, they slew without distinction all who came in their way, nor did even temples or altars afford a sanctuary to such as fled thither for protection. The conveniency of the city, which the *Lacedemonians* knew would serve them as a proper magazine during the war, tempted them to this exploit, and in all probability engaged them to treat the people thus harshly, that they might make themselves absolute masters of it and its districts. *Euphaes* the *Messenian* king, on the first news of this extraordinary stroke, assembled his people, and encouraged them to keep up their spirits, and not to believe that all was lost, because *Amphæa* was in the hands of the *Lacedemonians*; he likewise gave them his opinion of the war, and of the manner in which they might best carry it on; he observed to them that the *Lacedemonians*

The Messenian war commenced.
Year of the Flood 2256.
Year before Christ, 743.



^k Πόλεμος & ἡγεμονία ἀβιτιάται.

were not only brave, but were also bred up to war as to a trade, nay, were indeed bred up to nothing else; whence he inferred, that it was by no means prudent for them to engage in pitched battles with such an enemy. Wherefore his counsel was, that they should carry on a defensive war in the best manner they were able, till by degrees they acquired experience enough to fight the *Spartans* upon equal terms. The *Messenians*, following his advice, maintained a defensive war for three years, in which they suffered the *Spartans* to obtain very few advantages over them. In the fourth year *Euphaes* ventured an engagement, but it was with great circumspection, for, having intrenched his best troops, he drew out his horse and light-armed forces skirmishing with these; and when the *Spartans* drew nearer, and thought to have brought it to a general battle, he withdrew his army behind his retrenchments; and as the *Spartans* had no materials for filling up the ditch which lay before his works, they were constrained to retire, and shortly after returned to their own country, where they met with a very indifferent reception, on account of the oath which they and their forces had taken, never to return till they had thoroughly reduced *Messenia*¹. A very short time after this both the kings died. As to *Nicander*, we find little of him in antient authors more than has been already mentioned; with respect to *Alcamenes*, *Plutarch* hath preserved some passages of his life, which shew that he was a wise and gentle prince^m. Being once asked how a prince might best secure his government, he answered, *By despising gain*. When the *Messenians* sought by presents to have gained him to their interest, he refused them; and the reason of this being demanded, he readily answered, *If I had taken them, the laws and I could never have agreed*. He inherited, it seems, a great deal of wealth from his father, and increased it by his own management, living still in a plain parsimonious manner; for which being reproached, he said, *Is it not a mark of virtue and good sense, when he who has abundance chooses to live, rather according to reason than appetite?* It is a misfortune to us, that we know not from whom the author before mentioned copied these sayings; and the reader, it is to be hoped, will excuse us, if, finding little to say of their deeds, we entertain him sometimes with the sayings of those *Spartan* kings.

Polydorus
and Theopompus
the Spartan
kings.

Polydorus succeeded his father *Alcamenes* in the kingdom, and *Theopompus* his father *Nicander*. With these princes the *Spar-*

¹ Pausan. in Messen. Justin. lib. iii. c. 4.
Apophanegm. Lacon.

^m PLUT. in

tans intrusted a new army, with express instructions not to act as their predecessors had done, but to put their country in possession of a prize which she had so long desired. The *Messenians*, under the command of *Euphaes* their prince, no longer fled from their enemies, as hitherto they had wont : but prepared to give them battle, as soon as a proper opportunity offered. It was not long before they had occasion to make trial of each other's valour ; the *Lacedemonians* then marched towards the enemy in battalia, *Throponus* commanding the right wing, and *Polydorus* the left ; the *Messenians* disposed their army so as best to oppose the *Spartans*, *Antander* and their king *Euphaes* commanding their left, and *Pytharatas* their right ; the engagement was very obstinate, the centre in both armies remaining firm ; the right wing of the *Spartan* army was routed by *Euphaes*, as was the right wing of the *Messenian* army by *Polydorus*, *Pytharatas* their general being slain. These advantages, however, were so inconsiderable, that neither party durst pursue the other, and the next day a truce was agreed to, that both sides might have leisure to withdraw and bury their dead ; after which the *Spartans*, notwithstanding the instructions they had received, thought fit to return home, the conquest of *Messenia* appearing by this time a thing impracticable for the present ⁿ. The reader will observe, that we have ascribed this war to motives of interest, which at first sight may seem to clash with what the historians, whom we have mentioned, have said about it ; but that the fact was so, putting all circumstances together, is indubitably true ; nay, *Polydorus* the *Spartan* king openly professed as much when he went to this war ; for some of the *Messenians* having demanded of him, *If he would fight against his brethren*, alluding to their and the *Lacedemonians* descent from the same parents, the king readily answered, *No, but I will put in my claim to an estate, to which as yet no body has any good title* ^o. The great resistance the *Messenians* made on this second invasion, determined the *Spartans* not to carry on the war any longer in the same manner, but to content themselves with harassing and plundering the country, whereby the spirits of their own troops would be kept up, and the *Messenians* worn out and destroyed ; for in this lay the great advantage of the *Spartans*, that war was their business, in which if they were not engaged they were idle, whereas the *Messenians*, having their country affairs to mind, were beggared and destroyed by being thus obliged to keep many garisons, besides a standing body of troops in the field. To add to these misfortunes, which were already al-

PAUSAN. ubi supra.

^o PLUT. in Apophtheg. Lacon.

P p 2

most

most insupportable, a distemper raged in *Messenia*, which differed little from the plague, except that it did not sweep off such numbers. These misfortunes produced a long and serious consultation among the chief persons in the kingdom, who at length came to a resolution to abandon such villages and little towns as were least capable of defence, and to fortify a city which stood on the top of the mountain *Ithome*, to which the inhabitants of the demolished places might repair: from this they promised themselves two things; first, that they should be released from the expence of garisons; secondly, that in time of distress this might be made a place of certain safety^P.

*The Argive
or Thy-
rean war.*

THE *Spartans* were about this time called off from the *Messenian* war to engage with the *Argives*; the dispute was about the city *Thyrea* and its district, which, lying on the borders of *Argolis* and *Laconia* had been an old bone of contention between those states^Q. To avoid a great effusion of blood, it was by both parties agreed, that three hundred *Argives* and as many *Lacedemonians* should decide the quarrel between the nations, the armies on both sides retireing. In consequence of this agreement, these six hundred men engaged, and fought with such obstinate resolution, that when night came on, there were but two *Argives*, viz. *Alcinor* and *Chromius*, and one *Spartan*, whose name was *Othryades*, left alive. The *Argives* ran home to their city to carry the news of the victory. *Othryades* remained in the field of battle and erected a trophy; hence a new dispute commenced; both parties claiming the victory; the *Argives*, because two of their men were left; the *Spartans*, because the *Argives* fled, and left *Othryades* in possession of the field of battle; this produced a new war, in which the *Lacedemonians* were victors, a great battle having been fought between their army, under the command of *Polydorus*, and that of the *Argives*, with a mighty slaughter of the latter. Some would have persuaded the *Spartan* king to have pursued this victory, and to have attacked *Argos* itself; but he answered with a generosity becoming his character, that the *Spartans* sent him to assert their rights, and not to rob others^R. Thus ended the *Argive* war, some circumstances of which are variously reported (C). Let us now return to the affairs of the *Messenians* after their fortifying *Ithome*.

^P PAUSAN. ubi supra.

^Q HEROD. lib. i. PAUSAN. in Argol.

^R SUIDAS, in voce Οθρυάδας. PAUSAN. in Lacon. PLUT. in Apophtheg. Lacon.

THE

(C) In the lesser treatise of parallels between the *Greeks* and *Romans*,



THE desire of freeing themselves from this grievous war *The Mea-*
 with *Sparta* engaged them to send a person to consult the ora- *cles taken*
 cle at *Delphi*; the name of this man was *Tisis*, who in his *in this*
 return was attacked by some of the *Lacedemonian* garison in *space by the*
Amphæa, from whom, however, he escaped, though grievous- *Mene-*
 ly wounded; of which wounds, having first revealed the o- *ans.*
 racle to the king, he died; the purport of it was, that unless
 a virgin of the house of the *Æpytidæ*, that is, the royal family,
 was sacrificed to the gods, the war would end in the ruin of
 their nation; this oracle, when reported, struck the *Messe-*
nians, and especially the royal family, with the utmost terror.
 Lots, however, were cast, and the daughter of *Lyfiscus* ta-
 ken; but when she should have been sacrificed, *Epebolus* the
 soothsayer declared, that she was not *Lyfiscus*'s daughter, but
 imposed upon him by his wife, who thereby sought to escape
 the imputation of barrenness. While the soothsayer was set-
 ting forth this matter to the people, *Lyfiscus* withdrew his
 daughter, and fled with her to *Sparta*. Upon this *Aristode-*
mus, one of the royal house, freely offered his daughter; a
 young man, who was present, alledged, that he was contract-
 ed to her, and that therefore her father had no right over her,
 which plea being over-ruled, he set up another, that he had
 consummated his marriage, and that she was actually with
 child by him; *Aristodemus*, conceiving this to be a dishonour
 to his family, slew his daughter instantly with his own hand,
 after which opening her womb, he shewed it to the people.

mans, generally ascribed to *Plutarch*, the abovementioned fact
 stands thus: "The *Argives* and *Lacedemonians* being engaged in
 " a dispute about the city and district of *Thyrea*, the *Amphictyons*
 " decreed, that it should be decided by combat. The *Lacedemo-*
 " *nians* chose for their captain *Othryades*; the *Argives* *Thersander*;
 " the battle being over, there remained only two *Argives*, whose
 " names were *Agenor* and *Chromius*, who ran trait to the city to
 " carry the news of their victory. In the mean time, while all
 " was quiet, *Othryades*, who was not quite dead, rose from the
 " ground, and having propped himself up with two pieces of bro-
 " ken lances, he drew together as many shields as lay within his
 " reach, and piling them up, wrote on the uppermost with his own
 " blood these words: *To Jupiter the conqueror, guardian of trophies.*
 " This creating a new dispute, which was again brought before the
 " *Amphictyons*, they went to take a view of the place, and having
 " thoroughly examined all things, decreed in favour of the *Spartans*.
 " This is recorded by *Chrysermus* in the third book of his *Peloponne-*
 " *sian* history (18).

(18) *Plutarch. in Paral. p. 606.*

The

The soothsayer insisted that another should be sacrificed, the daughter of *Aristodemus* having rather died by the passion of her father, than as a victim ; but all the family of the *Æpytidæ* joined with the king, who persuaded the people, that the oracle was fulfilled by the death of *Aristodemus's* daughter. Public rejoicings therefore were made, and the *Messenians* concluded, that whenever the war should be renewed they would be victors^r.

The Spartans renew the war with the Messenians.

SIX years after the flight of *Lyfiscus*, and eight from the fortifying of *Ithome*, the *Lacedemonians* entered *Messenia* again with a great army. The *Messenians* might undoubtedly have received great assistance from their neighbours, if they had carried on the war as they were wont, that is defensively ; but they, confiding in the oracle, were eager for an engagement, which, suiting the *Spartan* method of making war, quickly fell out ; this battle, like the former, though obstinately fought, was not decisive, the night parting them ; *Euphaes*, however, venturing too far against *Theopompus* the *Spartan* king, was mortally wounded, and fell down ; this, far from checking the spirits of the *Messenians*, made them the more eager, insomuch, that a warm contest began about carrying off the dying king, in which the *Messenians* prevailed, though with the loss of *Antander*, one of their best captains ; *Euphaes*, being carried back to *Ithome*, expired in a few days, after a reign of thirteen years, which had been one continual scene of war and confusion. *Euphaes* leaving no issue behind him, the people claimed a right of electing out of the royal family, whereupon *Cleonnis*, *Damis*, and *Aristodemus* put in their claims ; the people elected the last, notwithstanding the soothsayer's alledging he was incapable on account of his having slain his daughter. This new monarch was no sooner seated on his throne, than he began to negotiate with the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians*, in order to draw them to his assistance against the *Lacedemonians* ; wherein he was very successful, almost all the *Peloponnesians* beginning to be apprehensive of the mighty power and warlike genius of that nation. At the same time *Aristodemus* laboured with all his might to unite the minds of his countrymen, and to engage them to behave bravely in a war which so nearly concerned them, and on the event of which it depended, whether for the future they should be freemen or slaves ; with this view he showered his favours upon all, he raised his competitors to the chief dignities in the kingdom, he conferred honours on men of birth and fortune, and distributed money amongst the people. Such was the be-

beginning of *Aristodemus's* reign, who was an avowed and most dangerous enemy to the *Spartans* ^c.

ABOUT this time, as the best authors agree, a great change was made in the *Spartan* republic, which is ascribed to *Theopompus*, who seeing the necessity of leaving magistrates to execute the laws, when the kings were obliged to be in the field, appointed the *Ephori*, who afterwards made so great a figure in the *Spartan* state ^u. Some think, that they were at first the king's friends to whom they delegated authority, which is very probable; but they soon grew to have no dependence on the kings, but on the contrary made the kings dependent upon them. They were five in number, chosen by the people out of their own body, sometimes out of the very dregs of it; for whoever was a bold, factious, talking citizen, was most likely to be elected into this office; they were in fact a kind of tribunes of the people, and placed as checks on the senate and kings; they were annually elected, and in order to effect any thing, the unanimous voice of the college was requisite. As to their authority, it was in a manner boundless: they presided in popular assemblies, collected their suffrages, declared war, made peace, treated with foreign princes, determined the number of forces that should be raised, appointed the funds to maintain them, and distributed rewards and punishments in the name of the state; they likewise held a court of justice, enquired into the behaviour of all magistrates, inspected into the deportment and education of youth, had a particular jurisdiction over the *Helotes*, and in short by degrees drew the whole administration into their own hands. This *Theopompus's* queen is said to have conjectured on their first appointment; which made her reproach her husband with suffering the regal dignity to descend to his children mutilated and in a worse condition than he received it from his ancestors. *Theopompus* answered her with great prudence; that far from having lessened or injured the regal authority, he had strengthened and secured it, because the people, being satisfied by this institution, would have less inclination to run into tumults and seditions, in which princes are never safe ^{*}. One great privilege of the *Ephori* was, that they did not rise up at the presence of the kings, as all other magistrates did ^v: another, that from the first elected of these magistrates the year was denominated, as at *Athens* from the first of the ar-

The Ephori created at Sparta.

^c PAUSAN. in Lacon. & Messen. ^u ARIST. Polit. lib. v. c. 11. PLUT. in vit. Cleom. VALER. M. lib. iv. ^{*} ARIST. Polit. ii. PLUT. in vit. Ageil. PLAT. de legib. lib. iii. POLYB. lib. iv. XENOPH. de Repub. Lacedem.

chons²; the third high mark of their authority was, that if the kings offended against the laws, or were guilty of any sort of excess, the *Ephori* took cognisance thereof, and punished them³. Some disputes there are as to the nature and extent of this office, which will be discussed in the notes, but it is now time to resume the thread of the history. (D).

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² PAUSAN. Lacon. ³ PLUT. Instit. Lacedem.

(D) We have in the text placed the institution of the *Ephori* under the reign of *Theopompus*, though it must be owned, that not only *Herodotus* in his history (19), but *Xenophon* also, treating expressly of the republic of *Lacedemon*, ascribes the settling of the *Ephori* to *Lycurgus* (20). It is fit therefore, that we give our reasons why we have rejected these authorities, which certainly would be admitted in any other case and have placed the *Ephori* a hundred and thirty years lower than *Lycurgus*. First then, we think, that the nature of this office very little agrees with that legislator's scheme of government, since he seems to have sought, as far as in him lay, to support the authority of the kings and nobility; otherwise, why did he institute the senate? or why did he leave to the people in their general assembly nothing more than a negative voice? We do admit that these arguments would be of no weight at all against such authorities as *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*, if there had not been writers of no less character on the other side. For secondly, *Aristotle* is express in placing their institution lower (21); *Plutarch* in his life of *Cleomenes* introduces that prince, assigning them the same institution which we have done; besides *Theopompus*'s answer to his queen is recorded by authors of the best credit (22). So that on the whole, it is by far more probable, that this office began under the reigns of *Theopompus* and his colleague, rather than under that of *Charilaus*. Undoubtedly their power grew by very slow degrees, and at their first institution they were far from having that authority, which in after-times they exercised with so high a hand. Some have imagined, that they were at first appointed by the kings at their pleasure, but that afterwards the people got the power of electing them into their hands; nay, those who have this notion have assigned the time, viz. in the fifty fifth olympiad, when *Chilo* was the first of the *Ephori*, that is the *Ephynomos*, or him from whom the year took its name; but as there is no authority of any antient author offered in support of this notion, and as it is founded only on the supposed sense of a passage in *Diogenes Laertius*, it is sufficient that we have mentioned it; nor are we bound to refute it. It is true, that *Cleomenes*, in his speech recor-

(19) *Herod. lib. i.* (20) *Xenop'. de Repub. Lacedem.* (21) *Arist. Polit. lib. v.*
 (22) *Arist. ubi supra. Plutarch in vit. Lycurg. Valer. Max. lib. iv.*

THE administration of affairs at home being thus provided for, the *Spartan* kings renewed the *Messenian* war, and having engaged the *Corinthians* to lend them some assistance, they marched with a great army towards *Ithome*. *Aristodemus*, like a great captain, disposed his own forces and those of his confederates in the best manner possible; himself and *Cleonnis* commanded the heavy-armed forces, those who were light-armed being committed to the care of *Damis*; the *Argives* and *Sicyonians* he opposed to the *Corinthians*; and the choicest of the *Arcadian* troops, with the flower of the *Messenian* infantry, he ranged against the *Lacedemonians*; the light-armed soldiers were posted behind the hill, and all things thus disposed, the battle began with great vigour on both sides; the *Lacedemonians*, though hard pressed, stood firmly in their posts, and the *Corinthians* behaved very bravely for a long time; but when, on a signal given, the light-armed forces commanded by *Damis* took them in flank, and by a shower of missive weapons destroyed a great many men, they were at last constrained to betake themselves to flight with very considerable loss, tho' the number be not ascertained. The *Spartans* were exceedingly afflicted at this miscarriage, and the *Corinthians* were sadly distressed, for they knew not which way to retreat, having on every side an enemy's country to pass

The Spartans again invade Messenia.
Year of the flood 2276. Before Christ 723.

ded by *Plutarch*, alledges the same thing, that they were originally appointed by the kings, though he does not assign the time when their election was vested in the people, which yet it would have been natural for him to have done, if that time had been exactly known. The truth seems to be, that the election was always in the people, but that king *Theopompus* first devised this expedient of creating *Ephori* for the preservation of the public peace; nor are we to regard what *Cleomenes* says, as the opinion of *Plutarch*, or as an authority indubitable in all its circumstances; for he delivered this discourse to the people after he had taken away the *Ephori*, and therefore it is to be presumed he would say any thing which might serve to colour his designs; but we find it elsewhere recorded by the same author that the *Ephori* gave this account of the institution of this office, that they were intended to be arbitrators between the kings, when their disputes were likely to prove fatal to the state (23). We shall hereafter have occasion frequently to mention the conduct of these magistrates, and the methods they took to enlarge their authority; at present we have done all that was necessary, in producing the reasons which have engaged us to believe, that the *Ephori* were set up under the reign of *Theopompus*, but were always elected by the people.

(23) *Plut. in vit. Agid.*

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Q q

through

through before they could reach home ^b. The *Lacedemonians* continued the war, and sent deputies to consult the oracle at *Delphi* on its event; the *Messenians* did so too: to the former the oracle answered to this purpose, *By fraud (i. e. of Cresphontes) Messenia was obtained, and by fraud it must be subdued.* To the latter the oracle also gave an answer, but so perplexed and obscure, that no body either could explain it, or pretended to explain it; the *Spartans*, in pursuance of their response, contrived many stratagems, and at last fixed upon this; they pretended to condemn a hundred men for treason, secretly instructing them to fly to *Ithome* as suppliants, from whence they might easily give their fellow-citizens notice of all the enemy's counsels; in this they followed the example of *Ulysses*, but not with the like success; for *Aristodemus*, immediately penetrating the fraud, obliged the pretended deserters to return home, and directed them to tell the *Spartans*, *that tho' their injustice was new, yet their trick was stale*^c. Some time after they began to be extremely alarmed by ill omens at *Ithome*, *Aristodemus* himself had ill-boding dreams, wherein his daughter appeared to him and upbraided him with her death. They had recourse to the old remedy, sending deputies to *Delphi*, and these deputies brought them advice, that whoever first dedicated a hundred tripods in the temple of *Jupiter* at *Ithome* should remain masters of the place. This raised the spirits of the *Messenians* again, who, having no money to make the tripods of brass, immediately fell to cutting them out in wood. The oracle being sent from *Delphi* to *Sparta*, one *Oebalus*, a crafty workman, made a hundred little tripods in clay, and, disguising himself like a fowler, got into *Ithome*, and having placed them in the temple of *Jupiter* escaped. The *Messenians* at this were again struck with despair, especially when they found the city invested by a great army from *Sparta*; *Aristodemus* encouraged them a while, but perceiving all things go ill, and that the city in spite of all his care would at last fall into the hands of the enemy, he fell himself into a deep melancholy, and going one night to the tomb of his daughter, there laid violent hands on himself^d. On his demise the *Messenians* did not elect any other king, but chose *Damis* their chief by the title of general only. He did for them all that man could do; but all proving ineffectual, such of the *Messenians* as had any hopes of a good reception fled into the adjacent countries; the rest, together with the city of *Ithome*, were constrained

^b PAUSAN. Messen.
SAN. Messen. & Lacon.

^c PAUSAN. Lacon.

^d PAU-

to submit themselves to the *Spartans*, who treated them with great rigour. *Polyænus* indeed tells us^c, that *Ithome* was taken by the following stratagem. *Theopompus* with part of the army pretended to desert his colleague, actually removing from the camp, and pitching behind the city; the *Messenians* greedily laid hold of this opportunity of falling on *Polydorus*, with whom they were no sooner thoroughly engaged, than *Theopompus* with his forces attacked the city and took it by storm^e. However this matter happened, *Ithome* was certainly rased by the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Messenians*, who remained in their own country, were tied to these conditions; first, that they should cultivate their lands with all diligence, and render half their fruits to the *Spartans*; and secondly, when any of the nobles of *Sparta*, or either of the kings, died, they and their wives were to attend at the funeral procession in their weeds, on pain of suffering the highest penalties if they neglected. Besides, the *Spartans* gave away a part of their territories which bordered on the sea to the *Asinei*, and another part to the descendants of *Androcles*^f; this was the end of the famous *Messenian* war, which makes such a figure in the *Greek* historians; that is to say, at this time; for we shall see it break out again hereafter, and create new troubles to the *Spartans*.

SOME time after this war was over, the *Spartans* lost *Sparta* both their kings, whose characters therefore we shall take this opportunity of giving our readers, with all the certainty and impartiality we may. *Theopompus* was a wise and gentle prince, as in a great measure appears from an answer he made to the following question: *By what means a monarch might live with the greatest safety? Let him* (answered the king) *permit his friends to advise him freely, and be himself always ready to punish the wicked strictly, and with a good will*^g. He lost his son *Archidamus* a little before the *Argive* war, which was the reason that the conduct thereof was committed to his colleague. It is very probable, that there were great stirs in *Sparta* during their reigns, for besides establishing the *Ephori*, these kings had recourse to the contrivance before-mentioned, of substituting a new clause in the *Rhetra* concerning laws, whereby they restrained the power of the people^h. The *Pylions*, having received great favours from this prince, were inclined to pay him excessive honours, which he declined by this short message: *Moderate honours time increases, but takes*

*loses both
her kings
after the
Messenian
war.*

^a Stratag. lib. i. c. 15. ^f PAULAN. Lacon. ^g PLUT.
Apophth. Lacon. & Inst. Lacon. ^h PLUT. in vita Ly-
curg.

the immoderate away. He died in peace a natural death, after a long and glorious reignⁱ. *Polydorus* was a prince of the most amiable qualities, brave in war, prudent in peace, mild and just in both; he was prodigiously beloved by his people, yet in the end died a violent death; for one *Polemarchus*, a *Spartan* of a considerable family, and who was himself eminent in the state, killed him, for what reason is unknown^k. The *Lacedemonians*, as a grateful testimony of their just sense of his merit, honoured his memory with a statue; and, which surpassed the usual measure of their favours, ordered his effigies to be engraven on the seal which their public magistrates were to make use of for the future, as if they were desirous of placing the example of this excellent prince continually before their eyes; a noble instance surely of their gratitude, and his virtues^l.

Eurycrates and Zeuxidamus.
Year of the Flood 2290.
Before Christ 709.

Eurycrates succeeded his father *Polydorus*, and *Zeuxidamus* the son of *Archidamus* his grandfather *Theopompus*: these princes reigned with great tranquillity, there happening no foreign war in their time, neither the *Messenians* nor the *Argives* having yet recovered spirit enough to begin any new disturbances; at home, however, a conspiracy was discovered, which might have been very prejudicial to the state. The accounts we have of it are various from various authors, but to us it seems reasonable, that the relation of *Ephorus* the historian should be preferred^m. The *Spartans*, when they were engaged in the *Messenian* war, having been ten years absent from the city, because of the oath they had made not to return till they had entirely subdued that country, the women sent to them to put them in mind, that while they were so careful to subdue their enemies, they neglected the city; upon which they decreed, that such young men amongst them as came out of *Sparta* under age, and so were not obliged by the oath, should return, and associating themselves promiscuously with the unmarried women, preserve the city from falling to decay. This project being carried into execution, such as were born of these young women were stiled *Partheniæ*, i. e. *sons of virgins*. When the *Lacedemonians* returned after the reduction of *Messenia*, they visibly neglected these young men, who at the same time found themselves under great difficulties, having neither parents to apply to, nor inheritances to expect; they therefore began to intrigue with the *Helotes*, who were as unhappy as they could be, de-

ⁱ PAUSAN. Lacon.

^k Idem, ibid.

^l PAUSAN.

in Lacon. HERODOT. hist. lib. vii. PLUT. in Apophthegm.

^m Apud Strabon. Geogr. lib. vi. JUSTIN. lib. iii. c. 5.

termining to fall upon the citizens at a general assembly, and to open to themselves a path to riches and honours with their swords. They went so far as to appoint the signal for the attack, which was to be the throwing up of a cap; but some of the *Helotes*, dreading the consequences, discovered the whole matter, and when the time was come for the assembly, in which the conspiracy was to be executed, the crier by command of the *Ephori* made proclamation, that no man should throw up his cap, whereby the *Partheniæ* understood that their design was discovered; the *Lacedemonians* did not, however, treat them harshly, but weighing the hardships they were under, and considering at the same time their numbers, and their intrigues with the *Helotes*, they wisely agreed to pass the matter by, and by public decree permitted *Phalantus*, who had been the ringleader in this business, to sail with them over into *Italy*, where they settled themselves in *Tarentum*ⁿ. Such was the issue of a very dangerous business, and which fully proves the shallowness of human policy, which in this case was driven to undo what it had before brought to pass, and which when it was brought to pass, no doubt was interpreted as an extraordinary stroke of wisdom. Farther particulars of these kings we have none, except a few sayings of *Zeuxidamus*, which are of no great importance^o.

Anaxander succeeded his father *Eurycrates*, as *Anaxidamus* succeeded his father *Zeuxidamus*; in their reign the second *Messenian* war began; for these poor people, having for a long time born the cruel treatment of their insulting lords, became at last unable to sustain it longer. *Aristomenes* the son of *Nicomedes* of *Andania*, descended of the royal blood, was the chief promoter of this revolt; he was bold, enterprizing, intrepid, a man of strong judgment, strict honour, and enthusiastically fond of liberty and his country. He perceived, that the *Argives* and *Arcadians* were friends only by force to the *Spartans*, wanting and wishing an opportunity to revenge the many injuries which had been done them by this haughty nation. To these *Aristomenes* applied, and receiving an answer more conformable to his wishes than his expectation, he engaged his countrymen unanimously to take up arms thirty nine years after the taking of *Ithome*, as *Pausanias* relates, though *Justin* and *Eusebius* allow an interval of eighty years between the first and second *Messenian* war^p, which is

Anaxander and
Anaxidamus.
Year of
the flood,
2314.
Before
Christ,
685.

ⁿ STRABO, ubi supra. HERACL. de Polit. EUSEB. in Chron. Can.

^o PAUSAN. in Lacon. PLUT. in Apophthegm. Lacon.

^p PAUSAN. in Messen. JUSTIN. lib. iii. EUSEB. in Chron. Can.

far from being probable, though, as we shall hereafter shew, this variance is not altogether unaccountable. About a year after the revolt began, and before either party had received any auxiliaries, the *Spartans* and *Messenians* met at a village called *Deræ*, where an obstinate engagement ensued; *Aristomenes* behaved himself so well therein, that he brought victory to his side, and was conceived to have performed more than mortal achievements; in gratitude therefore, respect being also had to his descent from *Epytus*, his countrymen unanimously saluted him king, which title he modestly waved, alledging that he took up arms to set them free, and not to make himself great: He consented, however, to accept the title of general, with a power of doing whatsoever he thought requisite for the service of the public. Knowing well the superstition of the age in which he lived, he resolved to intimidate the *Spartans*, by shewing them what he was sure they would take for an ill omen. Disguising himself therefore, he went privately to the city, where in the night he hung up a shield on the wall of the temple of *Minerva*, with this inscription: *Aristomenes dedicates this of the spoils of the Spartans to the goddess.* It was easily perceived, that this war would be both long and bloody; the *Lacedemonians* therefore sent deputies to *Delphi* to inquire of the oracle concerning its event; the answer they brought was, *That it behoved the Spartans to seek a leader from Athens.* The *Athenians*, naturally envious of the *Spartans*, granted their request indeed, but in such a manner as manifested their spite; for they sent them for a general *Tyrtæus* a schoolmaster and poet, lame of one foot, and who was suspected to be a little out of his wits. But here their skill failed them, for this captain, notwithstanding his despicable appearance, proved of mighty consequence to *Sparta*, teaching them how to use good fortune, and how to bear up under ill^a. In the mean time *Aristomenes* had drawn together a mighty army, the *Eleans*, *Argives*, *Sicyonians*, and *Arcadians*, having sent troops to his assistance, the *Spartans* in this as in the former war having no ally but *Corinth*. The *Spartan* kings, according to the custom of their city, no sooner took the field, than, notwithstanding their inferiority in number, they offered the enemy battle, which *Aristomenes* readily accepted; it was long, obstinate, and bloody, but in the end the *Messenians* were victorious, and the *Lacedemonians* put to flight with a great slaughter; *Aristomenes* pursued them, notwithstanding *Theocles* the soothsayer called him back, perceiving *Castor* and *Pollux* in a

^a STRAB. Geogr. lib. viii

tree, by which there was a necessity of passing in the pursuit ; which he continuing notwithstanding, when he came to that tree, lost his shield, which gave the *Lacedemonians* an opportunity of withdrawing without further loss. It is scarce to be conceived how much the *Spartans* were struck with this defeat ; they grew weary of the war, dissatisfied with their kings, diffident of their own power, and, in a word, sunk into a state of general uneasiness and want of spirit. It was now that the *Athenian* general convinced them, that he was capable of fulfilling all the promises of the oracle ; he encouraged them by his poems, he directed them by his counsels, and recruited their broken armies with chosen men from among the *Helotes* ; he shewed them the folly of diffidence, and roused them to the practice of those virtues for which *Sparta* had been famous. *Aristomenes*, on the other hand, acted with no less prudence and vigour, he thought it not enough to restore the reputation of the *Messenians*, if he did not also restore their wealth and power ; he therefore taught them to act offensively against their enemies, and entering the territories of *Sparta* he took and plundered *Pharæ*, a considerable borough in *Laconia*, putting all such as made any resistance to the sword, carrying off at the same time an immense booty. This, however, was an injury which the *Spartans* could not brook with patience, they therefore sent immediately a body of forces to overtake the *Messenians*, which accordingly they did, but little to their profit ; for *Aristomenes* routed these pursuers, and continued to make a mighty slaughter of them, till such time as he was disabled by having a spear thrust through his thigh, which occasioned his being carried out of the battle^r ; his cure, which took up some time, being finished, he resolved to carry the war to the very gates of *Sparta*, and to that purpose raised a very great army ; but whether he found his design impracticable, or was really diverted by some dream, he gave out that *Castor* and *Pollux* with their sister *Helena* had appeared to him, and commanded him to desist. A short time after this retreat, going with a small party to make an incursion, and attempting to take prisoners some women, who were celebrating religious rites near *Egila*, a village in *Laconia*, those zealous matrons fell upon him and his soldiers with such fury, that they put them to flight and took him prisoner ; however, he soon afterwards made his escape and rejoined his forces^l. In the third year of the war the *Spartans* with a great force entered *Messenia*, whither *Aristocrates* king of

^r PAUSAN. Messen. POLYÆN. Stratag. lib. ii. c. 31. ^l Id. ibid.

Arcadia was come with a great body of troops to the assistance of his allies; *Aristomenes* therefore made no difficulty of fighting when the *Spartans* approached, but they entering privately into a negociation with *Aristocrates*, engaged him with bribes and promises to betray his confederates. When therefore the battle began, the deceitful *Arcadian* represented to the forces under his command the mighty danger they were in, and the great difficulty there would be of retreating into their own country, in case the battle should be lost; he then pretended, that the sacrifices were ominous, and having terrified his *Arcadians* into that disposition of mind fittest to serve his purpose, he not only drew them off from both wings, but in his flight forced through the *Messenian* ranks and put them too in confusion. *Aristomenes* and his troops, however, drew themselves into close order, that they might defend themselves the best they could, and indeed they had need of all their valour and skill; for the *Lacedemonians*, who expected this event, immediately attacked and surrounded them on all sides. Fortune was on this occasion too powerful either for the courage or the conduct of the *Messenians*; so that notwithstanding their utmost efforts, most of their army were cut to pieces, and amongst them the chief of their nobility. *Aristomenes*, with the poor remains of his shattered forces, retired as well as he could, and perceiving that it was now impossible to maintain the war against the *Lacedemonians* upon equal terms, he exhorted his countrymen to fortify mount *Era*, and to make the best dispositions possible for a long defence; he likewise placed garisons in *Pylus* and *Methone* on the sea-coasts, and to these three places he gathered all the inhabitants, leaving the rest of *Messenia* to the mercy of the *Spartans*. They, on the other hand, looked on the war as now in a manner finished, for which reason they divided the lands amongst their citizens, and caused them to be carefully cultivated, while they besieged *Era*; but *Aristomenes* quickly convinced them that the war was far from being over. He chose out of all the *Messenians* three hundred men, with whom he ravaged all the adjacent country, carried off prodigious booty, and when *Messenia* would no longer supply the wants of his garison, he penetrated into *Laconia*, and bore away corn, wine, cattle, and whatever else was necessary to the subsistence of his countrymen shut up in *Era*; so that at last the *Spartans* were constrained to issue a proclamation, forbidding the cultivation not only of the *Messenian* territory in their hands, but also of *Laconia* in its vicinity, whereby they distressed themselves more than their enemies, inducing at last a famine in *Sparta* itself, which brought with it its u

sual attendant sedition. Here again all things had gone wrong, if the wisdom of the poet *Tyrtæus* had not supported the *Spartan* courage, nor was it without much difficulty that he influenced them to continue the blockade of *Era*, and to maintain a flying camp for the security of the country^c.

Aristomenes, in spite of all these precautions, committed terrible depredations with his small corps of three hundred men. Amongst other places which he plundered, the city of *Amyclæ* was one, from whence he carried not only a great quantity of riches, but also many carriages laden with provisions. The kings of *Sparta* lying with their troops in its neighbourhood, as soon as they heard of this expedition, marched after *Aristomenes* with the utmost diligence, and as the *Messenians* were encumbered with their booty, they came up with them before he could reach *Era*. In this situation of things, *Aristomenes*, prompted rather by despair than prudence, disposed his troops in order of battle, and, notwithstanding they were so few, made a long and vigorous resistance against the whole *Lacedemonian* army. At length, however, numbers prevailed; the greater part of the *Messenians* were slain on the spot, and *Aristomenes* with about fifty of his men, who survived the slaughter, were taken prisoners, that chieftain having received so many wounds that he was senseless when they carried him away. The *Lacedemonians* expressed the loudest joy at the sight of this illustrious captive, who for so many years by his single abilities had enabled his exhausted country to defend itself against the whole force of *Sparta*. When he was recovered of his wounds, they decreed him and all his fellow-prisoners to be thrown together into a deep cavern, which was the common punishment of the lowest kind of offenders. This judgment was executed with its utmost severity, excepting that *Aristomenes* had leave to put on his armour. Three days he continued in this dismal place, lying upon, and covered over with dead bodies; the third day he was almost famished through want of food, and almost poisoned with the stench of corrupted carcases, when he heard a fox gnawing a body near him: upon this he uncovered his face, and perceiving the fox just by him, he with one hand seized its hind-leg, and with the other defended his face, by catching hold of the fox's jaw when he attempted to bite him. Following as well as he could his straggling guide, the fox at last thrust his head into a little hole, and *Aristomenes* then letting go his leg, he soon forced his way through, and open-

The Messenian war continued with the utmost vigour.

^c PAUSAN. in Messen.

ed a passage to the welcome rays of light, from which the noble *Messenian* had been so long debarred. Feeble as he was, *Aristomenes* wrought himself an outlet with his nails, and, travelling by night with all the expedition he could, at length arrived safe at *Era*, to the great joy and amazement of his countrymen. When this news was first blazed abroad, the *Spartans* would have had it pass for a fiction, but *Aristomenes* soon put the truth of it out of doubt, by falling upon the posts of the *Corinthians*, who, as the allies of the *Spartans*, had a considerable body of troops before *Era*. Most of their officers, with a multitude of private men, he slew, pillaged their camp, and in short did so much mischief, that the *Spartans*, under a pretence of an approaching festival, agreed to a cessation of arms for forty days, that they might have time to bury their dead. On this occasion *Aristomenes* for the second time celebrated the *Hecatombonia*, or the sacrifice appointed for those who had killed a hundred of the enemy with their own hands: he had performed the same before after his second battle, when he lost his shield; and he lived to do it a third time, which must appear wonderful to the reader, when he is informed, that notwithstanding this truce, certain *Cretan* archers in the service of the *Spartans* seized *Aristomenes*, as he was walking without the walls, and carried him away prisoner^a. There were nine of them in all, two immediately ran away with the news to *Sparta*, and seven remained to guard their prize, whom they bound and conducted to a lone cottage, inhabited only by a widow and her daughter. It so fell out, that the young woman dreamt the night before, that she saw a lion without claws, bound and dragged along by wolves, and that she having loosed his bonds and given him claws, he immediately tore the wolves to pieces. As soon as *Aristomenes* came into the cottage, and her mother, who knew him, had told the daughter who he was, she instantly concluded that her dream was fulfilled, and therefore plied the *Cretans* with drink, and when they were asleep took a poignard from one of them, cut the thongs with which *Aristomenes* was bound, and then put it into his hands: he presently verified her vision by putting all his guards to death, and then carried her and her mother to *Era*, where, as a reward for her service, he married the young woman to his son *Gorgus*, then about eighteen years of age. When *Era* had held out near eleven years, it fell into the hands of the

^a PAUSAN. in Messen. POLYÆN. Stratag. lib. ii. c. 31. sect. 2.
STEPHAN. in voce *Andania*.

Spartans by an accident ; the servant of one *Empiramus* a *Spartan* commander, driving his master's cattle to drink at the river *Neda*, met frequently with the wife of a *Messenian*, whom he engaged in an amour ; this woman gave him notice that her husband's house was without the wall, so that he could come to it without danger when the good man was abroad, and she likewise gave him intelligence when her husband was upon duty in the garison. The *Spartan* failed not to come at the time appointed, but they had not been long in bed before the husband returned, which put the house into great confusion ; the woman, however, secured her gallant, and then let in the good man, whom she received with the perfidious flattery peculiar to her sex, inquiring again and again by what excess of good fortune she was blessed with his return ; the innocent *Messenian* told her, that *Aristomenes* being detained in his bed by a wound, and the soldiers knowing that he could not walk the rounds, had a grant to retire to their houses to avoid the bitter inclemency of the season. The *Spartan* no sooner heard this than he crept softly out of doors, and ran post-haste to carry the news to his master ; it so fell out, that the kings were at this time absent from the camp, and *Empiramus* had the chief command of the army : as soon as he received this information, he ordered the army to begin its march, though it rained excessively and there was no moon-light ; the fellow guided them to the fort, and managed matters so well, that they seized all the *Messenian* posts ; yet after all they were afraid to engage ; darkness, a high wind, heavy rain, together with the dread of *Aristomenes*, kept them quiet on the places they had seized. As soon as it was light the attack began, and *Era* had been quickly taken, if only the men had defended it ; but the women fought with such fury, and, by their mingling in the fray, brought such an accession of numbers, as made the business doubtful ; three days and two nights this desperate engagement lasted ; at last, all hopes of preserving the city being lost, *Aristomenes* drew off his wearied troops. Early the fourth morning he disposed the women and children in the centre, the *Messenian* youth in the front and rear, the less able men in the main body, himself commanded the van ; the rear-guard was brought up by *Gorgus* and *Manticlus*, the former the son of *Aristomenes*, the latter of *Theacles* a *Messenian* of great merit, who had fallen with much glory in this attack, fighting valiantly in the cause of his country. When all things were ready, *Aristomenes* caused the last barrier to be thrown open, and brandishing his spear marched directly

towards the *Spartan* troops in order to force a passage. *Empiramus*, perceiving his intent, ordered his men to open to the right and left, and fairly gave them a passage, so that *Aristomenes* marched off, in triumph as it were, to *Arcadia*. It should seem that writing, as we do, the history of the *Lacedemonians*, we should here have done with the *Messenian* captain, the war being now at an end; but it falls out otherwise, there is no keeping to the story of *Sparta* without following this man to his last hour*.

The end of
the second
Messenian
war.

Year of
the Flood
2331.

Before
Christ
668.



THE *Arcadians*, when they heard that *Era* was taken, were very desirous of succouring their old confederates in this their deep distress: they therefore intreated their king *Aristocrates* to lead them into *Messenia*; but he, corrupted by the *Lacedemonians*, persuaded them that it was too late, that the *Messenians* were all cut off, and that such a step would only expose them to the fury of the conquerors. When the thing appeared to be otherwise, and it was known that *Aristomenes* was on the frontiers of *Arcadia*, they went in crowds to carry him provisions, and to testify their readiness to afford him and those under his command all the assistance in their power. *Aristomenes* desired to be heard before a general assembly, which being accordingly convoked, he there opened one of the boldest and best laid schemes recorded in history; he said, that he had yet five hundred undaunted soldiers, who at his command would undertake any thing; that it was very probable most of the *Spartans* were employed in pillaging *Era*; and that therefore he was determined to march and surprise *Sparta*, which appeared so feasible, that all the assembly loudly commended his great capacity and unshaken courage; *Aristocrates*, however, took care to betray him, having by various pretences retarded the execution of the project. The *Arcadians*, who began to suspect him, waited for and surprized his messengers as they came back; they took the letters from them, and read them openly in the assembly; the purport of them was, that they acknowledged his great kindness both now and in the battle, and promised that the *Lacedemonians* would be grateful; as soon as the letters were read, the *Arcadians* fell to stoning their king, frequently calling upon the *Messenians* to assist them, which, however, they did not, waiting for *Aristomenes*'s orders, who, far from triumphing in this spectacle, stood still with his eyes fixed on the ground, which he wet with his tears, his soul pierced with sorrow to see a crowned head so shamefully and so deservedly put to

* PAUSAN. in Messen. JUSTIN. lib. iii. c. 5.

death¹. The *Arcadians* afterwards erected a monument over him, with an inscription to perpetuate his infamy. As for the *Messenians* under the command of *Gorgus* and *Mantichlus*, they passed over into *Sicily*, where they founded the city of *Messene*, one of the most famous in the island. *Aristomenes* remained, however, in *Greece*, where he married all his daughters, except the youngest, to persons of great rank. A prince of *Rhodes* inquiring of the oracle at *Delphi* whom he should espouse, that his subjects might be happy under his posterity, was directed to marry the daughter of the most worthy of the *Greeks*, which answer was immediately understood to point at the virgin daughter of *Aristomenes*; her therefore he demanded and received, *Aristomenes* accompanying him back to his dominions, where he formed a scheme of uniting the *Lydians* and *Medes* against the *Spartans*, resolving with this view to go himself to *Media*, and to the court of *Sardis*; but while he meditated these great things, death surprised him, and thereby freed *Lacedemon* from the most inveterate enemy she ever had. His son-in-law honoured his memory with a most magnificent tomb, and as for his fame, all historians have shewn the utmost regard in conserving it (E).

Messenia

¹ PAUSAN. in Messen. POLYB. lib. iv. p. 301.

(E) The story of *Aristomenes*, as we have related it from the best authorities among the *Greeks*, tho' it contains a great many wonderful circumstances, hath not in it, however, any thing absurd or incredible; but it is not to be wondered, that such as prefer the marvellous to consistent history have laid hold of this great man's character, to give colour to some of their strange stories. *Pliny* has one concerning him, which may perhaps vie with any legend antient or modern; he says, that when he was a third time taken, they were resolved to see wherein he differed from other men; for they could not conceive, that, after so many accidents had befallen him, he could possibly keep up his spirits by the ordinary supplies of nature; they therefore cut open his bosom, and thereby discovered, as they conceived, the cause of his extraordinary courage; and what should this be, but that his heart was hairy, a mighty probable cause truly (20)! In the beginning of the last *Messenian* war, or rather when *Era* was first besieged, persons were sent to consult the oracle at *Delphi* concerning the event; the answer was very disagreeable, being to this purpose:

(20) *Plin. hist. natur. lib. xi. c. 37. Stephan. Byzan. in voce Aristomenes.*

Messenia
divided
by the
Lacede-
monians.

Messenia once more reduced, the *Spartans* treated the remaining inhabitants with a severity that became proverbial, making them all slaves, and dividing the whole country, excepting the district of *Methone*, which they gave to the *Argives*, among their own citizens; whereby they became much more formidable than hitherto they had been, and began already to affect the sovereignty of *Greece*. We find nothing further which deserves notice recorded of either of the *Lacedemonian* kings, unless it be a saying of *Anaxander*; of whom it being demanded, *Why the Lacedemonians kept no money in their exchequer*, he answered, *That the keepers thereof might not be tempted to be thieves* ².

The reigns
of Eury-
crates and
Archida-
mus.

Eurycrates succeeded his father *Anaxander*, as *Archidamus* did his father *Anaxidamus*; of their reigns we know nothing

² PLUT. in Apophtheg. Lacon. PAUSAN. in Lacon.

Thy fate *Messene*, now is near at hand ;
Nor can I longer the decree withstand,
Than till the he-goat from its bank shall try
To taste of *Neda's* streams which swiftly fly.

In the *Greek* the word translated *he-goat* is *Tragos*, and from hence it came to pass, that the *Messenians* were scrupulously careful that no he-goat should come near the river; but when the fate of *Era* really approached, it appeared, that the oracle had been quite misunderstood; for *Theocles*, the soothsayer observing certain wild fig-trees which grew by the river's side, no longer shoot their leaves upwards as they were wont to do, but bending them down towards the river, recollected, that though the other *Greeks* called this tree *Olyntbos*, yet the *Messenians* called it *Tragos*; he therefore gave notice of this to *Aristomenes*, and told him plainly, that he apprehended the oracle was fulfilled thereby; whereupon *Aristomenes* took a certain sacred depositum, which *Lycus* the son of *Pandion* had foretold should be preserved till the *Messenians* were totally destroyed; this he interred in the most private part of the mountain *Itbome*, in doing which he hazarded his life by venturing without the walls of *Era* (21). There is nothing further which deserves to be added to this note, unless it be the explanation we promised of the different dates assigned to the last *Messenian* war, which is, however purely conjectural. It is this, that *Eusebius* did not say that the second *Messenian* war began eighty years after the first, but that it ended at that time; which is true, if we compute from the first disturbances on account of the death of *Teleclus* (22).

(21) *Pausan. in Messen.* (22) *Justin: lib. iii. c. 4. Euseb: Chron. Canon.*

more

more than that they passed them in peace and quietness; for though various authors have recorded the names of these princes, remembrance of their actions we find none ^a, unless it be the following wise saying of *Eurycrates*, whom *Plutarch* calls *Eucratides*; who, when it was asked him, *Why the ephori sat every day to determine causes about contracts*, answered, *That we may learn to keep our words even with enemies* ^b. *Archidamus* was also called *Agasicles*, which is the reason that *Herodotus*, making use of the *Ionic* dialect, writes his name *Hegisicles*.

Eurycrates was succeeded by his son *Leo*, and *Archidamus* *The reigns*
by his son *Aristo*, princes concerning whom historians are *of Leo and*
not so silent. *Leo* was a man of great capacity, and very so- *Aristo.*
licitous for the strict execution of justice; for it being demanded of him, *Under what government a man might live safest*, he answered immediately, *Where the inhabitants are neither wealthy nor poor, where integrity is sure to meet with many friends, and fraud with none*. At the olympic games, when every body commended the victors, *How much better*, said he, *would it have been, if these men had laid out the pains they have taken to be swift in learning to be honest* ^c! *Aristo* his colleague is remarkable in history for some extraordinary things which fell out in his family; he had two wives, but was so unfortunate as to have children by neither of them, which put him upon taking a third, though the wife of his friend *Agetus*, the most beautiful woman in *Sparta*. In order to obtain her, he contrived this scheme: He took his friend *Agetus* one day in a gay humour, and having first sworn to give him whatever precious thing he chose belonging to himself, drew from him a like oath; and when *Agetus* had chosen, the king in consequence of that oath demanded his wife. *Agetus* protested, that he did not apprehend his wife to be included in the promise that had passed between them; but *Aristo* insisted, that an oath was to be understood in the sense he who received it took it; *Agetus* submitted, and the king accordingly took his wife. About seven months after he had taken her, as he sat with the *ephor*i hearing causes, a servant came in great haste to tell him that the queen was brought to bed; upon which, telling the months upon his fingers, he dropped some expressions, as if he doubted whether the child was his; however, he owned the boy, and

^a HERODOT. lib. i. PAUSAN. ubi supra. ^b PLUT.
Apophtheg. Lacon. & in Apoph. Reg. ^c PLUT. Apophtheg.
Lacon.

called him *Damaratus* ^d. During the reigns of *Leo* and *Aristo* the *Lacedemonians* were engaged in a war with the *Tegeatæ*, wherein they were successful, as it should seem from *Pausanias*'s account of the matter, though *Herodotus* tells it otherwise ^e.

Anaxan-
drides suc-
ceeds his fa-
ther *Leo*.

Anaxandrides succeeded his father *Leo* during the life-time of his colleague *Aristo*; in his time the body of *Orestes*, or rather his bones, were recovered and removed. He is reported also to have had two wives, which was a singular thing in *Sparta*, for whom he built separate houses; the reason of it was, that the *ephori* commanded him to divorce his first wife, because she bore him no children; but he, not being able to bring himself up to this, contented himself with taking another wife, by whom he might have children; by her, not long after his marriage, he had *Cleomenes*; his first wife then also conceived and brought him a child, who was called *Dorieus*; the *ephori* pretending to make some scruple whether this was really her child or no, the business was quickly after effectually cleared up by her bearing *Leonidas* and *Cleombrotus* ^f. This king *Anaxandrides* was certainly a very wise man, and had very just notions of government, as, amongst others of his sayings recorded by *Plutarch*, appears from this: That it being demanded of him, *Why the Spartans were so cautious in passing capital judgments, and why, notwithstanding his acquittal, they still demanded a recognizance of a person accused*; he answered, *Because in capital cases execution can never be recalled; and in the other case they kept that recognizance that if it so fell out, that the guilt of the person acquitted should afterwards appear, he might be liable to a juster judgment* ^g. *Aristo* was also a prince of great worth and probity, and in consequence thereof, mightily beloved by his people. In the reigns of these princes, *Cræsus* king of *Lydia* was vanquished, taken prisoner, and an end put to his kingdom by *Cyrus*; he was during his prosperity a great lover of the *Greeks*, and particularly of the *Lacedemonians*, with whom he had frequent intercourse, and with whom he endeavoured to make a league, in obedience to the command of the oracle, which directed him to ally himself to the chief among the *Greeks*, which he immediately understood of the *Spartans* ^h.

The reigns
of *Cleo-
menes* and
*Damara-
tus*.

Anaxandrides was succeeded by his son *Cleomenes*, as *Aristo* was by his son *Damaratus*. It was strict regard to hereditary right which induced the *Lacedemonians* to place *Cleomenes*

^d PAUSAN. in Lacon. HERODOT. lib. vi. PLUT. ubi supra.
^e lib. i. ^f PAUSAN. in Lacon. HERODOT. lib. v. ^g PLUT.
Apophth. Lacon. ^h HEROD. lib. i

on the throne, for he was known to be at certain times out of his senses, and when he had them, he was cunning, ambitious, and deceitful out of measure; whereas his brother *Dorrieus* was remarkable for his prudence, the gentleness of his temper, and his skill in the art of war; he was so much disgusted, however, at his brother's being preferred before him, that he demanded leave to lead out a colony, whereby he obtained an honourable excuse for quitting his country¹. In the very beginning of his reign *Cleomenes* engaged in a war with the *Argives*, whom he beat, and having driven a considerable body of them into a wood, he caused the *Helotes* to set that wood on fire, whereby numbers of them were destroyed; in all his actions he appears to have been a man of a fierce untractable temper, a great lover of war, in which he fought only victory, without enquiring whether the means by which he fought to obtain it were just or not; yet he had sometimes flights of fancy, which had the appearance of a great genius; for example, he was wont to say, that *Homer was the poet of the Lacedemonians*, *Hesiod of the Helotes*, because the former made war his subject, and the latter treated of husbandry². He was early suspected of having views not much for the advantage or honour of the state; for at his return from the war with the *Argives*, he was accused of having let slip manifest opportunities of taking *Argos* itself; but the answers he gave, when the matter came to be heard before the *ephor*i, were so satisfactory, that he was acquitted. He was a great friend to *Clysthenes* the *Athenian* and his party, at whose request he drove the *Pisistratidæ* out of *Athens*; afterwards he joined with *Isagoras*, whom the *Athenians* had banished, and endeavoured all he could to vest in him the sovereignty of that city, whereby he created great mischiefs to the *Greeks*. The *Corinthians*, who, as we have elsewhere seen, were the fast friends and steady allies of the *Lacedemonians*, disgusted at the haughty behaviour of *Cleomenes*, and at his wasting the territory of *Eleusina*, without regard either to the laws of God or men, deserted them; *Damaratus* his colleague also, who was a very worthy and excellent person, opposed him; and while he was gone into *Ægina*, where he pretended to seize the principal persons in the island, under colour that they were in the *Persian* interest, *Damaratus* accused him to the *ephor*i and the senate of being an enemy to peace, a disturber of *Greece*, and one who would provoke all the neighbouring states to look with an evil eye on *Sparta*³.

¹ HEROD. lib. v. PAUSAN. ubi supra. ² PLUT. Apophth. Lacon. ³ HEROD. lib. v. PAUSAN. Lacon.

These discourses had at first their effect; but when *Cleomenes* returned, he found means not only to get himself acquitted, but to get his colleague deposed, which he wrought after the following manner: He suggested, that *Damaratus's* birth was liable to great suspicions, alledging the expression of his father beforementioned; the *Spartans* sent to the oracle at *Delphi*, in order to have this intricate question decided; *Cleomenes* forelaw this, and therefore took care to corrupt the oracle, whereby he carried his point; for, on the return of the deputies with the response, *Damaratus* was deposed, and *Leotychides* his cousin, the eighth in descent from *Theopompus*, was raised to the regal dignity. Such was the moderation of the deposed king, that, instead of quitting his country, he still endeavoured to render it all the service he could, being content to execute inferior magistracies. But the intemperance of his successor vanquished at length his patience; for *Leotychides* being one day informed, that *Damaratus* was sitting as inspector in the place of public exercises, sent a servant to insult him, by asking him this question, *How he liked his present office after executing that of king?* To which *Damaratus* wisely answered, *That himself knew the weight of both, which he who sent him did not; but that this question should either prove the cause of great misery, or of great felicity, to Sparta.* Then covering his head he retired to his own house, where having first sacrificed to *Jupiter*, he then sent for his mother, and earnestly intreated her to tell him the truth as to his birth; whether, as he was reputed, he was the son of king *Aristo*, or whether, as his enemies suggested, *Agetus* was his father. She having in the most solemn terms assured him of his legitimacy, he pretended to take a journey to *Delphi*, but indeed resolved to quit *Sparta* for ever, and to retire where he might be absolutely safe; with this view he went first to *Elis*, from thence to *Zacynthus*, and at length into *Persia*, where he was received by king *Darius* with the utmost civility, had large revenues assigned him, and was in every respect used as a prince^m. In his exile he behaved in a manner suitable to his dignity, and without shewing any rancour against his country; as an instance of the former, it is recorded of him, that when the *Persian* monarch would have punished a nobleman, who had revolted, and afterwards at *Damaratus's* persuasion submitted himself to the king, the *Spartan* generously interposed, addressing the *Persian* king in these words; *It is dishonourable, O king, not to have had it in thy power to punish him when he was a rebel, and as disho-*

^m HEROD. lib. xvi. PAUSAN. Lacon.

nourable to exert a power of punishing now he is become thy friend^a. With respect to the latter, when he found that the *Persian* was determined to make war on *Greece*, we are told, he sent the first advice thereof cut in tables, which he afterwards covered with wax. He was the only king of *Sparta* who was victor in the olympic games. In a word, he was a person of such merit, that none of the *Persians* envied the honours and revenues which he acquired in their country, where his posterity flourished many ages after^o.

Leotychides, as he was raised to the kingdom by the craft of *Cleomenes*, so he was intirely governed by him in all that he did; he went with him to *Ægina*, from whence they brought away some of the principal inhabitants prisoners, and left them with the *Athenians* their mortal enemies; for which he afterwards suffered, though he acted merely by the advice and under the influence of *Cleomenes*. As for that prince, he continued to act as inconsistently as formerly, that is, sometimes with extraordinary virtue, and at other times without the least regard to justice. When *Aristagoras* the *Milesian* tyrant came to *Sparta* with an intent to persuade *Cleomenes* to make war upon the *Persian* king, he heard his proposals both as to the method of the war, and the private advantages which might accrue to himself; but he advised his country against the former, and absolutely refused to have any thing to do with the latter, wherein he acted with great penetration as well as integrity; for the same prince prevailing with the *Athenians* thereby induced that war, which had well-nigh brought on the total destruction of *Greece*. He likewise resisted all the solicitations of *Mæander* the tyrant of *Samos*, who also would have tempted him with money; and not only so, but complained of him to the *ephori*, telling them, that if they did not banish this man out of their territories, he would teach the *Lacedemonians* to be knaves. When by degrees his contrivances against *Damaratus* came to light, and the *Spartans* began to shew some inclination to examine strictly into that matter, he thought it best to fly first into *Thessaly*, and then into *Arcadia*, where he immediately excited new troubles, drawing about him a multitude of *Arcadians*, and endeavouring by a solemn oath to bind them to his service. The *Spartans*, knowing well his enterprizing genius, and being afraid lest he should excite the *Arcadians* to invade them, recalled him, and restored him to his dignity; but a short time after he returned, he fell mad, running people in the face with

Leotychides succeeds Damaratus.

^a PLUT. Apophtheg. Lacon. *SAN. Lacon.*

^o HERODOT. lib. vii. PAU-

his sceptre as he met them in the streets; upon which they were constrained to confine him, and to put on him fetters of wood^p. In this condition he was attended by a *Helot* who was his keeper, from whom, partly by fair means, partly by threats, he obtained a sword, wherewith beginning at the calf of the leg, he ripped himself up, and having at length cut out his bowels, fell down dead. Many of the *Spartans* imputed this extraordinary fact to his corrupting the oracle of *Delphi*, and thereby procuring the deposition of *Damaratus*; the *Athenians* attributed it to his sacrilege at *Eleusina*; the *Argives* were as positive that it befel him for burning their sacred grove (F). As for those who were for ascribing his end to natural

^p PAUSAN. LAcon. HEROD. lib. vi.

(F) There is no part of *Cleomenes's* character more unjustifiable than that which regards the *Argives*, against whom he made a war, without observing any laws of honour or justice. The accounts we have of his exploits against this nation are so dissonant, and the circumstances contained in them so incompatible, that it is far from being easy to judge, whether the facts mentioned fell out in one and the same war, or in several; and if the latter be the truth, in what parts of his reign they happened. Without troubling our readers with a nice inquiry into these particulars, we will give them in few words a detail of the principal matters laid to the charge of *Cleomenes*. He is said to have been promised by an oracle, that he should take *Argos*; in confidence of which he marched with his army directly towards the city (23); but between him and it lay a considerable army of the *Argives*, who prepared to defend themselves in the best manner they might, though under great discouragements from certain responses which they had received, which gave them to apprehend, that they should be overcome by fraud. In order to guard against this in the most probable manner they could devise, they determined to govern their motions by the enemies signals, which they esteemed a certain preservative against being surprised (24). But this precaution served only to ruin them; for *Cleomenes*, having intelligence thereof, gave order to his forces to attack the *Argives*, when the signal was made for them to go to dinner. This being exactly followed, the army of *Argos* was entirely defeated; for they, beholding the *Spartan* signal for dinner, went immediately to refresh themselves; but before they were well settled at their meal, the *Spartans* fell upon them, and slaughtered them almost without resistance. Their only refuge in this distress was a thick wood in their rear, into which they retired with all the expedition possible. *Cleomenes* instantly devised a new strata-

(23) *Herodot. Hist. lib. vi. Pausan. Argol.* (24) *Herodot. ubi supra.*

natural causes, they alledged, that drinking immoderately with the *Scythian* ambassadors, his drunkenness issued in madness ¹. He left behind him a daughter named *Gorgo*, one of the most celebrated women of her time. The inhabitants of *Ægina* upon his death applied themselves to the *Spartans*, complaining loudly against *Leotychides*, for that he in conjunction with *Cleomenes* had been concerned in carrying off the principal men of their island, and putting them into the hands of the *Athenians*. The *Spartans*, who, as a nation, piqued themselves much upon their justice, disclaimed the

¹ PAUSAN. ubi supra. HERODOT. ubi supra.

gem for destroying them there. He caused some who were well acquainted with the *Argives* to call them by name, and promise them quarter; yet, as fast as they came out, he ordered them to be slain. Thus he cut off fifty, those in the grove, because of the thickness of the trees, perceiving nothing of what passed without. At length an *Argive*, getting upon an high tree, discovered from thence what was doing. The *Lacedemonians* then called in vain, no more of the *Argives* ventured out, which put *Cleomenes* on a more cruel expedient; he caused his *Helotes* to surround the grove with brushwood and other combustible matter; and then, setting it on fire, burned all the hapless wretches. He then enquired to whom the grove was dedicated? To *Argos*, replied a priest. Alas! cried *Cleomenes*, *This oracle has deceived me, this is all the Argos I shall take.* He afterwards sacrificed by force on the altar of *Diana*, and caused the priest who would have hindered him to be chastised. The sacrifices, as some say, proving unlucky, he desisted, and was accused at his return for not taking *Argos*, but on hearing his defence acquitted (25). The general opinion is, that he actually attacked the city with his colleague *Damaratus*, but was constrained to retire by the following means. There was in that city a lady named *Telissilla*, who, being of a very weak constitution, was directed by the oracle to addict herself to the muses. In consequence of this response, she studied poetry with such success, that though on the approach of the *Lacedemonians* there were none but women in the city, she inspired them with such resolution, that they shut the gates, took arms, and forced *Damaratus*, who was already in the suburbs to retire, as also *Cleomenes* himself and his army. In memory of this extraordinary event an anniversary solemnity grew into use at *Argos*, in which women went about in mens cloaths, and men put on womens habits (26). It is agreed by all the antient writers, that *Cleomenes* laughed at and despised oracles; the reason is clear, because he had corrupted them (27).

(25) *Plut. Apophtheg. Lacon.* (26) *Herodot. ubi supra. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. viii. c. 33. Plut. de virtut. Mulier.* (27) *Plut. Apophtheg. Lacon.*

whole of this proceeding, and offered the inhabitants of *Ægina* to deliver up *Leotychides* into their hands ; but the deputies of that island wisely declined carrying the king of *Sparta* away ; they contented themselves therefore with desiring he might go with them to *Athens*, there to use his utmost endeavours to rectify the mischief he had done them by procuring their hostages to be delivered up, which accordingly he did ; but his and their applications being fruitless, they suffered him to return again to *Sparta*, where he still retained the regal dignity, though he never reigned in the hearts of the people, who, as it is their custom, regretted their absent prince, and were angry with the work of their own hands ; the consequences of all this we shall hereafter have occasion to explain ; let us in the mean time pass to the story of his colleague^r.

Leonidas
succeeds
Cleome-
nes.

Leonidas the son of *Anaxandrides*, half-brother to *Cleomenes*, succeeded him in the kingdom, and married his daughter *Gorgo* ; he was a prince of great moderation, and of a valour superior to most men of his age ; some of the *Spartans*, however, who disliked his family, could not help speaking disrespectfully to him ; one of them particularly told him to his face, *That, except being a king, he was no better than they* ; to which *Leonidas*, smiling, answered, *If I had not been better than you, I had not been a king*^r. When *Miltiades* the *Athenian* fought the famous battle of *Marathon*, the *Spartans* had promised an army, but had sent none ; they arrived a little after the battle, went to the spot where it was fought, where having considered attentively the prodigious difficulties the *Athenians* had overcome, and after highly commending them, they returned home again to *Sparta*. When, as the wisest of the *Greeks* had foreseen, this battle at *Marathon* only excited the *Persian* to attempt again the conquest of *Greece*, the *Spartans*, with a resolution worthy of the disciples of *Lycurgus*, determined to oppose them ; *Damaratus* their king was constrained to accompany *Xerxes* in this expedition, though in respect to his country he had sent early notice thereof to *Gorgo*, the wife of *Leonidas*, and the daughter of his greatest enemy. When it was apparent, that *Xerxes* would enter *Greece* in person with a prodigious army, a general assembly was held at the isthmus, the resolutions of which were these ; *That the states of Greece should unanimously join in defending its liberty against the Persians ; that for the present all their quarrels amongst themselves should be suspended ; that the tenth of the spoil should be dedicated to Apollo ; and that of those*

^r PAUSAN. & HERODOT. ubi supra.

^r PLUT. in Apoph.

who

who deserted the common cause a decimation should be made, that is, a tenth part should be put to death without mercy^t. Warm and generous resolutions, if the same spirit had accompanied them in the execution ; but, alas, when words were to be changed into deeds, of all the confederates the *Spartans* and *Athenians* only seemed ready to do any thing. The *Theſſalians* were the first who were to feel the weight of *Xerxes* and his myriads ; they therefore sent to the *Greeks* to beseech them to quicken their preparations, or not to blame them if they submitted to an enemy they could not resist. Upon this ten thousand men were sent by sea to *Theſſaly* under the command of *Evenetus* a *Spartan*, and *Themistocles* the *Athenian* ; but when they came thither, they were convinced, that this measure would prove ineffectual ; for in a plain country, as *Theſſaly* is, there could be no hopes of opposing such multitudes of men with a few, especially when it was known, that many of the *Theſſalian* princes could not be depended on, and that many of the passages into *Theſſaly* were in the power of *Alexander* king of *Macedon* ; the army therefore returned without doing any thing. At the next general council, however, it was resolved to defend the straits of *Thermopylæ*, in pursuance of which resolution six thousand foot were appointed for that service, and the command of them given to *Leonidas* ^u. Of these three hundred only were *Spartans*, according to the direction of the king ; and when some principal persons demanded of him whether he had not a secret design in his head, he answered frankly, *I pretend to defend the straits of Thermopylæ, but in truth I go to die for my country* ; and when they still wondered at the small number of men he took with him, he, turning to those to whom he had communicated his secret, said, *There are enow, considering the design we go upon*. When he took his leave of his wife, she asked him if he had nothing particular to say to her (G) ; *Marry some brave man*, said

HERODOT. lib. vii. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. ^u PAUSAN. in
LACON. HEROD. Hist. lib. vii.

(G) The character of *Gorgo*, the daughter of *Cleomenes*, and wife of *Leonidas*, deserves to be particularly considered. *Plutarch*, who was so fond of the *Lacedemonians*, that besides his institutes he wrote a book of their wise sayings, wrote also a particular treatise of the women, which was indeed extraordinary ; and the reason of it was, because the *Spartan* dames were of a very masculine disposition, and spoke and acted with a freedom denied to their sex every where else. *Gorgo*, who is to be the subject of this note, makes a very considerable figure in that treatise ; but before we proceed

said he, *and bring him brave children* *. When *Xerxes* came with his mighty army, he sent a spy to bring him advice of the posture

* PLUT. in Apophtheg. Lacon.

proceed to acquaint the reader with what *Plutarch* says of this lady, it will on many accounts be fit to give him a remarkable story recorded of her by *Herodotus*. That noble historian tells us, that when *Aristagoras*, tyrant of *Miletus*, attempted to engage *Cleomenes* in a design not only of freeing *Ionia*, but even of subverting the *Persian* empire, he brought with him a chart of the known world laid down on brass; after having shewn *Cleomenes* on this the situation of *Ionia*, and expatiated with great warmth on the glory of an enterprise undertaken for the relief of the *Ionians*, pointing to his plate, he proceeded thus: Next these the *Lydians* inhabit a fertile
 “ country abounding in silver: and on the confines of *Lydia*, these
 “ *Phrygians* are placed to the eastward, more rich in cattle, and living in greater affluence than any other people I know. Adjoining to these are the *Cappadocians*, by us called *Syrians*, and beyond them the *Cilicians*, whose country extends to that sea in which the island of *Cyprus* is situate, and pays an annual tribute of five hundred talents to the king. Next to the *Cilicians* are these *Armenians*, who possess great numbers of cattle; and after them the *Matianians*, beyond whose territories lies this province of *Cissia*, in which *Susa* is built upon the river *Choaspes*. In this place the great king resides, and his vast treasures are here deposited. If you take this city, you may boldly contend with *Jupiter* in wealth. You will not find your account in fighting battles to gain a country of small extent, narrow limits, and indifferent soil, from the *Messenians* who are your equals in war, or from the *Arcadians* and *Argians*; for none of these nations have either gold or silver, the desire of which induces so many men to hazard their lives. But when an opportunity is offered to conquer all *Asia* with facility, can you wish for any thing more?’ To this discourse of *Aristagoras* *Cleomenes* answered, *Milesian* friend, I defer to let you know my resolution till three days are passed. When that time was come, and they were both met at the appointed place, *Cleomenes* asked *Aristagoras* in how many days one might travel from the coast of *Ionia*, to the place where the king was. But though *Aristagoras* was in other things a man of art, and much superior in ability to *Cleomenes*, yet he made a slip in this. For, designing to draw the *Spartans* into *Asia*, he ought to have abated something of the account; whereas he told him plainly ’twas a journey of three months. Which *Cleomenes* no sooner heard, than interrupting him from proceeding in his discourse concerning the way, he said, “ *Milesian* guest, depart out of *Sparta* before the setting of the sun: For you have proposed nothing to the advantage of the *Spartans*, in advising us to take a march into *Asia*, not to be performed in less than three
 “ months

posture in which *Leonidas* and his troops were; this spy reported, that he found them exercising themselves in their usual games, and that they were putting garlands on their heads, as if they were about to celebrate some festival; the *Persian* thereupon asked *Damaratus* the meaning of it, *These men, Sir*, said he, *have devoted themselves to death for the service of their country*; at which *Xerxes* laughed, conceiving, that he mightily over-rated the courage of his countrymen, whom himself doubted not to fright away with the very appearance of his army; but the event proved the contrary, though there were some among

“ months after our landing ”. When he had spoken these words, he withdrew; and *Aristagoras*, taking an olive branch in his hand, after the manner of a suppliant, went after *Cleomenes*, beseeching him to hear; and at the same time desired him to send away his little daughter *Gorgo*, who was then with him, being the only child he had, and about eight or nine years of age. But *Cleomenes* bid him say what he would, and not refrain for the sake of a child. So *Aristagoras* began with the promise of ten talents, in case *Cleomenes* would do as he desired; and receiving a denial, proceeded gradually in his offers, till he came to the sum of fifty talents; and then the girl cried, “ Father, this stranger will corrupt you unless “ you go away presently ”. *Cleomenes*, pleased with the admonition of the child, retired to another apartment: And *Aristagoras* was constrained to depart immediately from *Sparta*, without obtaining leave to inform him farther concerning the way to the place of the king’s residence (28). When the same young lady saw *Aristagoras* suffer his man to put on his shoes, she cried out in amazement, *Father! Father! see this stranger, has he no hands?* At another time when a soft and delicate stranger was about to have paid his compliments to her, she put him away with her hand, adding, *Stand by, poor creature; thou hast not as much of a man in thee as a woman* (29). As the last and most noble commendation recorded of her, let us remark, that *Damaratus*, though she was the daughter of his deadly enemy, trusted her rather than any of the *Greeks* with the intelligence he sent concerning the motion of the *Barbarians*; or, if we take this as *Herodotus* does, it may be placed in a stronger light; for he says, that a slave from *Damaratus* brought a waxen tablet to *Sparta* with nothing written on it, and when the *Spartans* knew not what to make of this, *Gorgo* immediately bid them scrape off the wax, whereupon they found *Damaratus*’s letter cut on the wood underneath (30).

(28) *Herodot. lib. vi*
con. (30) *Herodot. lib. vi.*

(29) *Plut. in Apophtheg. Alalier. l. c.*

the confederates who were not a little terrified at the thoughts of an engagement. These represented to *Leonidas*, *That a discharge of the Persian arrows would take away the light of the sun ; Very well*, replied he, *then we shall fight in the shade*. When they approached, the same persons came to him again ; *The Persians, Sir*, said they, *draw near ; What of that*, said he, *Shall not we then be near them ?* When *Xerxes* saw that he was mistaken, and that *Leonidas* really intended to fight, he wrote him a letter, wherein he told him, that the great superiority of his army might excuse his not opposing him, and that, if he would embrace his interest, he should be lord of all *Greece*. To which *Leonidas* with great moderation answered, *If you knew wherein the happiness of life consisted, you would not covet what belongs to others ; for my part, I had rather die for the liberty of Greece, than command over it*. *Xerxes* then ordered the *Medes*, who led the van in his army, to fall upon the *Greeks*, which they did with very great resolution, but were notwithstanding repulsed with prodigious slaughter ; he then commanded a choice corps of *Persians* to dislodge them, but it was in vain ; the *Greeks* were not only superior in valour, but they better understood the art of war ; they had also great advantage from the situation of the place, so that, after numbers were slain, the *Persians* were constrained to retreat †. *Xerxes* now began to be in pain for his whole army, and with reason ; for the dead bodies having streightened the passages still more, it seemed doubtful whether the weight of numbers would force the pass or no. At length one *Ephialtes* a *Trachinian* offered to shew them a path round the mountain, whereby they might fall upon the *Grecians* in the rear ; *Xerxes* thereupon detached *Hydarnes* with a great body of chosen troops, with directions to follow *Ephialtes* ; they passed the river *Asopus* in the night, and, having forced the *Phocian* guard, advanced apace towards *Leonidas* and his troops ; that great commander, who is said to have been informed that the senate had received an oracle, purporting, that either one of their kings, or the city itself must fall, as soon as he was informed of what had happened, gave leave to all the confederates to withdraw, that they might reserve themselves, as he phrased it, for better times, excepting only the *Thespians* and the *Thebans*, who with his *Spartans* made in all not above fourteen hundred men ; with these he purposed not to wait the attack of the *Persians*, but to go

† HERODOT. lib. viii. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. PAUSAN. LACON. PLUT. Apophth. Lacon JUSTIN. lib. ii.

and find them out; yet looking on his *Spartans*, and observing some striplings who had scarce attained the age of men, his heart relented; calling them therefore to him one by one, he pretended to send by each of them a billet to the *ephor*i; he would have afterwards done the same thing in favour of some persons of extraordinary merit; but they, penetrating his design, refused to obey him, one of them answering, *Sir, I came to serve you as a soldier, and not as a courier.* Another, *Let us fight first, Sir, and then I'll carry your account of the battle.* Having made the proper dispositions he passed the straights, and fell upon the enemy; he and all his *Spartans* were slain together with the *Thespians*, but the *Thebans* holding up their targets cried out for quarter, which was given only to a few, and they were stigmatized. This victory if we must call it so, cost the *Persians* 20,000 men. The body of *Leonidas* being found, *Xerxes* ordered it to be nailed to a cross, an action which reflected dishonour upon himself, and could do no hurt to a dead body; as to the fame of *Leonidas*, it was out of the reach of *Xerxes*, and hath remained still fresh above 2000 years after his decease (H). The *Persian*
after

(H) The action at *Thermopylæ* makes so great a figure in history, and so justly, at the same time that it so nearly concerns the *Lacedæmonian* history, that it would be unpardonable in us not to give such particulars thereof as may serve to set it in the clearest light, and do honour to that nation of whose affairs we are treating. In the first place let us remark, that *Leonidas* acted all along with great equality of mind, a philosophic courage, and the true spirit of a patriot. He went in the common cause of *Greece* to give a check to the *Persians* at their first entrance, that thereby the numerous army of *Xerxes* might receive a taste of the opposition it was to meet with, and the king, if he were not headstrong and irreprehensible, have an opportunity given him of retiring in time, before multitudes of his men were cut off, and the strength of *Asia* wasted to no purpose. In fighting at *Thermopylæ* *Leonidas* made use at first of all the advantages of ground afforded him by his own situation, and that of the enemy. He drew up his troops in the narrowest part of the passage, and when he retired from the field of battle, he disposed his battalions in such a manner that they readily wheeled about and received the enemy, who attempted to harraß them, in such a manner, that there were more slain in the retreat than in the fight; if *Epbialtes* had not led the *Barbarians* round the mountains, *Leonidas* would have carried his first point, that is, he would have contrained *Xerxes* to retire (31). But when the augur *Megistias*, upon inspecting the sacrifices, declared, that all the *Grecians* were

(31) *Polæn. Strateg. lib. i. c. 32. lib. vii. c. 15.*

after this consulted *Damaratus* again, adjuring him by the kindness he had shewn him, to give his sentiments sincerely as to

threatened with death ; and when this declaration was backed by intelligence, that the enemy were actually passing the mountains, *Leonidas* put in practice his second resolution, which was the devoting of his *Spartans* and himself to death for the safety of *Greece* in general, and of *Sparta* in particular (32). This resolution was founded upon two reasons ; the first, that the straits of *Thermopylæ* ought not absolutely to be abandoned, but sold to the enemy as dear as might be ; the second rested it upon this oracle which the *Lacedemonians* had received.

Thy plains, O *Sparta*, *Persian* rage shall feel,
Thy sons shall slaughter'd fall by foreign steel,
Unless a king of the *Herculean* race,
In war, to save the rest, shall death embrace.

This prompted *Leonidas* to receive that death, which he knew must some time or other happen to him, when it might avert evil from his country ; it was to prevent an unnecessary carnage, that *Leonidas* dismissed the greatest part of his allies, and retained with him only fourteen hundred men, viz. three hundred *Spartans*, seven hundred *Thebians*, and four hundred *Thebans* : He then advanced without the narrow passage, because he no longer thought of defending his own party, but how he might most injure the enemy ; and in that desperate attack he fell. *Xerxes* lost two brothers in this engagement, and an incredible number of troops. On the field of battle there were three monuments raised, one to perpetuate the memory of such of the troops as were slain before the confederates were dismissed, with this inscription :

Four thousand here, from various nations brought,
For *Greece* against the *Medes* three millions fought.

The second was for the *Lacedemonians* only, with this distich upon it :

Go, friend, and to our brother *Spartans* tell,
With what applause we in their service fell.

The third was for the augur *Megistias*, who, though pressed by *Leonidas* to retire, refused, contenting himself with sending away his only son :

(32) *Justin. lib. ii. c. 11.*

divine

to the method in which it was proper to carry on the war. The *Spartan* thereupon proposed to him seizing the isle of *Cythera*, which lay over-against *Laconia*, and from whence he might have made the *Spartans* so uneasy as would infallibly hinder their sending assistance to the *Athenians*, or impeding him in his design of penetrating into *Greece*; but *Achæmenes* the king's brother being quite of a different opinion, fearing that if the fleet parted from the land army both might be ruined, *Xerxes* preferred his counsel, and thereby failed in his design². The *Grecian* fleet in the mean time lay at *Artemisium* under the command of *Eurybiades* a *Spartan*, a man of great personal courage, but timorous as a commander, and unexperienced in sea affairs. The *Persians*, hoping to surprise and surround them, detached two hundred ships with orders to sail round *Eubæa*, and fall on the rear of the *Grecian* navy; but this being betrayed to the *Greeks*, they weighed anchor in the night, and stood directly to sea to meet these two hundred sail, so that instead of surprising others, they were themselves surprised; thirty of them sunk, and the rest forced to betake themselves to flight, wherein they were no less unfortunate; for a storm arising most of them were shipwrecked on the coast. The *Grecian* fleet

² HERODOT. ubi supra. PAUSAN. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra, & in vit. Themist.

Divine *Megistias* lies beneath this stone,
Who met without concern ill fortune's frown;
Nor would to save his life consent to fly,
When the brave *Spartans* had resolved to die.

It is alledged that *Eurytus* and *Aristodemus*, two of the three hundred *Spartans*, being ill of sore eyes, retired to *Alpeni* with the permission of *Leonidas*, and were there in the time of the last battle, on the news of which *Eurytus* caused his armour to be put on, and ordered his servant to conduct him directly to the field, where running, blind as he was, into the midst of the enemy, he was suddenly covered with wounds, and fell down dead; but *Aristodemus* returned to *Sparta*, where he met with a very indifferent reception, being treated as a man who had not courage enough to die with his companions; to aggravate their ill usage, they surnamed him the *Fugitive*; he redeemed his credit, however, at the battle of *Platæa*, where, having devoted himself to death, he performed such actions as are scarce credible (33).

(33) Herodot. lib. vii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. Plut. in Apophtheg. Laced. & in vit. Aristid.

some time after sailed to the coast of *Attica*, and at the desire of the *Athenians* anchored near *Salamis*. *Eurybiades* had still the command, though of three hundred and fifty eight ships, of which the fleet consisted, a hundred and eighty belonged to the *Athenians*. As to the battle which happened there not long after, we have already given a full account of it in our *Athenian* history, and therefore shall not trouble the reader with needless repetitions here^a. The first step that was taken afterwards, was, to prepare a great fleet to prosecute this victory, the command of which was given to *Leotychides* king of *Sparta*; but it soon after appeared, that the *Persians* had not totally abandoned their design, *Mardonius* remaining in *Greece* at the head of a very considerable army, with which he threatened in the spring to revisit *Attica*; the *Greeks* therefore found themselves under a necessity of raising a land army also.

Mardo-
nius at-
tempts the
conquest of
Greece.

Pausanias the son of *Cleombrotus* took upon him the character of tutor or protector to *Plistarchus* the son of *Leonidas*, and in right thereof was the first magistrate in *Sparta*, the other king, as we have said, being absent, having the command of the confederate fleet. In this situation of things, the dilatoriness of popular councils eminently appeared, for when the army ought to have been in the field, the *Athenian* ambassadors found the *Lacedemonians* celebrating the *Hyacinthia*; in vain these ministers represented, that the common cause was neglected, and that the *Athenians* had reason to expect better things, since they had hazarded all for the service of *Greece*; the *ephori* and senate, confiding mightily in the strong wall which by this time was erected cross the isthmus, thought but little of raising troops, till *Chileus* a *Tegeatean*, who had a great reputation amongst them, shewed them how foolish and dishonourable this conduct of theirs was; since it was plain, if the *Athenians* were ruined through their delay, the *Persians*, being masters at sea, might land what forces they would in *Lacœnia*, and bring the war home to their doors; the wall cross the isthmus being in such a case useless^b. Roused by this representation, they sent five thousand *Spartans*, and which was an unusual thing with them, gave arms to seven thousand of their *Helotes*, *Pausanias* commanding in chief. This, however, did not hinder *Mardonius* from taking *Athens*, or from seeking the *Greek* army and offering battle. *Pausanias* had the command in chief of the whole *Grecian* forces, which were not less than one hundred

^a See before, p. 109.

^b HERODOT. lib. viii. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. PAUSAN. in Lacon.

thousand men. The *Persians* were certainly double their number, nay, according to *Diodorus's* account, *Mardonius's* army, consisted of five hundred thousand men. When they came into the neighbourhood of *Plataea*, an engagement happened between a great body of *Persian* horse, commanded by *Masistius*, and a corps of *Greeks*, wherein, after a great effusion of blood, the *Persians* were routed and their commander killed^c. A general battle being delayed, the *Greek* army suffered much by desertion, as on the other hand did the *Persians* for want of provisions. *Pausanias* at length thought fit to decamp, that he might procure his army fresh and more advantageous quarters; in which, however, he was opposed by *Amompharetus* an old *Spartan* commander, who insisted, that it was derogatory to the *Spartan* honour to retire in sight of an enemy. *Pausanias*, like a wise man and a great captain, answered, That marching this way or that was not dishonourable, when it proceeded from a right motive; but when he found all his intreaties were in vain, and that *Amompharetus* would not be persuaded, he gave the signal, and immediately the *Lacedemonian* and *Tegeatean* foot began to move. *Amompharetus*, who was hitherto of opinion that *Pausanias* would not desert him, when he saw him actually on his march, ordered his standards to be taken up and moved slowly after him. *Pausanias* kept the high ground, the *Athenians*, who very exactly obeyed his orders, marched in the plain; the rest of the confederates withdrew to the temple of *Juno*, where they were out of reach of the *Persian* cavalry. At the temple of *Ceres*, which was on the brow of the hill, *Pausanias* halted with all his forces, to give *Amompharetus* and his battalion time to come up; but they had hardly rejoined the army before the van-guard of the *Persian* horse attacked them with great vigour^d. *Mardonius* looked upon this decampment of the *Greek* troops in the same light that *Amompharetus* did, that is, as a plain flight, and therefore was eager not to fight them, but to fall upon the runaways; this eagerness, as far as we can judge at this distance of time, seems to have been the chief cause of his misfortune; for his *Persians* marching hastily and without order, the rest of the corps of which his numerous army was composed did the like, which gave the *Greeks* great advantage. The troops under *Pausanias* did not much exceed fifty thou-

^c HEROD. lib. ix. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PAUSAN. ubi supra.

^d HERODOT. lib. ix. PLUT. in vit. Themist. & Arist. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. JUSTIN. lib. ii. c. 14. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Pausan.

sand men, and on this account it was that he sent to hasten the *Athenians* in their march. The *Athenians*, who on this occasion acted with the utmost generosity, endeavoured, as well as they were able, to fulfil his orders; but were unluckily stopped short by the *Bæotians* and other *Greeks* in the service of the *Persian*, who on this occasion behaved with amazing courage and intrepidity. The *Lacedemonians* and *Tegeateans* were forced to engage *Mardonius's* army without assistance. It is universally acknowledged, that the *Persians* behaved very well on this occasion; but, being neither so well armed nor so well disciplined as the *Greeks*, their valour was of no use but to bring them to slaughter; for, as *Herodotus* rightly observes, it was all the same, whether one or ten *Persians* broke into the *Grecian* ranks, since the next line was ready to receive them without confusion or disorder, so that they were presently slain without effecting any thing, because they charged tumultuously; their commanders having no capacity to direct them, nor they to obey. Their number and their courage, however, kept the battle doubtful as long as *Mardonius* lived, who, mounted on a white horse, and fighting at the head of a thousand men, gave signal demonstrations of a courage deserving a better fate; but when he was slain, the *Persians* began to break and to give way, which dispirited all the barbarous nations, who now followed the example of their flight, though they had not drawn their swords. The *Athenians* also defeated the *Greeks* who sided with and fought for the *Persians*, so that *Artabazus*, who was next in command to *Mardonius*, and against whose advice these measures were taken, judging all to be lost, retired with 40,000, and marched with all the expedition he was able back to *Thrace*; the rest of the *Persian* army withdrew as speedily as they could into their camp, where they strengthened the works formerly thrown up, and resolved to defend to the utmost of their power these posts against the victorious *Greeks*. *Pausanias*, coming up with his *Lacedemonians*, attacked the camp without hesitation, but at the same time with little success; for the *Persians*, fighting now not for victory or glory, but for their lives, made a most obstinate resistance; besides, they had the same advantage over the *Lacedemonians* here, which the *Lacedemonians* had over them in the field; for, as we have heretofore observed, the *Spartans* were unaccustomed to such attack, avoiding, in obedience to the laws of *Lycurgus*, all sieges as much as in them lay; yet this state of things lasted but for a small time; for when the *Athenians* came up, who of all the *Greeks* best understood the art of defending or attacking fortifications, they quickly

quickly opened a passage to the *Lacedemonians*, and when that was once done, a merciless slaughter ensued, since of three hundred thousand men, whom *Mardonius* brought into the field, scarce three thousand escaped^a; of the *Greeks*, however, it is uncertain how many there fell; if we believe *Herodotus*, there died of the *Spartans* ninety one; of the *Tegeatæans* sixteen; and of the *Athenians* fifty two^f. *Plutarch* owns one thousand three hundred and sixty to have fallen^g; but *Diodorus Siculus* is positive, that there were very few less than ten thousand^h. When this bloody engagement was over, the rest of the allies came up to be witnesses rather than assistants in gaining the victory, by which behaviour they drew on themselves contempt and scorn. *Lampon* of *Ægina* proposed to *Pausanias*, that the body of *Mardonius* should be carefully searched for, that the indignity offered to his uncle *Leonidas* by the command of *Xerxes* might be revenged thereon. To which *Pausanias* answered, “ Friend
 “ of *Ægina*, I very kindly accept of your good intention,
 “ and the respect you express for me and my family; but I
 “ cannot help telling you, that your zeal hath drawn you
 “ to make a very wrong judgment of this matter; for
 “ whereas you have highly magnified my actions, the cou-
 “ rage of my countrymen, and the action we have this day
 “ atchieved, you throw all this down again by importuning
 “ me to insult the dead, and persuading me that I shall
 “ heighten my glory, if I do that which is fitter for *Barba-*
 “ *rians* to do, nay, which we have not spared to reproach
 “ even in them; I cannot therefore assent to these notions of
 “ the men of *Ægina*, nor to those of any other nation, who
 “ delight in such actions, being content to be commended
 “ by the *Spartans*, for neither doing, nor speaking an un-
 “ becoming thing. As for *Leonidas*, whose death you would
 “ have revenged, I am of opinion, that the innumerable
 “ multitude we have slain have sufficiently repaired the loss
 “ of him and those that fell with him at *Thermopylæ*. Come
 “ no more therefore to me with such discourses; offer me
 “ no more such counsels, but look upon it as a very great
 “ favour that you have escaped even now unpunished.”
 When this great captain beheld the magnificent tent and rich furniture belonging to *Mardonius*, with the mighty magazines of luxury belonging thereto, he gave orders to the cooks and bakers to prepare him such a supper as they were wont to do for that general; which when they had done, he

^a HERODOT. ubi supra.
 upra.

^h Ubi supra.

^f Ubi supra.

^g Ubi

ordered some of his own servants to dress a *Spartan* meal ; which being also done, he sent for the principal officers among the *Greeks* ; thus pointing to both the suppers, he said with a smile, *See, gentlemen, the folly of this king of the Medes, who living in this sumptuous manner at home, would needs come so far to spoil us who fare so hardly.* Part of the prodigious spoils that were taken in the *Persian* camp, the *Helotes*, who were intrusted to collect them, purloined ; part was dedicated to the gods ; a tenth of all sorts was given to *Pausanias* ; and the rest distributed among the *Greeks*. Having thus put an end to the war, *Pausanias* thought next of punishing such as had betrayed the common cause of *Greece* ; with this view he marched immediately to *Thebes*, the citizens of which at first attempted to make a defence, but on mature deliberation they capitulated, and delivered up the chiefs of the *Median* faction which were in their hands ; they vainly fancied, that they might redeem themselves with money, but in this they were greatly mistaken ; for *Pausanias*, disdaining their proposal, hurried them away to *Corinth*, and caused them there to be put to death¹.

The
Greeks
victorious
at Mycale.

THE same day that the battle of *Platæa* was fought, *Leotychides* king of *Sparta*, with *Xanthippus* the *Athenian*, gained a glorious victory at *Mycale*, where the last remains of the *Persian* fleet and of the *Persian* armies, which had been drawn together for the destruction of *Greece*, were utterly defeated ; the commanders of the *Persian* fleet greatly discouraged their men by the pusillanimity of their conduct ; for notwithstanding they had a great number of ships, they ran them all on shore, and sought to shelter themselves under the protection of an army of sixty thousand men, which under the command of *Tigranes* had been left to defend *Ionia*. The *Greeks* seeing this determined to attack them on shore, and *Leotychides*, standing in towards the coast, ordered a herald to make proclamation, when he drew near enough to be heard, in the *Greek* tongue, in these words : “ Men of
“ *Ionia*, such among you as my voice reaches, hearken
“ with attention to what I say, the rather because the *Per-*
“ *sians* cannot understand me ; when the battle begins, eve-
“ ry one of you ought in the first place to remember liber-
“ ty, and in the next, that the word in our army is *Hebe* ;
“ let such as hear me inform those who hear me not.” This proclamation had a double effect, for it inclined many of the *Ionians* to favour the *Greeks*, and it so frightened the

¹ HERODOT. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. ubi supra. CORN. NEPOS, ubi supra.

Persians,

Persians, that they knew not whom to trust (I). The *Persians*, before the battle began, disarmed the *Samians*, having some intelligence that they had been intriguing with the *Greeks*; but confiding greatly in the *Milesians*, they intrusted them with the custody of the passages through the mountains behind them; these dispositions made, they prepared to defend their fortifications the best they could; yet neither their conduct nor their valour availed much, for the *Greeks*

(I) *Herodotus* is no mighty admirer of *Leotychides* king of *Sparta*, for he expressly gives the preference to the *Athenians*, after them to the *Corinthians*, the *Træzenians*, and the *Sicyonians* (34); yet the truth seems to be, that *Leotychides* behaved with great prudence upon this occasion, as we have said above in the text; and there is one instance of his abilities as a general, which has been little taken notice of, and which it is our duty therefore particularly to mention here: He it was who contrived that miracle, as some called it, of the victory won at *Platæa*, not in consequence of any intelligence, for that was impossible, but believing it the best way to incline the *Ionians* to favour the *Greeks*; he industriously spread the pretended news, and at the same time openly invited the *Ionians* to throw off the yoke, and assert their freedom; whence, as is evident from the account in the text, this victory in a great measure proceeded (35). This conduct of his is very reconcileable to one of his sayings recorded by *Plutarch*: A *Spartan* in good circumstances asked one day this prince, *How he might best preserve his happiness?* *Leotychides* answered, *By not trusting all to fortune* (36). It is certain, that *Leotychides* was not a very adventurous admiral, but absolutely refused to accompany *Xanthippus* when he found the bridges removed which *Xerxes* had thrown cross the *Hellepont*; but this may be easily accounted for, without derogating at all from the courage and military capacity of the king of *Sparta*; the *Athenians*, by nature, and by the constitution of their state, were inclined to maritime affairs, and enabled to obtain the empire of the sea, of which as yet *Sparta* had little ambition, tho' she possessed it; for, as *Herodotus* plainly says, the command was given her by the allies, who refused to follow any other than a *Spartan* admiral (37). *Leotychides* therefore did all in his power to serve the common cause, while the united fleet continued together in the *Hellepont*; but when slight descents were proposed, and the pillaging the enemy's coasts and ships, he, whose particular squadron was of no strength, did not think fit to remain long at sea, because in all probability he conceived, that nothing could be further done worthy of the *Spartan* name and glory.

(34) *Herodot. hist. lib. ix. c. 33. lib. vii. c. 45.* (35) *Polyæn. Stratagem. lib. i. c. 2.* (36) *Frontin. Stratagem. lib. i. c. 2.*
Plutarch. Apophtheg. Lacon. (37) *Herodot. lib. vii.*

landing, the *Athenians* marched strait forward along the shore, the *Lacedemonians* took a compass by the hills. The former, after an obstinate resistance, forced the *Persian* camp, about the same time that the latter attacked them in the rear; the *Samians*, in the midst of the battle catching up whatever came to hand, fell upon the *Persians* in their very camp, and the *Milesians* who were to have guarded the passes, as soon as the *Persians* fled, fell upon them, and either killed them, or made them prisoners ^k. A very odd circumstance, which, according to the superstition of those times, passed for miraculous, contributed much to the gaining of this victory; it was this: About the time the battle began a rumour was spread throughout the army, that the *Barbarians* were beaten at *Platæa*, though, as we have observed, that engagement happened in the morning of that day, in the evening of which this happened at *Mycale*; but of this strange business, which some modern writers have treated very obscurely, the reader hath received a satisfactory account in the note (I) ^l.

Pausanias
intrigues
with Ar-
tabazus.
Year of
the Flood,
2528.
Before
Christ,
471.

Pausanias was afterwards sent to take the command of the fleet, with strict orders to free the *Grecian* cities from the *Persian* garisons; on this design he sailed with a great fleet to *Cyprus*, thence to *Byzantium*, which according to his instructions he set at liberty, and this seems to have been the last of his exploits; for immediately upon this he fell into a scandalous treaty with the *Persians*, affecting by the assistance of the great king to make himself sovereign of *Greece*; that at this time he first entered into these practices appears from hence; he sent such *Persians* of great quality as he took in *Byzantium* to *Gongylus* of *Eretria*, telling the *Grecian* chiefs that he reserved them for punishment, whereas he had privately given directions that they should be sent back in safety to *Xerxes* ^m. As soon as he had conceived these strange notions in his head, he fell into the manners of the *Persians*, affected all their luxury, and derided the plain customs of his country, of which he had formerly been so fond; another action happened at *Byzantium* extremely prejudicial to his character, and which some say disturbed him to his death; he fell violently in love with a young lady named *Cleonice*, whom her parents, fearing to deny him, forced to take part of his bed; but she in great modesty desiring that the lights might be put out, when she came into his chamber, unfortunately

^k HERODOT. ^l WANLEY'S History of Man. BEAUCHAMP'S Essays, c. 1. sect. vi. ^m DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. PAUSAN.

stumbled on an extinguished lamp, whereupon he, awakening, and fearing that some assassin had broke into his room, caught up his sword, and mortally wounded her. His affliction for this accident put him almost beside himself ^a; the allies in the mean time took great umbrage at his conduct, and privately sent to accuse him at *Sparta*; in the interim they deprived him of his command, and even besieged him in *Byzantium* ^o; escaping, however, from thence, he fled to *Heraclæa*, where he endeavoured, according to the methods then in use, to pacify the ghost of *Cleonice*. In this place he met with certain persons who had, or pretended to have, the power of raising the spirits of persons deceased, and who at his intreaty brought up that of his mistress, who to all his questions gave him this short answer : *When you come to Sparta, you will find an end to all your misfortunes* ^p. Accordingly when he came home, the *ephorî* caused him to be seized; but having no sufficient evidence, and not caring in all probability to proceed with rigour against so eminent a person on bare suspicions, he was for a time enlarged. These warnings did not deter him from carrying on the projects he had formed. *Artabazus* was the person he negotiated with, and between them they fixed this rule; that whoever brought any of *Pausanias's* epistles should immediately be put to death, that there might be no possibility of producing witnesses against him ^q. But growing impatient, and finding that *Themistocles*, notwithstanding the injuries done him by the *Athenians*, would not enter into his measures, *Pausanias* wrote in peremptory terms to *Artabazus*, and confided his letters to *Argilius* his particular favourite, and as some say his catamite. This man, considering with himself that none of *Pausanias's* messengers were come back again, determined to open his letters, and finding by their contents that he was to have met with no better treatment than his predecessors, he carried them directly to the *ephorî*, who discovered much from them, but yet not enough to convict *Pausanias*; but *Argilius* soon helped this out, for retiring to *Tænarus*, and pretending there to pay his devotions to *Neptune*, he set up a double tent; in one part of which he concealed certain *Spartans*, and in the other he entertained *Pausanias*, who came to expostulate with him for not carrying his letters; by these expostulations, those who overheard them became direct witnesses against him, so that at his return to *Sparta*, the *ephorî* determined to imprison him, of

^a PLUT. in vit. Cimonis.^o DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Pausan.

^p PLUT. in vit. Cimonis.^q DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. JUSTIN. lib. ii. c. 15.

which

which having some intelligence, he retired to the temple of *Minerva Chalcidica*, and there took sanctuary, which gave occasion to one of the most extraordinary proceedings any where recorded in history; for the *Lacedemonians*, not caring to invade the sanctuary, were at a loss what to do, till the mother of *Pausanias* taking a tile in her hand came to the temple, and laid it down at the door, after which, without speaking a word, she retired to her own house; the *Spartans*, having considered her conduct, following her example blocked up the gate, and, thus preventing his going out, reduced him to the necessity of starving in the temple. When they were sure he was dead, they opened the gate again, and taking out his body delivered it to his relations^r. About this time *Leostychides*, being sent with a great army to chastise the *Thessalians*, who had shewn themselves no friends to *Greece* in general, and expressed a particular enmity towards *Sparta*, instead of doing his duty, after he had obtained a victory, and reduced the enemy into very bad circumstances, began to receive bribes, and informations being thereupon given in against him, he was surprised in his tent with money in both hands. Returning to *Sparta*, and finding that his citizens were in no humour to dispense with his infidelity, he to avoid their fury fled to *Tegea*, and died there in exile, having survived his son *Zeuxidamus*, in whom he placed all his hopes^s.

The reigns
of *Plistarchus*,
Plistoanax,
and of *Archidamus*.

Plistarchus the son of *Leonidas*, to whom *Pausanias* was tutor, did not live long; he was succeeded by *Plistoanax* the son of *Pausanias*, the next legal heir of the royal family, as *Leostychides* was by his grandson *Archidamus*; as for *Plistoanax*, he was a prince of a very mild and peaceable disposition, one who gave no umbrage to his fellow-citizens, and who, in their quarrels with the *Athenians*, acted according to their directions, and did not endeavour to embroil them, that he might make himself the more necessary to them^t. *Archidamus* was of a like disposition, and it may be truly said, that under the reigns of these princes the *Spartans* felt no mischiefs but what they brought upon themselves, and had no good luck but what was derived to them from their kings and their family; for in the nonage of *Plistoanax* *Nicomedes* the son of *Gleombrotus* acted as his tutor. At the end of the LXXVII olympiad a most dreadful earthquake happened at *Sparta*: *Diodorus* says, that twenty thousand persons lost their lives, and *Plutarch* affirms,

^r PLUT. in Parallel x. in vit. Themist. in Apophth. Mulier. LACON. THUCYD. lib. i. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Pausan. POLYÆN. Stratagem. lib. viii. c. 51. DIODOR. ubi supra. JUSTIN. ubi supra.
^s HEROD. lib. vi. PAUSAN. LACON. ^t Idem. ibid.

that only five houses in the city escaped ruin ; in the midst of this general confusion, *Archidamus* gave such an instance of his wisdom and firmness, as must render him everlastingly admired ; considering with himself that his citizens were of far greater value than even their most valuable effects, and yet seeing that to save these they were ready to risque themselves, he caused an alarm to be sounded, as if an enemy had been just at hand, whereupon in haste they armed themselves and repaired into the field, which wrought them double safety ; for the *Helotes*, now conceiving that they had a fit time to be revenged of their cruel masters, unanimously took up arms, and marched boldly to *Sparta*, expecting they should find none to withstand them ; but they were greatly mistaken, for *Archidamus*, with his citizens compleatly armed, made such a stand, that they were constrained to retire. However, knowing they could now expect no favour from their lords, whom they had so ill-treated in the time of their distress, they determined with themselves to persist in their revolt, and to trust for a pacification to their swords, rather than to their intreaties^u. Many reasons contributed to strengthen the *Helotes* in this determination ; the *Spartans* were already embroiled with the *Athenians*, who were inclined to dispute with them the sovereignty of *Greece* ; the *Messenians* began to shew evident marks of their resentment of the indignities and oppressions which were thrown upon them ; the rest of the *Peloponnesian* states were not a little dissatisfied, so that never were the *Lacedemonians* less able to act vigorously against their rebellious subjects than at present. The first step they took, after throwing off the yoke, was seizing a port in *Messenia*, from whence they made continual incursions into *Laconia*, burning and pillaging all the villages they came to ; the *Spartans* in this distress applied themselves to *Athens* for assistance, which after some opposition was granted them, and sent under the command of *Cimon* the son of *Miltiades* ; they likewise solicited their other allies, who, seeing the readiness of the *Athenians*, and considering the great services which all *Greece* had received from *Sparta*, likewise sent their quotas, which enabled *Archidamus* to take the field, notwithstanding the *Messenians* had joined with the *Helotes*, and fortified *Ithome*^{*}. It is not very clear, whether there happened any general battle or not ; but however it was, the *Helotes* and *Messenians* thought it better to retire to *Ithome*, than to abide the *Spartan* army in the field, whereby the latter, much against their wills, were constrain-

^u DIODOR SICUL. ubi supra. PAUSAN. in Messen. JUSTIN. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Cimon.

^{*} DIODOR SICUL. lib. 21.

ed to make the siege of this city ; for, as we have more than once observed, this was a part of the military science, in which the *Lacedemonians* were but indifferently skilled ; it was chiefly on this account that they besought the aid of the *Athenians*, and yet, when their troops came before the city, and behaved themselves more actively than the *Spartans* themselves, they grew jealous of them ; and being fearful lest the strangers in their army might be corrupted, and, being countenanced by the *Athenians*, go over to the enemy, they dismissed the latter, telling them they had no further occasion for their service ; which exceedingly incensed the people of *Athens*, and made them more ready to think of any method to reduce the *Spartan* greatness than hitherto they had been [†]. While things were in this situation, the *Phocians* made war upon the *Dorians* who inhabited mount *Parnassus*, and took from them several cities, and amongst the rest their capital. These *Dorians* being originally *Lacedemonians*, the *Spartans* dispatched an army under the command of *Nicomedes* ; he quickly reduced the *Phocians* to reason, and set all things right ; but returning with his army, the *Athenians*, joining the *Argives* and *Thessalians*, shut up the passages into *Peloponnesus* : *Nicomedes* upon this retired towards *Tanagra* in *Bæotia*, whither the *Athenians* followed him, and forced him to an engagement, wherein, the *Thessalians* deserting them, they had much the worst ^² ; the next year the *Lacedemonians* assisted the *Thebans* against the *Athenians*, but were therein so unfortunate as to be totally routed at *Tanagra* with great loss. The *Messenian* war was still carried on, and was not like to be terminated even in the tenth year, *Ithome* being naturally a strong place, and the oracle at *Delphi* having threatened the *Spartans*, if they injured the suppliants of *Jupiter Ithome* ; wherefore they were forced to turn their siege into a blockade, and at last hearkened to terms of accommodation, whereby it was agreed, that the *Messenians* should depart *Peloponnesus*, never to return, on pain of becoming slaves if they did ^³ ; these poor people were thereupon received with their wives and children by the *Athenians*, rather out of spleen to *Sparta*, than any great desire to render service to the distressed. They granted them *Naupactus* for their residence, from whence they afterwards brought them to inhabit part of their own country, of which in the course of the *Peloponnesian* war they dispossessed the *Lacedemonians* ^⁴. The next war the *Lacedemonians* undertook was that stiled *the sacred*, by some *the Phocian*, war ;

[†] PLUT. in vit. Cimon. THUCYD. lib. i. ^² DIODOR. ubi supra. THUCYD. ubi supra. ^³ PAUSAN. Messen. ^⁴ THUCYD. lib. iv. the

The end of it was to put the temple at *Delphi* into the hands of the inhabitants of the country, whereas it had before belonged to the *Phocians*, which the *Spartans* effected, and for which the *Delphians* by a decree conferred on the *Lacedemonians* a right of first consulting the oracie, which decree they engraved on the forehead of a brazen wolf consecrated in the temple. The *Athenians* soon after restored the temple to the *Phocians*, and from them obtained the same privilege which the *Delphians* had granted to the *Spartans*, and this decree they caused to be engraven on the right side of the wolf. The *Lacedemonians* ^c having induced the *Boeotians* to revolt from the *Athenians*, and *Tolmides*, who attempted to reduce them, being slain, and *Eubœa* at the same time revolting, they held this a fit season for giving a mortal blow to *Athens*; for which cause *Plistoanax* was ordered to invade the *Athenian* territories with a great army with him: being but young, *Gleondrides* was sent to direct him, but he proved an unlucky guardian; for being a lover of money, he accepted a bribe from *Pericles*, and persuaded the king to return home without effecting any thing, for which the *Spartans* sentenced him to death, and drove their king into banishment; not long after a peace was made between this nation and the *Athenians*, which though it lasted for some time, yet was it far from extinguishing that hatred which for some time had burnt in the bosoms of both ^d. At first the *Athenians* had the stronger party among the *Greeks*, because the *Lacedemonians* had behaved with haughtiness while they held the sovereignty; but the *Athenians* gaining power, and making as bad use of it, or worse, almost all *Greece*, except the states immediately under her jurisdiction, and even some of them also, hated her, and applied themselves to the *Spartans*. In the fourteenth year of the truce, which was to have lasted thirty, a great assembly of deputies from the states of *Peloponnesus* and other parts of *Greece* was held at *Lacedemon*, where they unanimously accused the *Athenians* of tyranny, oppression, injustice, plundering them of vast sums of money, and in fine of a multitude of other crimes, beseeching the *Lacedemonians* to stir in the common cause of *Greece*, and not suffer the *Athenians* to effect what the *Persian* king with all his power was not able to perform. Some ambassadors of *Athens*, who were by chance in the city, defended the cause of their country stoutly. The *Spartans*, however, having heard both parties, were greatly inclined

^c DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. PLUT. in vit Periclis. ^d DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra. THUCYD lib. i.

immediately to declare war against the *Athenians*^c. But *Archidamus*, like a wise and good prince, interposed, and advised them to weigh well the step they were about to take; he shewed them, that comparing their own state with that of *Athens*, not only the aid of the *Greeks*, but of the *Barbarians* also, was necessary; he demonstrated, that the invasion of *Attica* would signify little; that if they went slowly into this business, the *Athenians* might probably return to a proper temper, and make satisfaction to their allies; that at least they would preserve their own reputation, and would enable themselves to carry on the war with effect. But *Sthenelaidēs*, one of the *ephorī*, declared himself of a different sentiment; he alledged, that it was a great happiness for *Sparta*, that other states had taken umbrage at her rival; that if she was not quickly pulled down, their united strength would be too little; and that if they took not this opportunity, they might never have it in their power at all. At his motion therefore war was decreed immediately, after which deputies were sent to consult the oracle at *Delphi*, whence they received a response suited to their wishes. Ambassadors were likewise sent to all the allies to desire them to prepare their quotas, and also to *Athens* to offer peace upon certain conditions, which at the motion of *Pericles* were rejected^f.

The commencement of the Peloponnesian war.

THE first action of the *Peloponnesian* war was the attempt made upon *Platæa* by the *Thebans*; immediately after this both parties took the field, all the *Peloponnesians*, except the *Argives* and *Acheans*, sided with *Sparta*; without *Peloponnesus* the *Megarians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Bæotians*, *Ambraciots*, *Leucadians*, and *Anaëtorians*; the *Corinthians*, *Megarians*, *Sicyonians*, *Pellenians*, *Eleans*, *Ambraciots*, and *Leucadians*, furnished ships, the *Bæotians*, *Phocians*, and *Locrians* sent cavalry, the rest of the states furnished their respective quotas in foot. *Archidamus*, at the head of a mighty army, marched to the frontiers of *Attica*, from whence he dispatched a messenger to *Athens*, being very desirous even to the last of avoiding if possible this war; but the messenger was sent back unheard, and the enemies of *Archidamus* beginning to insinuate, that, out of friendship to the *Athenians*, he betrayed the common cause, he marched into *Attica*, and penetrated within a few miles of *Athens* itself, destroying the country, and wasting all things in a terrible manner, after which he returned through *Bæotia* into *Peloponnesus*^g. In the mean

^c DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. PLUT. in vit. Periclis. JUSTIN lib. iii. c. 7. ^f THUCYD. lib. i. ^g DIODOR. THUCYD. PLUT. in vit. Periclis.

time the *Athenian* fleet infested the coast of *Laconia*, and the troops on board it landing besieged *Methone*, to the relief of which *Brasidas* the *Spartan* hastened with a hundred men, and breaking with much ado through the enemy, got safe into the town, where he made so vigorous a resistance, that the *Athenians* were forced to retire; the same year the inhabitants of *Ægina*, being expelled by the *Athenians*, fled into *Peloponnesus*, and had the district of *Thyrea* assigned them by the *Spartans*. In the spring of the second year *Archidamus* entered *Attica* again, but after remaining there forty days, hearing that *Pericles* with a great army wasted *Peloponnesus*, he returned to assist his countrymen, the rather because the plague raged violently in *Attica* ^h. In the third year *Archidamus* besieged *Platæa*, which making an obstinate defence, he was constrained to turn his siege into a blockade. In the fourth year he entered *Attica* the third time, and wasted all the ripe corn, whereby the *Athenians* were greatly distressed; the same year the *Mitylenians* revolted from the *Athenians*, and in the winter of that year *Platæa* was reduced to such straits, that part of its garison forced their way through the *Peloponnesian* guards, and escaped to *Athens*; the rest were in the beginning of the next year forced to yield, and were all put to death, the city being rased to the ground, notwithstanding the generous zeal she had expressed in the cause of *Greece*, in the memorable battle fought on her territories ⁱ. This year also *Archidamus* died in a good old age, and after a very long reign; he was one of the best kings that *Sparta* ever had, and this will in some measure appear from the following saying of his; being asked, *Who were governors at Sparta*, he answered, *The laws, and the magistrates according to those laws*; he left behind him two sons *Agis* and *Agésilas*, the eldest of which succeeded him ^k.

In the spring after his father's death *Agis* invaded *Attica*, *The reign* and while he was employed there the *Athenians* seized *Pylus*, *of Agis.* whither he was forced to hasten, but to little purpose, a hundred and twenty of the nobility of *Sparta* being taken and *Year of* sent prisoners to *Athens*; not long after the *Athenians* seized ^{2571.} the island of *Cythera*, and filled it with a colony of *Messinians*, who proved the bitterest enemies, as indeed they might well, to the *Lacedemonians* ^{Year be-}. *Thyrea* was also taken, ^{foreChrist} and the poor inhabitants of *Ægina* who had settled there were ^{428.}

^h THUCYD. lib. ii. DIODOR. lib. xii. JUSTIN. lib. iv. CORNEL. NEPOS, in vit. Cimon. PLUT. in vit. Periclis. ⁱ THUCYD. lib. iii. PLUT. ubi supra. ^k PLUT. Apophthegm. LACON. ^l THUCYD. lib. iv. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xii.

massacred. To remove the war to a greater distance, the *Lacedemonians* sent *Brasidas* their famous general into *Thrace*, where he effectually answered their expectations, and humbled the pride of the *Athenians*. When he was about to march with the army, proclamation was made by command of the *ephori*, that such of the *Helotes* as were willing to enlist themselves as volunteers should be manumitted; which proposition being joyfully accepted by two thousand of them, they were accordingly set at liberty, but their liberty consisted only in being shewn a short road into another world; for they having pointed out to their jealous masters, who amongst them were most warlike, they were immediately dispatched privately, and seven hundred of the stoutest of the remaining *Helotes* were, together with a thousand mercenary *Peloponnesians*, sent with *Brasidas*^m. *Thucydides* the historian commanded the *Athenian* forces at that time in *Thrace*, and performed there whatever could be expected from a wise man, and an experienced commander; but the fortune of *Brasidas*, the valour of his forces, and the proneness of the people of the country to side with him against the *Athenians*, gave such high advantages to the *Lacedemonians* and their allies, that *Amphipolis* and several other cities were taken. The use made of this at *Sparta* was to set new negotiations on foot, partly because the war was very burthensome, and partly because *Brasidas* was greatly envied. With much ado a truce was concluded for a year, at the end of which *Brasidas* fell upon *Cleon*, who commanded the *Athenian* forces in the neighbourhood of *Amphipolis*, and gained a great victory, *Cleon* himself with six hundred *Athenians* being slain, with the loss only of seven *Spartans*; and yet this victory was too dear, *Brasidas* being mortally wounded. He was certainly one of the bravest, and one of the modestest men of his age, admired of all men for his great exploits, while at the same time he behaved with as much humility as the meanest citizen at *Sparta*; he exactly made good the letter he sent the *ephori*, when he first arrived in *Thrace*, and which was conceived in these words; *What is for the honour of the state I will perform, or die*ⁿ. *Plutarch* has preserved a saying of his, which both its good sense, and its being his, render worthy of being transcribed here. Looking one day among some dried figs, he caught a mouse, which immediately turned and bit his fingers, whereupon he let it go; *Tu jee*, said he to some who stood near him, *That creatures that have but little strength*

^m THUCYD. lib. iv. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xii. ⁿ THUCYD. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. Apophth. Lacon.

can get rid of invaders, if they dare exert the little they have°. The great mischiefs which this captain had wrought the *Athenians*, and the mighty loss which the *Spartans* conceived they had sustained by his death, determined both states to put an end to the war; *Plistoanax* laboured all he could to promote this disposition, persuading himself, that in a time of peace he should be better able to deal with his mutinous subjects than while a war was carrying on, the various events of which put it in their power to find daily new matter of reproach against him. We have seen on what account he was banished, and we are assured, that he lived in exile nineteen years; his return was wrought by a response from *Delphi*, concerning which the *Spartans* affected afterwards to have many doubts, whether it came really from the god, or from some of *Plistoanax's* agents^p. The king, however, getting the *ephori* for the time present to join with him, procured a peace to be concluded after the war had raged ten years. The peace was hardly made before new intrigues were set on foot in *Peloponnesus*: The *Corinthians*, and in general the allies of *Sparta*, were greatly offended with the peace, because it did not exactly answer their private purposes; besides they were apprehensive lest *Sparta* and *Athens* should enter into a close union, whereby the dominion of *Peloponnesus* might be left to the former, and the sovereignty of the islands with the *Grecian* colonies in *Asia* transferred to the latter. To defeat this scheme, if any such there was or should be, several of the *Peloponnesian* states leagued themselves with *Argos*, a very powerful republic, which had never any great friendship for *Sparta*, and which at this time seemed to threaten her; this league made the *Lacedemonians* very uneasy, and the more, when they found that the *Argives*, and those who were allied with them, were negotiating at *Athens*. Thither therefore the *Lacedemonians* sent their ambassadors, who in all probability would have carried their point, if they had depended upon *Nicias* their old and constant friend; but suffering themselves to be deceived by the artifices of *Alcibiades*, who, acting on his uncle *Pericles's* maxims, sought to revive the war, they themselves were drawn to give the *Athenians* great suspicion^q. The next year the new *ephori* grew likewise fond of war, and though *Nicias* strongly laboured to compose all differences, yet all he

° PLUT. Apophth. Lacon.

^p THUCYD. lib. v. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xii.

PLUT. in vita Nic.

^q THUCYD.

ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vita Alcibiad.

could obtain was no more than the swearing to the peace anew, which he well enough understood would not content his citizens^r. In the summer when the XCth olympiad was celebrated, the *Lacedemonians* received an high affront. The *Eleans* refused to let them sacrifice, or in any manner partake of the sacred rites, placing a strong guard on the temple in order to prevent it; the reason assigned for this was, that the *Lacedemonians*, while former olympics were held, had seized the castle of *Phoricus*, for which they were fined two hundred drachmæ, which fine they not having paid, they insisted on excluding them. The *Lacedemonians* would have excused themselves by their ambassadors, but their excuses were not accepted, and so they were forced to sacrifice at home, which highly incensed them^r (K). A quarrel happened

^r DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vita Nic. ^r THUCYD. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PAUSAN. in Eleis.

(K) Of the *Olympic* games we have elsewhere spoken somewhat (38), but not enough to make either this and many other passages, which will hereafter follow, perfectly clear; and therefore we will take this opportunity of supplying these deficiencies here. The olympiads were not, as some imagine, celebrated every fifth year, nor were they, strictly speaking, celebrated every fourth year. They were held in the second month of the fifth year, or, if it be possible to express it clearer, after the completion of four full years (39). They began on the eleventh day of the lunar month, and lasted till the fifteenth, when the moon was full; there are various accounts of the institutions of these games, but the most satisfactory is that given by *Strabo*, who in his description of *Elis* says, that an *Ætolian* colony, together with some of *Hercules's* posterity, after having subdued many of the *Pisæan* towns, and amongst them *Olympia*, there instituted these solemnities (40). The care and management of these games belonged originally to the *Pisæans*, but afterwards to the *Eleans*, by whom the *Pisæans* were destroyed, and their very name extinguished; for the most part this nation enjoyed a profound tranquillity, the *Greeks*, out of a religious respect to their superintendency of these games, not suffering the sound of war to be heard amongst them; which will be the less wondered at, if we consider, that during the celebration of these games there was a general truce that all the inhabitants of *Greece* might be at liberty to assist at them; and in consequence of a breach of this truce, the *Eleans* proceeded in the man-

(38) *Universal History* Vol. V. p. 554, and note (F). (39) *Jehan. Tzetx. Chiliad. i. Hist. 21.* (40) *Geogr. lib. viii.*

pened in the winter betwixt the *Heracleans* of *Trachinia* and the *Theffalians*, wherein *Penares* a *Lacedemonian* general was slain; however, the *Corinthians* were with-held from joining with the *Argives*, which gave some hopes that the power of that republic might be weakened^c. The next year the *Argives* attempted to surprize *Epidaurus*, in hopes of securing themselves on that side against the *Corinthians*, and also open an easy passage to their allies the *Athenians*; in the winter the *Lacedemonians* put a garison of three hundred men into *Epidaurus*. The next summer *Sparta* resolved to exert herself, and to crush at once the *Argives* and their allies. With this view the *ephor*i and senate sent to exhort all their confederates to be in readiness to take the field early, as they themselves would be; they accordingly appeared, and king *Agis*, at the head of the *Spartans*, *Arcadians*, *Bæotians*, *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, *Pellenians*, *Phliansians*, and *Megarians*, entered the territory of *Argos* with such an army as had not been seen since the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* war. The *Argives* were very ill prepared, the succours they expected from *Athens* not being arrived; however, they resolved to fight, though with inferior forces; but at the very instant the engagement should have begun, two of the *Argive* captains cri-

^c DIODOR. & THUCYD. ubi supra.

ner above described against the *Spartans* (41). The security, which for the generality these people enjoyed, made them addict themselves more to husbandry than any other people of *Greece*, because they were under no sort of restraint nor apprehension in their fields, but were considered as servants of the *Olympian Jupiter*. At first they appointed one judge only: At the fifteenth olympiad they assigned two, and by degrees these swelled to no less than twelve, one being chosen out of each of the *Eleian* tribes (42). When the *Arcadians* became too powerful for the *Eleans*, the number decreased again; yet even in the reign of the *Roman* emperor *Adrian* there were no fewer of them than ten. All the persons who sought to contend in these games were obliged to appear ten months before at *Elis*, where from that time till the games were over they were obliged to reside, and to prepare themselves after a certain settled method for their exercises. At the solemnity the *Hellandicæ*, that is, the *Eleian* judges, sat naked, having the *victorial crown* before them, which, when the games were over, they presented to him whose due they conceived it to be (43).

(41) *Diod Sicul. lib. xi.* (42) *Par. in Elins.* (43) *Cassius Dio. Antiq. Lect. lib. xxii. c. 17.* *Diex. de Elins.* *Cass. Dio. lib. v. c. 8.*

ed out to king *Agis*, that their citizens were willing to do whatever was just, and to make peace with the *Lacedemonians*; which made such an impression on the king, who was a prince of a mild and benevolent disposition, that he immediately consented to a truce of four months; which exceedingly provoked the allies of *Sparta*, who could not bear after all their preparations to see nothing effected. On the return therefore of *Agis* to *Sparta*, his citizens condemned him to pay a great fine, and would have rased his house, if he had not promised them to redeem his honour by some great exploit when he should be next employed, with which, however, they were hardly to be pacified; but what seems more extraordinary is, that the *Argives* were so unreasonable as to punish their captains for having preserved them from ruin, nay they carried their rage so far, that they had certainly knocked them in the head with stones, if they had not retired into sanctuary^u. The true reason why the *Argives* were so warm was, because the *Athenians* had sent them a supply of one thousand foot and three hundred horse under the command of *Alcibiades*, at whose instigation they solemnly renounced the truce made with *Agis*. When the *Spartans* were informed of this, they prepared to take the field; but they would not intrust their king with the command of the army, without assigning him ten counsellors or field-deputies, without whose approbation he was to attempt nothing. At *Mantineia* the armies fronted each other, being the greatest that the *Greeks* had ever brought into the field against each other; but the *Argives* and their allies were more numerous than the *Spartans*; some therefore advised king *Agis* not to fight, to which he answered coolly, *If we would rule many, we must fight many*^{*}. He disposed his troops in excellent order, and gave directions suitable to the occasion, but the generals under him did not behave so well; so that, while the right wing which was under his command carried all before it, the left was routed, which when *Agis* beheld, he notwithstanding continued his pursuit; and when the enemy was entirely broken in their left and centre, he turned short, and charged their right in flank and rear, and after an obstinate resistance defeated them also, and gained a complete victory. King *Plisicamæ* with a body of reserve which had been left at *Sparta*, hearing of the great assistance which the *Argives* had received, marched to the reinforcement of *Agis* and his countrymen; but arrived not till the victory was gained, so that his presence being no lon-

^u Tunc ubi supra DIODOR. ubi supra PAUSAN. in Argol. Pausan. in Argol.

^{*} Pausan. Apophthegm. Lacon.

So necessary, he returned presently after with his troops to *Lacedemon*. The *Argives* and their allies lost eleven hundred men in this battle, in which there fell three hundred *Spartans*; as for the allies of *Sparta*, as they did little, so they suffered little ¹. After this things continued in *Greece* in great confusion; the faction in *Argos* who were for oligarchy siding with *Sparta*, those who affected democracy with the *Athenians*; great stirrs there were, and little peace. The *Athenians* at last ventured to break the league by attacking the isle of *Melos*, of which, however, the *Spartans* would take no notice, only they caused proclamation to be made, that, since the *Athenians* prey'd upon their subjects without regard to laws, their subjects might if they pleased prey upon the *Athenians*. The miseries which her ambition had brought upon her were so evident in this state, that she began now to act with more wisdom and mildness than hitherto she had done; the *Helotes* were treated with lenity, a thousand of them were actually set at liberty for the service they had performed under *Brasidas*; their allies were used with mildness and respect, and the consequences of these measures were, that matters began to take another aspect; the *Athenians*, grasping too many things and acting haughtily, were despised, while *Sparta* gained the command and the hearts of most of the *Peloponnesians* ². In the last year of the XCIIId olympiad *Plistoanax* died; the last act of his life which was memorable was resetting the affairs of the *Parrhasians*, who were torn with intestine wars; during the time of his exile his son *Pausanias* had the regal title, his uncle *Cleomenes* acting as his tutor; but when *Plistoanax* was recalled, he again assumed the regal dignity, in which the same *Pausanias* succeeded him at his death ³.

Agis king of *Sparta* was sent with an army against the *Agis enters Eleans*, to revenge the dishonour done the republic, by forbidding them to be present at the *Olympian* games. This war *the territories of Elis* was of some continuance; the first year the king penetrated Year of the flood, as far almost as the mount *Olympus*; but an earthquake happening while he was in the field, his forces would needs re- 2579. turn home. The next year *Agis* invaded *Elis* again and did Before Christ, a great deal of mischief; whereupon *Xenias* an *Eleian* put 420. himself at the head of a party and declared for the *Lacedemonians*, seeking in truth to establish an oligarchy; but *Thrasylus*, who was at the head of the other faction, prevailed, and

¹ THUCYD. ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alcibiad. ² PAUSAN. Iacon. THUCYD. ubi supra. ³ THUCYD. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

drove him out of the city. The third year *Agis* entered *Elis* again, and after remaining there some time, he left a part of his army under the command of *Lyfistratus* a *Spartan*, with orders to support *Xenias* and his friends. *Thrasydrus*, seeing plainly that his country would be ruined, came to a composition with *Xenias*, and by his means treated with the *Spartans*, whereupon a peace ensued ^b. The *Peloponnesian* war now broke out again: The *Athenians* had sent a great army into *Sicily*, the consequence of which being considered, the *Lacedemonians* sent *Gylippus* to assist the *Syracusians* with a small force, but with promise of farther supply which was likewise performed ^c. About the same time *Alcibiades* repaired to *Sparta*, being expelled his own country by a prevailing faction; he fell immediately into the *Spartan* manner of living, which equally endeared him to the men and to the women; to the former he promised, that he would put them in a short train of ending the war, and to the latter he pretended, that there were no women comparable to those of *Sparta*. *Agis* was at first so charmed with him, that he took him home to his house; but he made him a very ill return for that favour by debauching his wife. As to the promises he had made the senate, he performed them tolerably well; for when he went with *Agis* to invade *Attica*, he advised him to fortify the castle of *Decelea*, which had never been thought of before, and which proved such a thorn to the *Athenians*, as distressed them more than all that happened to them besides; for now the *Spartans* did not come, as formerly, once a year into their neighbourhood, but were there continually; so that either they could not plough or sow at all, or, if they did, their enemies bore away the crop ^d. The *Spartans* were so well pleased at this counsel of *Alcibiades*, that they cried him up as a captain far superior to any of their own chiefs, which brought on him the envy of the nobility, which with the jealousy of *Agis* made him glad to quit *Laconia*, to seek among the *Barbarians* a place of safety. *Timæa* the wife of *Agis* brought forth about this time a son, who was called *Leotychides*, concerning whom *Agis* said publicly, that *Alcibiades* was his father; *Timæa* increased the suspicion as to her son's birth by her own foolish behaviour, for she was ever telling her maids, that the boy's name ought to be *Alcibiades* instead of *Leotychides*; and thus, while the child's birth was canvassed at home, *Alcibiades* confirmed all the suspicions abroad, by

^b PAUSAN. in Elis. ^c THUCYD. lib. vi. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xii. PLUT. in vit. Nic. JUSTIN. l. iv. ^d DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra PLUT. in vit. Alcibiad. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Alcibiad.

saying, openly, that he did not debauch *Timæa* out of lust, but from the ambition he had of having some of his posterity reign over the *Spartans*^c; but his folly defeated his wickedness, as we shall see hereafter, and deprived the unhappy *Leotychides* of his succession. *Gylippus* all this while managed their affairs in *Sicily* with great reputation; at first he was little set by, even among the *Syracusians* whom he came to assist, because of the plainness of his garb and of his speech; but when by degrees they came to know him better, when they saw that the soldiers confided in him, and that great succours were sent him from *Peloponnesus*, they treated him with greater respect, and at last ran into the other extreme, and would have put all things into his hands; but he was far from making an ill use of his power, he knew he was sent to relieve the *Sicilians*, and not to oppress them; he was, however, covetous, and we shall see hereafter how that vice not only tarnished all his good qualities, but destroyed his fortune and ruined his reputation^f. The defeat of the *Athenians* in *Sicily* filled the *Spartans* with great hopes; they neglected not therefore any means, that could be thought of, either to depress their rival's affairs, or to raise their own: *Astyochnus* was sent to command the foreign troops which were raised with *Persian* money; King *Agis* managed the war in the heart of *Attica*, where he had all the summer a good army, besides the garison in *Decelea*^g. *Lyfander* was now employed in maritime affairs; who as he proved the great hero of *Sparta* and the finisher of the *Peloponnesian* war, it is fit, that we should in this place give the reader his character. *Plutarch* says, that though it is not certain that he was of either of the royal families, yet it was generally agreed, that he was of the *Herculean* race. His education was truly *Spartan*, that is, he passed his younger years under all the restrictions of the *Lycurgic* institutes, which rendered him bold, hardy, patient, and capable of great things; he was naturally ambitious, had an extensive genius, was affable, in his behaviour modest, vigilant, and indefatigable; but with these great qualities he had some mean ones, he could to serve his own purposes be very supple and complaisant, which was highly repugnant to the *Spartan* customs; he was not much affected with the love of *Greece*,

^c DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xiii. PLUT. in vit. Alcibiad. & Agesil. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Alcibiad. JUSTIN lib. v. c. 2. ^f DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Nic. JULIEN. iv. 4. ^g THUCYD lib. vi. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xiii.

but conversed freely with all sorts of people, and sought above all things to raise his own credit and authority ; the worst of all was, that he was absolutely dishonest, and, which is not a little strange, sought not to conceal it, it being a common saying of his, *That children were cheated with play-things, and men with oaths* ; for which reason he never denied his when it made for his interest, or stuck at breaking it when to keep it would serve his purposes no longer. He found the *Athenians* greatly superior at sea when he entered upon command, and yet in a very few years he left them without any power at all ^b. The first thing of importance that he did was restoring the state of affairs at *Ephesus* ; he found that city very convenient, he therefore engaged the principal men in it to side with *Sparta*, and above all things to attach themselves to him ; he shewed them how conveniently they were seated for trade, he brought his ships to be refitted in their port ; and when once he had gained the confidence of the *Ephesians*, he took equal care to promote their interests, and to make theirs subservient to his. *Astyochns* having managed foolishly, and given *Alcibiades* an opportunity of instilling into *Tissaphernes* notions prejudicial to the *Lacedemonians*, *Lyfander*, who saw clearly that without the *Barbarian* gold *Sparta* could not carry on the war, determined with himself to counterplot both *Tissaphernes* and *Alcibiades*, by applying himself to *Cyrus*, who then resided at *Sardis* ; thither therefore he went, and fully opened to the young prince the treachery of his father's lieutenant ; *Cyrus* readily heard him, and by degrees the *Spartan* won so much upon him, that he made him a promise in few words to grant him whatever he should request ; *Lyfander* modestly required, that a small addition might be made to the soldiers pay, which disinterestedness so much charmed *Cyrus*, that he gave him ten thousand pieces of silver, which he made use of to support his soldiers and refit his fleet. *Agis*, in the mean time being informed of great stirs in *Athens*, attempted to surprise it, but without effect ; for the citizens on his approach united among themselves, and sallied with such unexpected fury, that they killed a considerable number of his men ^c. They afterwards offered to make peace, but the *Spartans*, considering the unsettledness of their government, refused so much as to hear their propositions ; some short time after *Hegesandrides* a *Spartan* reduced *Eubœa*, and, if he had prosecuted his success with ardor, might have taken *Athens* itself ; but

^b PLUT. it vit Lyfand. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xiii. JUSTIN. lib. v. c. 6. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Lyfand. THUCYD. lib. vi. ^c DIODOR. lib. xiii. THUCYD. lib. vi.

this opportunity being neglected, *Alcibiades* in a very short space so restored their affairs, by defeating and killing *Mindarus*, who had succeeded *Astyochus*, that the *Spartans* in their turn were forced to sue to the *Athenians*, who with great haughtiness rejected the propositions they offered, though highly reasonably in themselves. When *Alcibiades* sailed again into the *Hellepont*, after he had been at *Athens*, *Lyfander*, finding himself too weak to engage so numerous a fleet under so fortunate a general, kept in the port of *Ephesus*, where he carefully refitted his ships, and kept his soldiers and his marines to their exercise. At length it so happened, that *Alcibiades* had occasion to go from *Samos* to *Phocæa*, whereupon he committed the care of his fleet to *Anticchus* a favourite of his, who, proud of his command, quickly forgot the instructions which had been given him, and sailing out of port with two gallies only, went with them to the mouth of the haven of *Ephesus*, where he insulted *Lyfander*; this inconsiderate action produced in the end a general engagement, wherein the *Athenians* were defeated, though with no very considerable loss, and yet this accident destroyed all their affairs; for upon the first news of it they dismissed *Alcibiades*, and with him their good fortune. *Lyfander*, while he lay at *Ephesus*, projected a scheme for making himself in a manner sovereign of *Greece*; he picked up enterprizing men of various cities, and, engaging them to settle at *Ephesus*, advised them to live in strict friendship among themselves, and to study political affairs, for that he would suddenly find employment for them^k. All this, and indeed the whole tenour of his behaviour, made him extremely grateful to the *Ephesians* and the rest of the cities in that part of the world, so that when *Cullicratidas* was sent him for a successor, all the *Asiatic Greeks* were extremely uneasy; this uneasiness increased at the presence of the new admiral, who was the very reverse of *Lyfander*, a man of great parts and great courage, but withal of great virtue and unbiassed integrity^l. *Lyfander* dealt with him very basely, he sent back what money remained in his hands to *Cyrus*, and said to his successor at parting with a sneer, Let us see now *Cullicratidas*, how you can support the charges of this army. The noble *Spartan* found it indeed very difficult, the people were quite drained, treasure there was none, so he was forced to go to the court of *Cyrus*, where being two or three times refused admittance, being sometimes told that the king was busy, at other times that he was drinking, he at last said, I

^k PLUT. in vit. Lyfand. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xiii. ^l THUCYD. lib. vi. DIODOR. SICUL. abbregea. PLUT. in vit. Lyfand.

*must not be so eager for money, as to do any thing unbecoming Sparta : Whereupon he set sail for Ephesus. Cyrus, considering better of the matter, sent him afterwards money to pay his forces, and some presents for himself ; the first he took, but the latter he sent back again with this memorable message, That there needed no private friendship between Cyrus and him, because if the king kept up to the terms of his league with the Lacedemonians, he should think himself included therein^m. He defeated Conon the Athenian admiral, and besieged him in Mitylene ; he likewise beat a small fleet that was sent to his assistance ; but hearing afterwards that the enemy's grand fleet was at Arginusæ, over-against Lesbos where he was stationed he resolved to engage ; when he sacrificed in the morning, the priest who consulted the intrails told him, that the fleet should in the end prosper, but that the admiral would certainly be slain : To which he answered without any concern, *Very well then, let us fight, Sparta will not lose much in losing me ; but she would lose her honour, if I retired in the sight of the enemy ; when I fall, let Cleander be your admiral.* He was accordingly slain, and by that means the Spartan affairs were put into much disorderⁿ. After this mishap both Cyrus and the allies of Lacedemon demanded that Lysander should be sent admiral again, a request directly opposite to the laws of Sparta ; however, to gratify their request, they gave the title of admiral to one Aracus, but lodged the power with Lysander, who immediately sailed to the Hellespont, where after receiving great supplies from Cyrus, he drew together his fleet ; but finding the Athenians much superior to him in numbers, he wisely avoided an engagement, and afterwards giving them the slip, appeared suddenly in the neighbourhood of Greece, and made descents on the islands of Ægina and Salamis ; he sailed over to the coast of Attica to shew Agis, who was come thither with a land army, what a noble navy was under his power^o. Yet having intelligence that the Athenian fleet was approaching, he stood away for the Hellespont, where he besieged and took Lampascus. Conon with the grand fleet of Athens bearing down upon him thither, he retired to the river Ægos, there the Athenians insulted him for many days together, which Lysander bore with wonderful patience, keeping his soldiers and marines continually on duty, till on a sudden, when the Athenians had debarked their forces, he unawares attacked them both by land and sea^p. Conon the admiral saw*

^m PLUT. Apophtheg. Lacon. in vit. Lysand. ⁿ THUCYD. lib. vi. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xiii. PLUT. Apophthegm. Lacon.
^o DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xiii. ^p PLUT. in vit. Lysand. XENOPH. HELL. lib. ii.

clearly that all things were lost, so he, with eight gallees and a very inconsiderable body of men, fled away to *Cyprus*; the rest fell intirely into the hands of *Lyfander*, who in a single hour put an end to the *Peloponnesian* war, and to the maritime power of *Athens* ⁹.

THIS mighty victory having put all things into the power of *Lyfander*, he acted rather as a universal monarch, than as a general from *Sparta*; he immediately visited all the neighbouring cities, and changed, whether they would or not, their government, placing in each of them a *Spartan* as chief magistrate, and with him ten of his friends from *Ephesus*, where, as we have before observed, he erected a kind of political university. These men as they came in by force, so they kept no measures with those over whom they ruled; they treated them with the utmost haughtiness and severity, so that from the very beginning the *Lacedemonian* government was rendered ungrateful, and the people universally disposed to shake it off as soon as they could ^r. As he was no hoarder of money, he collected all the mass of wealth which his victories had brought into his hands, and destined it to be sent to *Sparta*, whither he had before dispatched a messenger with news of his victory, and with an assurance, that he would be shortly with a fleet of two hundred sail before the city of *Athens*; in confidence of this the *Spartans* sent both their kings, *Agis* and *Pausanias* with a very great army into *Attica*, on the coasts of which in due time *Lyfander* arrived. As to what happened remarkable in the siege of *Athens*, we have already insisted thereon in its proper place. Here it is enough, that we insert the *Spartan* decree, contained in the articles granted to the dejected inhabitants of that once famous place, which decree is preserved by *Plutarch*, and runs thus: *Know this is the decree of the Lacedemonians. Pull ye down the Piræus and the long walls; quit all the towns you are now possessed of, and keep within your own territories. We grant you peace upon these conditions, provided you yield also to what shall be further thought reasonable, and receive again your exiles. As for the number of ships you may keep, observe the orders we shall hereafter give on that head.* *Lyfander* deprived them of all their vessels except twelve, and having their fortifications delivered into his hands, he entered *Athens* in triumph, on the anniversary of the great victory at *Salamis*; he

The Athenians entirely defeated by Lyfander.
Year of the flood
2593 Before Christ
406.



⁹ XENOPHON, ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Lyfand. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. cirk. J. c. m. lib. v. c. 6.

^r XENOPHON, ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

caused the walls to be demolished to the sound of music, which likewise played while the *Athenian* ships were burning, himself and his commanders having garlands on their heads ; he also altered the government, established the thirty tyrants, and left a *Spartan* garison in the citadel commanded by one of his own creatures^f. The next thing he did was to send the immense treasure he had collected to *Sparta* under the care of *Gylippus*, who had so eminently distinguished himself in *Sicily*, and who found a way to distinguish himself no less eminently on this occasion, though less honourably ; for he, little regarding the seals upon the money-bags, ript them open at the bottom, and, having taken out what money he thought proper, sewed them up again. When he arrived at *Lacedemon* he delivered the money as he had been directed, and desired, that particular notice might be taken of the fairness of the seals ; but, unluckily for him, *Lyfander* had put in each bag a ticket, expressing the sum of money contained therein ; upon comparing these notes with the sums contained a deficiency was discovered, but still the *ephor*i and senate were at a loss where to fix it ; at last the servant of *Gylippus* impeached him ; and his crime with all its circumstances being detected, he was forced to leave his native country, and to go into exile with the scandalous imputation of being a cheat and a thief[†] (L). The coming of this huge mass of wealth

^f PLUTARCH. in vit. Lyfand. XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. ii. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Lyfand. [†] PLUT. in vit. Lyfand. DIODOR. ubi supra.

(L) *Gylippus* the *Spartan* had this vice of covetousness hereditary in his family ; his father *Cleondrides* having, as we have before shewn, been sentenced to death for accepting a bribe from *Pericles*, when he entered *Attica* with an army (42). Authors are pretty much divided as to the character of this man. *Plutarch* every where represents him as a person of courage, integrity and humanity, till this last act (43) ; but *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* gives him quite another character ; he introduces him making two long speeches at *Syracuse* to influence the *Sicilians* to shew the *Athenians* no mercy ; this is directly contrary to what other historians have written, and on what authority he reports those orations we know not (44). It is true, the favour he was in with *Lyfander* seems to throw a shade on his character ; for we do not find, that this ambitious general either loved or trusted men of strict honour, and from the beginning *Gy-*

(42) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi* See also before, p 345. (43) *In vit. Nicia, & in vit. Lyfand.* (44) *Diodor. Sicul lib. xii*
lippus

wealth created great disputes at *Sparta*, many celebrated *Lyfander's* praises, and rejoiced exceedingly at this good fortune, as they called it; others, who were better acquainted with the nature of things, and with their constitution, were of quite another opinion; they looked upon the receipt of this treasure as an open violation of the laws of *Lycurgus*, and they expressed their apprehensions loudly, that in process of time they might by a change in their manners pay infinitely more for this money than it was worth; at last a compromise was proposed and agreed to, whereby it was enacted, *That the state might make use of gold and silver, but that private men should possess neither on pain of capital punishment*: which resolution of theirs, as *Plutarch* observes, was shallow, superficial, and ineffectual, because declaring money to be useful to the state, evidently justified the inclination of private men to be possessed of it, while at the same time the law made the gratification of that inclination penal^u. *Lyfander* in the mean time, returning to the *Hellefpont*, returned also to his old practices there: changing governments, new-modelling ci-

^u PLUT. ubi supra. DIONOR. ubi supra.

lippus was one of his creatures; it was he who preferred him to the command in *Sicily*, and in the present case, as a signal mark of his confidence, sent him, with the treasure he had collected in the war, to *Sparta*; so that to speak the truth, this was not only a public theft, but an act of private ingratitude, and therefore we need not wonder, that his patron, who in other respects was ready enough to protect his friends, even in ill things, abandoned him. How *Gylippus* came to trust his servant we are not acquainted; but the manner in which that servant of his betrayed him, *Plutarch* tells us pleasantly enough. "The magistrates, says he, finding the money in the bags less than what was expressed in the notes contained in them, were surprised, but did not in the least suspect him who had the care of the money, till *Gylippus's* servant betrayed the secret, and told them by way of riddle, *That he had observed a great many owls to roost in the Ceramicus*. The ephori soon found out that by owls pieces of money were to be understood, because most of the coin then bore the impression of an owl in respect to the *Athenians*; and that the *Ceramicus*, a place in *Athens* so called because of a tile-kiln that had been there, signified likewise the roof of an house by reason of the tiles called *Ceramoi*; thus the mystery came to be understood, and *Gylippus*, having stained his former reputation with this mean action, was ashamed to appear any more at *Lacedemon* (45)".

(45) *In vit. Lyfand.*

ties, liberally, and even profusely, rewarding his friends, at the same time pursuing to death and utter destruction such as he suspected to be his enemies. While he remained in *Greece* he had done some very extraordinary things, which sufficiently betrayed the height of an imperious disposition ; he set up his own statue, and the statues of such of his commanders who were in his good graces, in brass ; he dedicated two stars in honour of the deities *Castor* and *Pollux*, in order to keep up an opinion, which his sycophants had taken care to propagate, that these stars were seen in the rigging of his ship at the battle of *Ægos* *. But if he acted thus in *Greece*, he set less bounds to his ambition in *Asia*, where he made not only the *Greek* cities dependent on him, but struck terror into the *Persian* governors, and particularly maltreated *Pharnabazus*. This *Persian* grandee was a man of profound capacity, and a master in *Lyfander's* science of dissimulation : He saw that little was to be expected from any representations he could make to this haughty general, surrounded by a number of powerful persons, made so merely by his favour ; he cast about therefore to find out surer protectors, though at a greater distance, and with this view dispatched some of his emissaries to *Sparta*. There they began to open, without apprehension of danger, the iniquity of *Lyfander's* conduct, they set his ambitious designs in their proper light, they charged him with an intention to render himself a general for life, and independent of his constituents ; and they alledged such probable reasons for what they said, that the *epheri* and senate immediately dispatched a *Scytale* to recal this terror of *Asia*. They began likewise to inspect narrowly the conduct of his friends in *Greece*, put some of them to death, and amongst the rest *Thorax* one of his principal commanders, in whose house, in contravention of the late law, they found a large quantity of silver. The surprize of *Lyfander* was inexpressible, when the messenger of the state presented the *Scytale* which recalled him (M) : He had no previous intelligence

* *PLUT.* ubi supra.

(M) In this note we intend to explain the *Scytale* of the *Lacedemonians* ; but first let us hear what *Plutarch* says of them : “ The nature and use, says he, of these was, when the magistrates gave their commission to any admiral or general, they took two round pieces of wood, both exactly equal in breadth and thickness ; one they kept themselves, the other was delivered to their officer ; so that, when they had any thing of moment which they would

gence of it, nor could he immediately guess by whom it was obtained, but on recollection he determined in himself, that it must have been by the procurement of *Pharnabazus*; this discovery made him more solicitous, especially when he heard what had happened at home; he therefore resolved, according to his stated maxim, *to eke out the lion's with the fox's skin* [†]; in consequence of this he demanded a conference, to which *Pharnabazus* readily yielded. At this meeting *Lyfander* made use of all his art, to soften the *Persian*, and to engage him by a letter under his hand to deny what might have been suggested in his name to the *ephor*i and senate, to which with some difficulty *Pharnabazus* agreed; he wrote this letter in *Lyfander's* presence, and in terms suitable to his wish; but he had before prepared a letter of quite a different

[†] PLUT. in Apophtheg.

“ would secretly convey to him, they cut a long narrow scroll of
 “ parchment, and rowling it about their own staff, one fold close
 “ upon another, they wrote their business on it; when they had
 “ wrote what they had to say, they took off the parchment and
 “ sent it to the general, he applied it to his own staff, which being
 “ just like that of the magistrates, the folds fell in with each other,
 “ exactly as they did at the writing; and the characters, which,
 “ before it was wrapped up, were confusedly, disjoined and alto-
 “ gether unintelligible, appeared then very plainly (46).” There
 are many things omitted in this account which we shall endeavour
 to supply from other authors. *Tzetzes* calls them wands, which the
*ephor*i delivered to the general or admiral when he set out to take
 upon him the command; he says, they were very short and very
 slender, the parchment being also narrow, which they made use of
 to fold round them (47). It is very probable, that our author con-
 jectured this from the usual shortness of the *Spartan* epistles; for
Demetrius Triclinius tells us expressly, that the *Scytale* was between
 three and four cubits long; he does indeed suggest that there was
 but one of them which was split in two, and one half being given
 to the general, the other half remained at home (48); but *Aulus*
Gellius (49) and the scholiast on *Aristophanes* say expressly there were
 two (50); *Thucydides* says, the *scytale* was round, smooth, and long
 (51); the scholiast on *Pindar*, that it was made of a black wood
 (52). It should seem, that, besides this *state scytale*, private men
 made use of a contrivance of the like nature to prevent deceits in
 contracts, but then these were exactly like our tallies.

(46) *Plut. in vit. Lyfand.* (47) *Johan. Tzetzes. var. Hist. Cbri*
ix c. 258. (48) *Ad. Pindar. Olymp Od. vi.* (49) *Nat.*
Attic. lib xvii. cap 9. (50) *Ad. Aves Aristoph.* (51) *Beil.*
Pelop. lib. i. (52) *Olymp. vi.*

nature, and substituted it while he pretended to fold the other, so that here the deceiver was deceived, and *Lyfander* with all his skill outwitted ^a. Receiving this letter, he set out immediately for *Sparta*, but when he was informed of its contents he was mightily disturbed, and fearing lest he should be called to an account, pretended that he had seen a vision, wherein *Jupiter Ammon* had commanded him to come immediately and consult his oracle. The *ephor*i and senate shewed a good deal of reluctance in granting his request, but, as soon as he was gone, the kings of *Sparta* began to contrive the destruction of his friends, that he might no longer have such an interest in *Asia* as at this time he had. The *Athenians* at this time taking arms against their tyrants, *Lyfander* hearing thereof returned suddenly to *Sparta*, where he vehemently pressed the government to support those he had established at *Athens*, and that they would make use of him as commander in chief in that expedition. This greatly alarmed the kings, wherefore they determined to make use of all their interest to prevent it. *Pausanias* therefore procured the command of the army to be vested in him, and marched, as it was generally understood, to support the tyrants against the people of *Athens*; but in truth his design was to reconcile the *Athenians*, and to compromise their differences with *Sparta*, that *Lyfander* might not have the honour of conquering this city twice, which he also effected, and which *Lyfander* highly resented. Not long after he had an opportunity of venting his spleen, and of reconciling himself to the people; for the *Athenians*, according to the fickleness of their temper, flying out again, the *Spartans* were highly incensed against *Pausanias*, and cried up *Lyfander* for a man of integrity and true public spirit ^a. While things were in this situation king *Agis* died; he was taken ill at *Heræa* in *Arcadia*, and being conveyed to *Sparta* died there; in his last moments he owned *Leotychides*, moved thereto by his tears and earnest intreaties; and at the same time that he did this, he besought the *Lacedemonians* who were present to bear witness of the sincerity of his declaration, and that he from his heart retracted what at any time he might have rashly said of his suspecting the legitimacy of *Leotychides*; but this late recognition of his son was, as we shall presently shew, altogether ineffectual, *Leotychides* losing not only his pretensions to the crown, but to his paternal estate ^b.

^a PLUT. in vit. Lyfand. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. ^a PLUT. ubi supra. ^b PLUT. in vit. Agefil. PAUSAN. Lacon.

Agis left behind him a younger brother whose name was *Agefilaus*, and who became not only an honour to *Sparta*, but ^{*succeeds*} to *Greece* itself. This *Agefilaus* set up for the crown against *Agis*, and ^{*sets aside*} *Leotychides*, and, as he was a man of exemplary virtues and of great capacity, he on his first declaration had many friends; and on *Lyfander's* espousing his interest acquired many more: for both these it is proper that we should account. *Agefilaus* was born a younger brother, and though the laws of *Lacedemon*, which began now to be greatly relaxed, did not compel the heirs apparent to the crown to endure the sharp discipline of the *Lycurgic* education, yet the younger children of kings were no less severely bred than the meanest *Lacedemonian*; which proved a great happiness to the prince of whom we are speaking, who for the glory of a long and happy reign, was chiefly indebted to the foundation laid by this manner of education; his temper was compounded of those qualities which very rarely meet, that is, of such as render men ambitious and aspiring, and of such as make them amiable and beloved. He was brave, active, and of a high spirit; but with all this wonderfully good-natured, gentle, tractable, and fond of his country, perhaps beyond comparison; for he preferred her interest not only to his own, to his peace, and to his safety, but to his honour and his reputation; he thought all things fit which she commanded, and placed his utmost happiness in his capacity of serving her, not only on such occasions as were attended with lustre and eclat, but in those which had neither profit nor honour to recommend them^c. Such were the means whereby *Agefilaus* gained to himself friends; as for the regard which *Lyfander* had for him, it sprung thus: When *Agefilaus* was a youth *Lyfander* was his lover, and this friendship of his continued when *Agefilaus* was grown up, and mightily facilitated his mounting the throne. There was but one thing which gave this prince and his friends any trouble, and it was this; one *Diopithes*, a man reputed to have great skill in oracles, produced one to the following effect:

Tho' great thy empire, *Sparta*, yet refrain
 From a *lame* reign; which come, thou shalt sustain
 Ills unendur'd before, and feel the rage
 Of war, no force can quell, or skill assuage (N).

THIS

^c PLUT. in vit. Agefil. & in Apophthegm. Lacon. XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. iii. CORN. NEP. in vit. Agefil.

(N) It was the custom of the *Greeks*, as we have shewn in this, and

THIS was thought to point at *Agefilaut*, who had one leg shorter than the other, but *Lyfander* out-did the interpreter
even

and in the *Athenian* history, never to undertake any act of importance without consulting an oracle, of which there were many in *Greece*; but that of *Delpbi* was the most remarkable. Many learned men seem to be of opinion, that the responses from thence were frequently supernatural, and sometimes plain and direct, justified also by the event. However that matter be, yet certain it is, that even in the most early times they were frequently corrupted, of which we have given many instances, and in the prosecution of our history shall have occasion to give many more. If *public oracles* were liable to such inconveniencies in spite of all the care that could be taken of them, it is easy to conceive, that the collections of oracles in private hands were much more liable to alterations and interpolations. To say the truth, wherever a superstitious humour of believing such sort of things prevails, experience shews us, that there will be always knaves equally capable and willing to impose on fools. These keepers of oracles were stiled divine or sacred persons by the *Greeks*; and from the instance before us we see what mighty things they were able to effect. *Plutarch* speaks very respectfully of *Diopithes*, who produced the oracle which gave occasion to this note; and to do justice, we must acknowledge, that the oracle was fulfilled in two senses; yet with us, this is no indubitable argument that it was genuine, since it is almost impossible to contrive an oracle in relation to a momentous event, which some time or other will not be accomplished. It is very remarkable, that *Diopithes*, who by his profession was an interpreter of these sort of pieces, departed from the letter of the oracle in his solution, and that *Lyfander* should have address enough to conquer the prophet in his own profession (53); for, as *Xenophon* justly observes, the oracle speaks not of a lame king, but a lame reign, as appears from the words thereof twice cited by *Plutarch* (54). By the way, it may not be amiss to observe, that in all our versions of *Plutarch* into *Englisb*, these oracles are constantly rendered wrong, the word *beir* being substituted instead of *kingdom* (55), which is of mighty consequence; first, because it misrepresents the sense of the oracle; and secondly, because it leaves no room for *Lyfander's* interpretation, though *Plutarch* himself acknowledges it was well received, and *Xenophon* ascribes *Agefilaut's* carrying his cause to the seeming rectitude of this explanation. After all, if there was any thing supernatural in this oracle, it was never rightly understood, till very lately *M. le Fevre* declared its true meaning to be, that *Sparta* should take care to preserve both her kings, or, if we may

(53) *Plutarch. in vit. Lyfand & in vit. Agefil.* (54) *Xenophon. Hellen. lib. iii.* (55) See the lives of *Lyfander* and *Agefilaut* in *Plutarch's* lives both of the old and new translation.

even in his own science ; *The oracle*, said he, *cannot possibly point at a lameness in the king's leg, that is a thing which the gods cannot hate, because they have caused it ; the lameness must be the title ; beware therefore, O Lacedemonians, of placing an illegitimate king on the throne, nay even one whose birth is suspected, for that is most likely to be the lame reign hinted at by the oracle* ^d. *Lyfander's* explanation, backed by his authority, had the desired effect ; the senate and people excluded *Leotychides* alike from the kingdom, and from the private estate of his father ; half of this estate of *Agis Agefilaus* bestowed on that prince's relations by the mother's side, who, though they were persons of great merit, were till this time in very low circumstances, which gained the new king the hearts of the people. Instead of opposing either the *ephori* or the senate, he treated them with the utmost civility, and not only so, but with the greatest confidence and affection ; those who were of the opposite party at the time of his election he was ever studious to oblige ; he preferred them, whenever their merit gave them a reasonable pretence thereto ; he relieved them when under misfortunes ; in fine, he acted so prudently and so benignly, that at last the *ephori*, seeing no ill qualities to be offended with, took um-

^d XENOPHON. *Hellen.* lib. iii. PLUT. in vit. *Agésil.* & *Lyfand.*
JUSTIN. lib. vi. c. 4. CORN. NEPOS. in vit. *Agésil.* & *Lyfand.*

be for once allowed to make use of technical terms, to guard against the changing her *duarchy* into a *monarchy*; and in this sense the oracle was most signally accomplished, as we shall hereafter have occasion to shew (56). In the mean time let us observe, that *Plutarch* approved *Diopithes's* interpretation ; he conceived, that *Leotychides* was most outrageously injured, and that the great evils which befel *Sparta* during the reign of *Agefilaus* were the punishments threatened by the oracle, in case she suffered herself to be governed by a lame king. *Xenophon* on the contrary affirms, that *Agefilaus* destroyed *Leotychides's* claim by three invincible arguments : the first was the repeated declarations of his supposed father *Agis* ; secondly his mother, who ought to know best, averred the same thing ; lastly, that *Neptune* having by an earthquake forced *Agis* out of bed from his wife, he thereupon abstained from her ten months, after the expiration of which term *Leotychides* was born (57). To close this account ; let us observe, that there is no reason in the world to doubt the impartiality of *Plutarch*, and that the history of *Xenophon* is an open panegyric on *Agefilaus*, whose friend and confident he was.

(56) *Fabr. in Justin. lib. vi.* (57) *Ubi supra.*

brage

umbage at his good ones, and laid a mulct on him for a very extraordinary crime, viz. *Monopolizing the affections of the people*; which, however, was consonant enough to the constitution of *Sparta*^e. Before *Agefilas* was well settled on the throne, his country found itself exceedingly distressed; the *Persian* king, to whom in the course of the war they owed such mighty obligations, declared himself at once their open enemy, and began to make mighty preparations for dispossessing them of their maritime empire. To have a just notion of this business we must ascend a little higher: *Lysander* while he commanded in *Asia* had paid all his court to *Cyrus* the younger brother of *Artaxerxes*, who on the death of his father ascended the *Persian* throne; in consequence of this friendship between *Lysander* and *Cyrus*, *Clearchus* the *Lacedemonian* general received orders from the *Ephori* and senate, to assist that prince to the utmost of his power, in the rebellion he had raised against his brother. It was in these troops that *Xenophon* had a command, and it was at the head of them, after *Clearchus* and the other captains were taken off, that he made that retreat called *the Retreat of the ten thousand*; this behaviour of the *Lacedemonians* drew upon them the hate of the king, who ever after spoke of them in terms of disrespect, and sought as much as in him lay to destroy their power^f. It is very probable, that some of the wisest of the *Persian* statesmen managed this disposition of the king, for the effecting what they rightly conceived to be the interest of his empire; this is rendered probable from the method that was immediately taken, viz. of sending relief to *Athens*, and money into *Bæotia*; at the same time he determined to reduce all the *Greek* cities absolutely to his obedience, which was wounding *Sparta* in the tenderest part, she having over and over declared herself the protectress of the *Grecian* liberties; on this account it was that they sent *Thimbro* with an army consisting of a thousand *Laconian* foot, four thousand *Peloponnesian* infantry, and three hundred horse from *Athens*; this man managed the war but indifferently, suffering his troops, since he could make no impression on the enemy, to plunder the allies of *Lacedemon*. The *Ephori* therefore sent *Dercyllidas* to succeed him; this man was a great engineer, and likewise a great politician; he found his force too small to prevail against *Pharnabazus* and *Tissaphernes*, the king's lieutenants;

^e XENOPHON. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Agefil. & in Apophthegm. Lacon. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Agefil. ^f XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. i. ii. iii. DIODOR. lib. xii. xiii. PLUT. in vit. Agefil. Artaxerx. JUSTIN. lib. v. c. 11.

he resolved to remedy this evil by making them destroy one another, in which he succeeded so well, that he prevailed upon the latter to remain inactive while he attacked the former, over whom he gained great advantages. When at the command of their masters these governors of provinces became friends, the *Spartan* was left to deal with them both, which he did without any loss, though his army did not exceed seven thousand men, and the *Persians* had twenty thousand foot and ten thousand horse in the field, besides great garisons. *Pharnabazus* was indeed for fighting, but *Tissaphernes*, who was a better officer and who knew well what these *Greek* troops were capable of, was of quite a different opinion; wherefore having entered into negotiations with *Dercyllidas*, he at length concluded with him a treaty of accommodation on these terms; *That the Greek cities should remain free; that his army should retire out of his province; that the Lacedemonian governors should remove out of the cities, and that this treaty should subsist, till it was either ratified or disavowed by the king of Persia and the state of Sparta.* The *Persian* king, however, within a short time after began to fit out three hundred sail of ships of war, which greatly alarmed the *Greek* cities and occasioned an application to *Sparta*; where, as we shall soon see, *Agésilas* offered himself by the advice of *Lyfander*, and was declared general of *Greece*^e. But, before any resolution was taken, the king sacrificing for his country according to custom, the augur, from the bowels of three several victims, declared, there was some very great conspiracy on foot against him and all the magistrates of *Sparta*; a little of this conspiracy was discovered to the bottom by the information of one of the persons concerned, whereupon the senate took such quick measures, though with some little injury to the laws, that all the conspirators were suddenly taken out of the way^h (O). Things were in this situation, when
Lyfander

^e XENOPHON. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. JUSTIN. lib. vi. c. 1. PLUT. in vit. Lyfand. POLYÆN. Stratag. lib. vi.
^h PLUT. in vit. Agésil.

(O) It is a great misfortune to such as endeavour to collect the *Greek* history from the lives of *Plutarch*, that they find it impracticable to distinguish any method in his productions, whereby they may be able to reduce the facts by him related to the just order of time in which they happened. In the present case, he relates this story of a conspiracy, as if it had happened in the latter part of

Lyfander, burning with an impatient desire of returning again into *Asia*, which had been the scene of his triumphs, procured
such

his reign (58). Whereas it is certain from *Xenophon*, who could not be mistaken in point of fact, that it fell out in the first year of his reign : the same author has also recorded the several circumstances attending it, and as some of them are extraordinary, the reader will doubtless be pleased to find them here. On the discovery of the plot it appeared, that one *Cinado* was at the head of the conspiracy ; this *Cinado* was a young man, very conspicuous for his valour, though not for his family ; the informer likewise declared, that this *Cinado* had once reckoned up forty *Spartans*, including the kings, the senate, and *Ephori* ; and that on his demanding what he meant by that calculation, *Cinado* replied, *These are they who are against us, the rest in town and country are of our party.* The *Ephori* then demanded of what number the conspirators consisted ; the informer replied, they were not many ; but that they reckoned upon the assistance of all the *Helotes*, the new-made citizens, and the lower sort of people, who, as often as they spoke of the *Spartans*, intimated as much as if they would be glad to eat them alive. They then demanded if the conspirators had arms ; the informer replied they had, and that *Cinado* had told him, that in the first commotion, workmens tools, or those that belonged to husbandry, would serve their associates well enough, since it was not to be supposed, that they should find their enemies very well armed ; being questioned to the time, he replied, that he could not tell exactly, but that *Cinado* had ordered him to hold himself ready whenever he should be called upon ; whence he conjectured, the point of execution was not far off. On the consideration of these things, the *Ephori* were so much alarmed on taking this examination, that they were equally afraid to assist at the sessions of the senate, or to assemble the people ; at length they bethought themselves of a method of extricating themselves from the danger: They sent for *Cinado*, and told him, that they discovered at a town a small distance from *Sparta* contrivances carried on against the state, in which a lady of singular beauty and admirable accomplishments was deeply concerned ; they therefore directed him to take a small party of youth, such as he could best trust, and to bring the lady and such others as they gave him a list of prisoners to *Sparta* ; the better to colour this business, they assigned him three waggons for his prisoners, and a troop of horse to escort him if he should have occasion. This troop of horse, as soon as they were at a convenient distance from the city, surprised him and his companions, and one of them having discovered the names of all concerned in the plot, a trooper was sent back with this information ; whereupon the conspirators were all apprehended, and *Cinado* upon examina-

such an army to be decreed *Agésilas*, and thereby, as he conceived to himself, as would, if no cross accidents had intervened, have left in all probability no room for *Alexander's* conquests, as *Plutarch* hath very rightly remarked. Besides the forces already in *Asia* under the command of *Dercyllidas*, the *Spartans* voted two thousand manumitted *Helotes*, and six thousand *Peloponnesian* foot; but the king after all would not accept the command, till he had a council of thirty assigned him, of whom *Lyfander* was in all respects the chief. While the army was drawing together about *Geraftus*, *Agésilas* went with some friends to *Aulis*, where the thoughts of his expedition in all probability suggested to his mind a dream, wherein he was admonished to imitate *Agamemnon* in sacrificing, inasmuch as he was become his successor, and was on the point of going general in chief of the *Greek* forces against the *Barbarians*, an office which had never been born but by *Agamemnon* and himself; *Agésilas*, in compliance with this vision, resolved to sacrifice; but, reflecting on the barbarity which *Agamemnon* had been guilty of, he substituted a hind instead of a virgin, and having caused it to be crowned with garlands, he directed his own augur to solemnize the sacrifice. The *Bæotians* hearing of this, and being extremely provoked, that in their territories he should employ one of his attendants instead of the sacrificer appointed by them, sent deputies to forbid him to sacrifice in a manner contrary to their laws; which deputies having delivered to him their message in the temple of *Aulis*, and perceiving that he did not give much heed thereto, they went directly to the altar, and threw the sacrifice off it on the ground. This may seem a circumstance too trivial for a history of this nature; but the reader will find hereafter, that it proved the occasion of a war, which subverted the *Spartan* empire over *Greece*, and had well nigh destroyed her state. At this time *Agésilas* was so much discomposed, that he immediately hoisted sail and bore away for *Asia*, without staying for any other rites, or offering any other sacrifice¹. On his arrival he found things in a situation

¹ XENOPHON. lib. iii. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xiv. PLUT. in vit. Agésilai. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. ejusdem. JUSTIN. lib. vi. c. 2.

tion having confessed that he had no other cause for being discontented, than that he disdained to see in a city where he lived any man greater than himself, he and his companions were without farther process put to death (59).

59) Xenophon, Hellen, lib. iii. Polyæn. Stratagem. lib. ii. c. 14.
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he neither expected nor could foresee; at *Sparta* he was a king, but here *Lyfander* was treated as if he had been somewhat more; all respect, all application was paid to him, and he received it rather with the haughtiness of a deity, than with that complaisance which is natural to man; the rest of the commanders first stomached it, they grew uneasy at finding themselves degraded from being counsellors to *Agésilas* into officers, or rather ministers, of one of their colleagues, they therefore complained to the king, who immediately applied a very quick remedy, which was this; he denied every suit that *Lyfander* made to him, and countenanced all who did not apply to him; which in part had, and in part had not, the design he intended; for as soon as the *Greeks* settled in *Asia* perceived it, they no longer moved their suits by *Lyfander*, but continued notwithstanding to pay him as much respect as before; this nettled the king, though he was not naturally envious, whereupon he appointed this great man overseer of his provisions, and to insult the *Ionians*, said openly, *Let them now go and pay court to my butcher.* *Lyfander* quickly took an opportunity of coming to an eclairsissement; for the first time they were alone he addressed the king thus: *In truth, Agésilas, you know very well how to lessen your friends.* Yes, answered the king, *When they affect to be greater than I; nor can it be thought unjust that they should have power with me, who most concern themselves in promoting my power.* Sir, replied *Lyfander* very modestly, *you are pleased to exercise a greater liberty in speaking than I ever did in acting; but I beseech you, Sir, for the sake of those strangers, who have their eyes upon us, to assign me that post, whercin I may be least suspected by you, and have it most in my power to render you service^k.* The king thereupon appointed him ambassador to the allies of *Sparta* near the *Hellespont*, which office he executed with great diligence and integrity; he persuaded one *Mithridates* a *Persian*, who was at variance with *Pharnabazus*, to revolt with a great body of troops, and to join *Agésilas*; however, finding the king irreconcilable, he determined with himself to return to *Greece*, highly dissatisfied with his treatment, and not only so, but with the government of his country, which he resolved to overturn if it was in his power; in order to effect these purposes, he set on foot such schemes as are scarce to

^k XENOPHON. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. in vit. Lyfand. & Agesil. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Lyfand.

be paralleled in story ; but inasmuch as they were never carried into act, through the cowardice of one of his associates, when they were on the very point of execution, we conceive that entering into a detail of them here would too much interrupt the current of our history ; wherefore we have digested what is most material in them into a note¹ (P). After his departure,

¹ XENOPHON. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi supra.

(P) During the whole continuance of the *Spartan* state, there never arose therein a greater man, whether we regard his abilities or his fortunes, than *Lyfander* ; how he came to turn those vast abilities from the service to the disservice of his country, we have explained in the text ; the manner in which he conducted his conspiracy, and with what mighty art he brought it to the very point of execution, will best appear from the following account of *Plutarch*, taken, as he professes, from *Ephorus*, an author in great esteem with *Strabo* and *Polybius*. “ Things had been a great
 “ while ripe for changes, and people were ready to break into rebellion ; he resolved therefore not to miss the opportunity, but
 “ set it on foot as soon as possible. His stratagem was this : some
 “ of the *Heraclidæ*, who came into *Peloponnesus* and mixed with the
 “ *Dorians*, were now grown very numerous and powerful in *Sparta*.
 “ Of these two families only could claim any right to succession in
 “ the kingdom, those were the *Eurytionidæ*, and the *Agiadæ* ; the
 “ rest, notwithstanding their high extraction, had no greater share
 “ in the government than what was common to the meanest citizen.
 “ For they only who could plead most merit had the best
 “ titles to the common reward of virtue. *Lyfander* was one of
 “ these, and, when he had gained so great a reputation by his
 “ actions, had many friends and much power ; he was uneasy to
 “ see that city, which owed its increase chiefly to him, ruled by
 “ others no better descended than himself : so he contrived to alter
 “ the settlement which confined the government to two families
 “ only, and give all the *Heraclidæ* an equal right to it ; nay, some
 “ say not to the *Heraclidæ* only, but to all the *Spartans* ; and
 “ make it a reward, not so much of *Hercules*’s posterity, as of those
 “ who bravely imitated that valour which gave him a place among
 “ the gods. He had great hopes, that when the kingdom was
 “ thus to be disposed of, no *Spartan* could appear with those advantages
 “ that he cou’d : Upon which prospect, first he endeavoured to insinuate the reasonableness of this change into private
 “ people, and learned by heart a fine oration which *Cleon* of *Halicarnassus*
 “ had made for him upon that subject. But when he came to reflect on the difficulties of this undertaking, which was
 “ not to be effected by ordinary means, he had recourse to extraordinary.
 “ For, as in tragedies, when any thing of great importance is to be effected, the assistance of some god is made use
 “ of,

departure, *Agefilaus* carried on the war with great success and reputation; *Tissaphernes*, the implacable enemy of the
Greeks,

“ of, so he, to promote his designs with the colour of authority,
“ had recourse to oracles, presuming he should prevail upon more
“ citizens by the terror of those, than he could persuade by *Cleon's*
“ eloquence. *Ephorus* says, that after he had in vain endeavoured
“ to corrupt the *Pythian* oracle, and as unsuccessfully sent *Pericles*
“ to corrupt *Dodona*, he went himself to *Ammon*, and proffered the
“ priests prodigious sums of gold, who with great indignation re-
“ jected his bribes, and sent people to accuse him at *Sparta*, where
“ he met with such favourable judges, that he was easily cleared
“ from their impeachments; upon which the *Libyans* took their
“ leave of the *Spartans* in this manner; *When you come to live*
“ *among us in Africa, you'll find us more impartial judges.* Now
“ there was an antient prophecy, which foretold, that the *Lacedemo-*
“ *nians* should some time or other inhabit *Africa*. *Lyfander's* design
“ in this matter was very subtle and intricate, and managed by
“ very great politicians; so in order to clear the whole intrigue,
“ we must trace it, as we do mathematical demonstrations, up to
“ its first principles; I shall therefore at large explain it as it is re-
“ lated by *Ephorus*, a great historian as well as philosopher.

“ There was a woman in *Pontus*, who being with child pre-
“ tended *Apollo* was the father. Many, with a great deal of reason,
“ suspected it, others were so credulous as to believe it. Where-
“ fore when she came to be delivered of a son, several of the great-
“ est quality in the country took peculiar care of its education,
“ and for some reason or other gave it the name of *Silenus*. *Ly-*
“ *sander* taking hold of this occurrence made it the ground of his
“ whole stratagem, and chose such confidants to assist him in it,
“ whose character might bring the story into reputation without
“ the least suspicion of forgery. To make the best advantage of
“ this story, they spread abroad another story. *That there were*
“ *very antient oracles closely concealed in the custody of the priests at*
“ *Delphi; and it was upon record that they were not to be profaned*
“ *by vulgar hands, neither was it lawful for any man to read them,*
“ *till in some future age one should arise, who could manifestly prove*
“ *himself the son of Apollo, and challenge to himself the interpretation of*
“ *these mysteries.* When the credit of this report was well established
“ among the people, *Silenus* was to come and demand the prero-
“ gative of his birth. The priests, who were confederates in this
“ plot, were strictly to examine into every circumstance and parti-
“ cular of his nativity, and afterwards, being fully convinced that
“ he was the true son of *Apollo*, were to deliver up their charge to
“ him, and then the son of the god was to unfold in public all
“ those oracles, especially that, for the sake of which the whole
“ plot had been contrived, relating to the government of *Sparta*,
“ wherein it was to be declared, *That it would be more for the ho-*
“ *nour*

Greeks, by the intrigues of his enemies, was brought into disgrace with his master, and soon after beheaded; *Tithraustes* succeeded him; he, as soon as he entered on his office, sent deputies to treat with *Agésilas*, to whom he proposed, that the *Greek* cities in *Asia* should pay the king a certain tribute only, and in all other respects enjoy their liberty, offering him at the same time large sums of money if he would condescend to make a peace, which *Agésilas* refused, alledging, that he had not power so to do; however, he removed out of his province, and carried the war into that of *Pharnabazus*. *Tithraustes*, who was a man of great parts, when he found the king of *Sparta* could not be corrupted in *Asia*, dispatched *Timocrates* the *Rhodian* with fifty talents into *Greece*, to see if any of the captains or statesmen there were less honest than *Agésilas*; this agent of his found several such sort of people as he looked for in *Thebes*, *Corinth* and *Argos*; to them he imparted such sums as he thought proper, and thereby excited a war in the heart of *Greece*, which no longer left the *Spartans* at liberty to think of extending their empire

“ *nour and interest of Sparta to break the present succession, and for*
 “ *the future choose their kings out of the most deserving men of the*
 “ *commonwealth.* But when *Silenus* was grown up, and every
 “ thing ready for action, the whole business miscarried by the
 “ cowardice of one that was an agent in it, whose heart failed
 “ him just at the time of execution (60)”. Nothing of these intrigues was discovered during the life-time of *Lysander*; but after his demise, *Agésilas*, being directed to search his papers on account of some disputes with the *Argives*, he found among them the oration made by *Cleon* beforementioned, which at first he designed to publish in order to convince the *Spartans*, who still revered the memory of *Lysander*, but they had quite mistaken the temper of the man; but *Lacratidas*, one of the king's friends, gave a noble testimony of his wisdom, by advising *Agésilas* to let it alone; he said, it would be dishonourable to disturb the ashes of *Lysander*, and that with respect to the oration, it would be better to bury it with him, than to trust it abroad in the world; where, considering the force with which it was penned, it might raise a spirit not easy to be laid. *Agésilas* on the other hand shewed his wisdom in taking the advice of his friend, and passing by in silence this business which must have produced great mischiefs, had it ever become the subject of debate (61).

(60) *Plutarch. in vit. Lysand. Vid. etiam Diodor. Sicul. lib xiv. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Lysand.* (61) *Plutarch. in vit. Lysand. & Agésil.*

beyond it^m. The *Thebans*, who of all others came most heartily into this business, saw plainly, that the *Lacedemonians* of their own accord would not break with any of the states of *Greece*; they did not care to act offensively themselves, because the chiefs of the *Persian* faction were afraid of becoming accountable to the people for the success of the war; they persuaded therefore the *Locrians* to make an incursion into a small district which lay in dispute between the *Phocians* and themselves; upon this, as they rightly judged, the *Phocians* without more ado invaded *Locris*; the *Locrians* applied to their allies the *Thebans* for assistance, which was readily granted them, and upon this the *Phocians* addressed themselves to *Sparta*, setting forth that they had not been the aggressors, but that they had been forced to take arms in defence of their own territories; the *Spartans* were on their side glad of an opportunity of breaking with the *Thebans*, against whom they had long had a grudge; and thus the *Persian* talents disturbed the tranquillity of *Greece* and put her in a new ferment. *Lyfander*, though a very old man, grew extremely uneasy at lying idle, he had besides a private hatred to the *Thebans* on account of the assistance they had given to *Athens*, at such time as she shook off the yoke of the thirty tyrants whom he had established; he therefore gladly laid hold of this occasion to persuade the *ephori* and senate once more to intrust him with an army. As soon as he prevailed in his request, he began to dispose all things for the war; an army was quickly raised, at the head of which he put himself; another was raising, which was to be commanded by king *Pausanias*. *Lyfander* marched with the forces under his command directly into *Phocis*, desiring *Pausanias* to lead his army round by *Cithæron*, in order to invade *Bæotia* on that side; the eagerness of *Lyfander* prompted him to quick marches and vigorous measures, wherefore finding *Pausanias* loiter, he sent an express to him who was then encamped at *Plataea*, with letters, informing him of the time when himself expected to arrive at *Haliartus*, conjuring him to meet him there; these letters, *Plutarch* says, were intercepted by the enemy and sent to *Thebes*, where the *Thebans* resolved to intrust their city with the *Athenians*, who were come to their assistance, and to march directly to *Haliartus*. *Lyfander* arrived in the neighbourhood of that city in the night, but when day began to dawn, and he had still no news of *Pausanias*, he resolved at

^m XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. iv. DIODOR. lib. xiv. PLUT. in vit. Agesil. & in Apophtheg. Lacon.

all events to attempt the surprisal of the place; when he drew near the walls and perceived all things quiet, he conceived great hopes; but of a sudden the gates being thrown open, the *Thebans* and *Haliartans* issued out in exact order, and charged the *Lacedemonians* so briskly, that *Lyfander* was killed on the spot, with a priest who stood by him; before the forces commanded by him could recover themselves, another body of *Thebans* charged them in the rear, whereby they were totally broken with the loss of no less than a thousand men, the *Thebans* on their side lost three hundred^a. The news of this defeat being brought to *Fausanias*, he immediately marched with all possible diligence to *Haliartus*, where he sought by all means to gain the dead body of *Lyfander*; some of the antient *Spartan* commanders were for attacking the enemy and recovering it by force; but he, considering that they were already flushed with victory, that their troops were more numerous than his, and that *Thrasybulus* the *Athenian* had now joined them, refused to do it; but on the contrary concluded a treaty, whereby the body of *Lyfander* was delivered to him, on condition that he retired out of *Bæotia*, which he accordingly performed, and in his retreat buried the corps of the deceased general in the territories of the *Panopæans*. On his return to *Sparta*, such a spirit of resentment appeared against him, that he was afraid to stand his trial, for which reason he retired to *Tegæa*, where he led a private life. As for *Lyfander*, his memory was greatly revered in *Sparta* on account of the mighty services he had rendered his country, and because, after all the opportunities he had had of enriching himself, he died miserably poor, having always preserved that generous contempt of money inherent to great minds. In his latter years, he is said to have been extremely melancholy, and even peevish, which some have ascribed to his natural temper; though that seems to be not a little unjust, if we consider that he was now old, and had been extremely ill treated by *Agésilas*, on whose friendship he had reckoned so much. After his death, some *Spartans* of rank, who were contracted to his daughters, refused to espouse them, finding they had no money, for which the *Ephori* fined them, and that very severely, assigning this reason, that such men must be of a flagitious nature, who had rather take a wife out of a wealthy family than a virtuous one^b. *Agésilas*, having subjected the greatest part of the coast, determined with him-

^a XENOPHON. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Lyfand.
CORN. NEPOS, in vit. ejusdem. ^b XENOPHON. DIODOR.
PLUT. CORN. NEPOS, ubi supra.

self to march into the heart of *Persia*, and to revenge the cruelties perpetrated by *Xerxes* when he invaded *Greece*. In the midst of his projects, and when he was on the very point of carrying them into execution, a messenger from *Sparta* brought him a scytale, whereby he was commanded to return in order to fight his country's battles at home. *Agésilas* hesitated not a moment, he relinquished all his victories and all his hopes, preferring obedience to the constitution of *Sparta*, to the prospect of subduing the whole *Persian* empire, a conduct which might warrant a long panegyric, if its excellence did not deter us from attempting a theme, which may well be supposed inexhaustible, since the action of *Agésilas* has hitherto appeared inimitable^p. The year before the *Spartans* had declared him admiral as well as generalissimo of their forces, which charge he now bestowed on his wife's brother *Pisander*, leaving four thousand men to secure his conquests, and with the rest of his army taking the same rout which *Xerxes* had done when he entered *Greece*. In his passage he never demanded any leave from the barbarous nations, but only sent to enquire of them whether they would have him pass as an enemy or as a friend; meeting with some opposition, he engaged the enemy, routed them, and continued his march^q.

Agésilas
succeeds
his father
Pausanias.

AFTER the flight of *Pausanias*, who left behind him his two sons, *Agésilas* and *Cleombrotus*, the former of them was declared king, but being too young to govern by himself, his uncle *Aristodemus*, to whom the *Spartans* gave the command of a very great army, which they raised as well to revenge the death of *Lyfander*, as to quell in its infancy this dangerous league which was formed against them, held the office of protector. This army, when it took the field, consisted of fifteen thousand men; the confederates immediately opposed it with another of twenty thousand, of which thirteen thousand were heavy armed troops: Near *Corinth* a battle ensued, wherein the *Spartans* were victorious with the loss only of eight men, if we may believe *Xenophon*, that is, eight of the *Spartans*; for of their confederates, he acknowledges that a great number fell^r. News was immediately dispatched of this victory to *Agésilas*, who, far from being pleased there-

^p XENOPHON. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Agésil. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. ejusd. JUSTIN. lib. vi. c. 2. ^q XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. iv. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xiv. PLUT. in vit. Agésil. & in Apophthegm. Lacon. CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Agésil. ^r XENOPHON. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

with, cried out, O Greece, *what a number of brave men are slain in thy private quarrels, when with a less waste of blood thou mightest have reduced all Persia* ^c! Though these were his private sentiments, yet on his return he obeyed the directions sent him by the *ephor*i, and immediately invaded *Bæotia*, contrary to his judgment of things: On the very day he executed this order the sun was eclipsed, and he received the news of the defeat of the *Spartan* fleet, and the death of his wife's brother *Pisander*; being afraid this ill news might discourage his soldiers, he gave out, that the courier had brought him advice of a victory gained by his brother, on account of which he sacrificed to the gods, and sent portions of the sacrifice to his friends, wearing a garland on his head, and using other testimonies of joy, though he acknowledged that *Pisander* had fallen in the engagement ^c. Not long after an engagement happened in the neighbourhood of *Chæroneæ*, the sharpest which happened in his time, as *Xenophon* relates; and of this he must have been a very good judge, because he was present. In this *Agésilas* was the victor where he fought, and the *Thebans* on the other hand prevailed against that wing whereon they charged; *Agésilas* was constrained to return to try his fortune anew against these: It is generally agreed, that on this occasion he was guilty of a great oversight in attacking the *Thebans* in front, when if he had waited a little he might have charged them in flank and rear. *Xenophon* indeed gives another turn to this matter, for with him *Agésilas* was never wrong, yet it is certain, that the mistake had like to have been fatal; the *Thebans* behaving with great resolution, killing many, and wounding more, among whom was *Agésilas* himself. At length they marched slowly from the field, leaving to the *Lacedemonians* the honour of a victory, of which, however, they could collect no fruits ^u. *Agésilas* went to *Delphi*, where he consecrated the tenth of his spoils, and in the mean time *Gylus* his lieutenant led the army into *Locris*, where they were so busy in plundering, that the people suddenly rose upon them, and, making a good use of their disorder, killed *Gylus* and many others. *Corinth* was the head quarters of the confederates, as *Sicyon* was of the *Lacedemonians* and their allies. At *Corinth* there were great seditions, many of the citizens, conceiving that they were idly engaged in this war, which

^c PLUTARCH. in vita Agefil. CORN. NEPOS, in vita ejusdem.
^c XENOPHON. ubi supra. ^u XENOPHON. ubi supra. DIO.
 DOR. SICUT. ubi supra. PLUT. in vita Agefil. CORN. NEPOS.
 in vita ejusdem.

tended to bring them under the dominion of the *Argives*, resolved, if possible, to free themselves by bringing in a *Lacedemonian* garison, which in some measure they effected. The other part in *Corinth* sent for aid from *Athens*, which was readily accorded, and between both parties the city was in the utmost danger of being totally ruined*. The *Spartans* had possession only of a fort, their enemies had the city: *Agefilaus*, to put an end to the dispute, invaded the territory of *Argos* with a great army, and having passed through it besieged *Corinth* by land, while his brother *Teleutias* blocked it up by sea; yet did not their enterprize succeed, *Iphicrates* the *Athenian* captain preserving *Corinth* and its territories from feeling the effects of his resentment†. After his return from this expedition, the *Achæans* demanded aid of *Sparta* against the *Acar-nanians*, and, according to their request, *Agefilaus* was sent to help them with a great army; he so effectually quelled their enemies, that the next year they were glad to make peace‡. This war over, *Agefipolis* at the head of another army entered the country of the *Argives*, though much against his will; for as this people had desired a truce, he conceived this severity to be a kind of injustice, and therefore would not put himself at the head of the troops, till he had consulted the *Olympian Jupiter*, and the *Delphian Apollo* on this scruple of conscience. Satisfied, with the answers returned by these oracles, he undertook the war, but meeting, or fancying he met, in the course thereof many prodigies, he returned without effecting much. In the mean time *Conon* the *Athenian* threatened the *Spartans* with the loss of their sovereignty by sea, wherefore to soften the *Persian* king, it was resolved at *Sparta* to send *Antalcidas* into *Persia*, to endeavour the withdrawing the great king from the interest of their rivals, though in the mean time preparations were made for carrying on the war in *Asia*, in case the proposals he was enabled to offer were refused; this was a new method of proceeding unknown in former times to *Sparta*, and this ambassador was a person who differed much from his fellow-citizens, being extremely affable in his manner, eloquent, and in short every way well accomplished to execute a commission at the *Persian* court

* XENOPHON. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. CORN. NEPOS, in vita Iphicrat. POLYÆN. lib. iii. c. 9. † XENOPHON. DIODOR. PLUTARCH. CORN. NEPOS, & POLYÆN. ubi supra. ‡ DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vita Agefil.

^a (Q). The

^a (Q). The *Athenians*, however, took such measures as hindered his succeeding immediately. *Thimbro*, who com-

^a XENOPHON. DIODOR. ubi supra.

(Q) *Antalcidas* the son of *Leon* was a man of great parts, though of no great probity. To gain the confidence of the *Persians*, he not only fell into their customs, but derided and despised those of his own country; nay, he carried this matter so far, if we may believe *Plutarch*, that he had the assurance in a wanton dance to mimic *Leonidas* and *Callicratidas*, two of the most worthy men in *Sparta*; this behaviour of his won so much on *Artaxerxes*, who otherwise had a violent antipathy to the *Spartans*, and used to call them the most impudent men living, that he sent him from the table where he was sitting a garland dipped in an ointment, which for the extraordinary richness of its composition was used only by the king (62). All which was very agreeable to his own maxim, *That the sole means of influencing men is to speak what may delight, and to do what may profit them* (63). But though he diverted himself at the expence of his country's customs, he could answer others very tartly who reflected on them; for being asked in a contemptuous manner about the bigness of *Sparta* and the extent of its dominions, he answered smartly, *The walls of Sparta are her youth, and the points of their spears the limits of her territories*. An *Athenian* once bragging in his presence, *That his countrymen have often repulsed the Spartans from Cephissus*; *Very true*, replied *Antalcidas*; *but we had never any occasion to drive you from Eurotas*. Being desirous to gain admission to the *Samothracian* mysteries, the priest asked him, *Whether he had never done any great crime?* *If I have*, said he, *the gods know that already* (64). This peace of his was very ill received in *Greece* by such as piqued themselves on the love of their country; nay, there were many at *Sparta* itself, who could not forbear expressing their resentment at the abandoning their allies to the mercy of the *Barbarians*, insomuch that a person of condition said in the hearing of king *Agésilas*, that *Greece* was now in a lamentable state, since the *Spartans themselves began to turn Medes*: *Say rather*, replied the king sharply, *That the Medes begin to turn Spartans* (65). How little soever *Agésilas* approved this peace, he supported it with all his might, and constrained both the *Thebans* and *Argives* to accept it much against their wills. On the whole it must be acknowledged, that *Antalcidas* by his art secured the sovereignty to *Sparta*, and that she lost it by gratifying her own haughtiness, and her king *Agésilas's* inveterate hatred against the *Thebans* (66). As to the fate of *Antalcidas*, we shall have occasion to mention it in the text, and shall therefore put an end to this note here.

(62) *Plutarch. in vita Artaxerx.*

thegm. Lacon.

(64) *Idem, ibid.*

Agésil.

(63) *Plut. in Apoph-*

(65) Plut. in vita

(66) Xenophon. Hellen. lib. v. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xv.

manded the *Lacedemonian* troops in *Asia*, for a time did good service, but at last he was defeated and slain; *Teleutias*, however, gained some advantages at sea, and having extremely frightened the city of *Athens* by an attempt on the *Pyræus*, inclined that city to a peace, to which indeed hardly any of the *Grecian* states were now averse. As for *Sparta*, notwithstanding her late victories, she found the expence of the war so heavy, that it forced her both to wish and to seek for peace; the *Athenians*, terrified with their late losses, recollected the fatal issue of the *Peloponnesian* war, and desired to be rid of this, lest its end should prove no better; the *Argives*, finding that all their artifices would avail no longer, but that the war would find a place in their country as well as elsewhere, wished a general pacification might take place for their own particular interest. The *Persian* king had also his own profit in view, he stood in need of *Greek* mercenaries for the carrying on his wars, and these were not to be had at a time when *Greece* stood in need of all her subjects: He therefore signified to *Tiribazus*, who immediately communicated the dispatches to the *Greeks*, the terms whereon the king desired the peace should be made; they were these: *That the cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should remain to him; that all the other states, small and great, should be left free, excepting only Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which, having been time immemorial subject to the Athenians, should remain so; that such as refused to embrace this peace, should be compelled to accept it by force of arms.* At first the *Thebans* absolutely refused to comply, because the government of *Bœotia* was taken from them; but, *Agésilæus* making great preparations to invade them, they in the end were forced to accede; the *Argives* too quitted *Corinth*, to which the exiles returned, and every thing else was done which the *Spartans* desired. Such was the peace which from its author was stiled *the peace of Antalcidas*, whereby the sovereignty of *Greece* indeed was in a manner guaranteed to *Sparta*, but upon very dishonourable terms; the *Greek* cities in *Asia* being intirely abandoned to the *Persian*, notwithstanding all the promises that had been made them, and that *Agésilæus* himself had fought in their quarrel ^b. This flow of success made the *Lacedemonians* lose all temper, inasmuch, that, on the conclusion of the peace, they began to think of punishing with severity such as had injured them, or such as they had suspected during the war, as if the domi-

^b XENOPHON lib. v. DIODOR lib. xiv. PLUTARCH. in vita Agesil. & Artaxerx. CORN. NEPOS, in vita Agesil.

nion of *Greece* had been a small thing, if their new subjects did not feel the pressure of their government^c. The first who experienced the weight of their resentment were the *Mantineans*, though they had been their confederates and had done them great services. The *Spartans* to have a pretence for making war, very modestly directed them to quit their city, and to retire into the five villages which had served their forefathers, where they might be sure to enjoy peace themselves, and not give any umbrage to their neighbours; this being refused, *Agessipolis* was sent with an army against them, for *Agessilaus* did not care to command against his old friends and acquaintance; *Agessipolis* besieged the city all the summer, but when winter drew on the *Lacedemonians* dammed up the current of the river, which thereupon rose to such a height in the city, as either to overflow, or throw down their houses, and this compelled the *Mantineans* to submit to the conditions prescribed to them by *Sparta*, and to retire to their old villages from that noble city which they had so long enjoyed. The *Phliasians* were the next; it was objected to them, that they had exiled some of their own citizens who were in the interest of *Sparta*, these therefore they were constrained to receive again, and to do whatever else the *Spartans* required of them^d. The *Olynthians* were in the third place to be chastised, because they were become powerful; to say the truth, there never was a commonwealth which imitated *Sparta* so nearly as did this of *Olynthus*; for under pretence of freeing the *Macedonian* cities from the tyranny of *Amyntas*, they conquered most of them and kept them to themselves; the *Acanthians* and *Apollonians* signified to the government of *Sparta*, that in a very short space they must be constrained either to take arms against *Olynthus*, or submit to her and fight under her banners; *Eudamidas* was sent to assist them with two thousand men, he marched into *Thrace*, where he did great service, expecting his brother *Phæbidas*, who was raising a great army and had orders to follow him; but he, passing through *Thebes*, in his march had it betrayed to him by *Archias* and *Leontidas*, whereupon he seized the citadel called *Cadmæa* and put a strong garison into it; this was an open violation of the peace, and an act in its nature most flagrantly unjust; yet *Agessilaus* protected its author, either from an overweening

^c DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xv. XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. v. PLUTARCH. in vita AGESIL. JUSTIN. lib. vi. c. 6. ^d DIODOR. ubi supra. XENOPHON. ubi supra. PLUT. in vita Agesil. PAUSAN. in Lacon.

verweening passion for his own country, or out of an implacable aversion to the *Thebans*. On his motion therefore *Sparta* abetted *Phæbidas*, and transferred the government of *Thebes* to *Archias* and *Leontidas* who had put it into his hands, an act highly displeasing to the *Greeks*, and which made them very apprehensive of the power of *Sparta*^c. *Teleutias* was sent to command in *Thrace*, with strict orders to reduce the *Olynthians* at all events, which he set about so eagerly, that going in person to the assistance of some of his troops, who were repulsed by the *Olynthians*, he exposed his whole army to a great loss, and was himself slain upon the spot. *Agessipolis*, as soon as the news reached *Lacedæmon*, was dispatched to supply his place ; he fought with great success, reduced *Torone*, a strong city in those parts, and brought the *Olynthians* into great streights ; but in the midst of his conquests a fever attacked him, and carried him off in a few days. He was a prince of great worth, but of a very mild temper, which gave *Agessilaus* room to grow upon him, and to make him subservient to his purposes, so that he made no great figure in the state ; yet he died not unregretted, the people sorrowing for the loss of one who always treated them with kindness, and *Agessilaus* expressing great concern for a colleague, with whom he had lived long, and without any difference^f.

Cleombrotus succeeds Agessipolis.

Agessipolis having no children was succeeded by his brother *Cleombrotus*, but he did not succeed him in the command of the army, which was intrusted with one *Polybiades*, who in a short space reduced the *Olynthians* to such distress, that they were compelled to make a treaty with the *Spartans*, whereby they undertook to have the same friends and enemies with them and to follow them as associates whithersoever they should lead them in their wars^g. The *Phliasians* having given some new offence, by not treating the exiles whom the *Spartans* had restored with the respect which it was thought they deserved, *Agessilaus* marched against them with a great army, at which, however, they were not so much terrified, but that they made a very vigorous resistance, and defended their city for a very long time ; at last war and famine brought them so low, that they were constrained to yield at discretion, whereupon commissioners were named, part *Spartans*, part of their own exiles, to determine which of the citizens should have mercy, and which should be put to death. Thus did *Sparta* govern with

^c DIODOR. ubi supra. XENOPHON. ubi supra. PLUT. in vita Agessil. & in vita Pelop. CORN. NEPOS, in vita Pelop. ^f DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Agessil. & Agid. XENOPHON. ubi supra. PAUSAN. in Lacon. ^g DIODOR. & XENOPHON. ubi supra.

pride and cruelty those whom she had most unjustly brought under her dominion ; for by the peace of *Antalcidas* she had engaged, that all the cities should be left to their freedom. Such *Thebans* as could not endure to see their country in slavery had privately fled to *Athens* ; but, entertaining a correspondence in their native country, they found means to be admitted secretly, and, having stabbed the chief men of the opposite party, assumed the administration to themselves. The *Spartans* upon this sent *Cleombrotus* their new king at the head of a great army to restore things to their former condition, in which, however, he had no great success ^h. At his return he left a garison under the command of *Sphodrias* at *Thespe*, as well to encourage the *Thebans* in the *Spartan* interest, as to awe the adjacent country and lay it under contribution ; this *Sphodrias*, either of his own accord, or, as some say, prompted thereto by the artifice of the *Thebans*, attempted to seize the *Pyraum*, which drew the *Athenians* into the quarrel. *Sparta* might easily have ridded herself of this new enemy, if she had acted justly, and punished *Sphodrias* as he deserved. But here again, king *Agésilas*, being prevailed on by his son, interposed and protected the criminal ; this effectually induced the *Athenians* to engage in the league formed against *Sparta* : upon which *Agésilas* was forced to undertake the command again, though he was now at that age when the law excused him ; he invaded *Bæotia*, but with little success, *Chabrias* the *Athenian* having taught the *Thebans* to fight in much better order than they had heretofore done. Towards the end of the campaign, *Phæbidas*, who had been the author of this war, was killed with three hundred horse ; the next year *Cleombrotus* marched against the *Bæotians*, but the *Athenians* and *Thebans* disputing his passage, he was constrained to return. At sea the *Spartans* were beaten by *Timotheus* the son of *Conon*, and in short all things began to decline, notwithstanding the utmost care of *Agésilas*, on, whom *Antalcidas* revenged himself, for some smart things he had said of him, when he negotiated the peace in *Persia* ; for the king returning home, wounded by the *Thebans*, the statesman cried out, *You are properly rewarded, Agésilas, for teaching these Thebans to fight whether they would or no* ⁱ. In the beginning of the hundred and first olympiad, *Artaxerxes* king of *Persia* laboured exceedingly in making peace among the *Greeks*, be-

^h DIODOR. ubi supra. XENOPHON. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. in vit. Pelopid. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. ejusd. ⁱ DIODOR.

SICUL. ubi supra. XENOPHON. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Agésil. & in Apophthegm. LAON. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Agésil.

cause having the reduction of *Egypt* in his eye, he stood in need of their assistance ; in little more than a year he accomplished it, if that can be said to be accomplished which was of so short continuance. The *Thebans* would never accept the peace, and the rest of the cities had very little regard to it, such seeds of discord being now sown as could not be rooted out. The *Lacedemonians* had every-where established while they were in power an oligarchical government, which in consequence of this peace being in many places overthrown, the people, as it was natural for them, began to tyrannize over their late masters, and to treat them with as little justice now they were degraded, as they had used towards them when in power. The *Persian* king still wrought for the bringing about a settled tranquility, which in the beginning of the hundred and second olympiad, seemed to be nearly effected ; the *Athenians* concurring heartily with the *Lacedemonians*, and shewing no sort of countenance towards the *Thebans*, who still refused to hear of peace, because the *Spartans* insisted they should set the cities of *Bæotia* at liberty. In this opposition they were chiefly encouraged by *Epaminondas*, who demanded, that before the *Lacedemonians* gave laws to others, they should shew a proper regard to these maxims of equity themselves, by giving up *Messenia* to its ancient proprietors and setting *Laconia* free ^k. This violently incensed *Sparta*, and at the same time did not a little offend *Athens*, who could not bear to see the *Thebans* act independently, who had heretofore either followed their banners, or those of *Sparta*. *Cleombrotus* with an army of twelve thousand men was sent into *Bæotia* ; *Epaminondas* seized the passages through which he intended to have entered, and forced him to march round, which he did, and at length penetrated into *Bæotia* from the side next *Phocis*, and advancing towards *Leuctra*, encamped his army in the plains in that neighbourhood. The *Thebans* were greatly dispirited at the sight of his numerous army, and the rather, because many evil omens had happened at their marching from home ; yet *Epaminondas* prevailed in a council of war, and carried the question to fight the enemy ; in the interim, *Jason*, a powerful prince of *Thessaly*, arrived with a thousand horse and fifteen hundred foot, which he brought to assist the *Thebans*, though on his arrival he strove to make peace, and by his endeavours procured a truce to be actually concluded. As *Cleombrotus* was about to retire out of *Bæotia*, he met *Archidamus* son of *Agésilas*, coming with a great rein-

^k XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. vi. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xv PLUT. in vit. Agésil. & Pelopid. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Epamin.

forcement from *Sparta*; these princes, without any regard to the truce, resolved to march back to *Leuctra* in order to fall on the *Bœotians*, where they found *Epaminondas* and his troops ready to receive them; that great general, though he knew himself to be inferior to the enemy, resolved to have none serve under him in the day of battle, who were not thoroughly inclined to conquer; he therefore made proclamation, that all who desired to depart might do so, which permission the *Thespians* and some others embraced; this done, he disposed his army in battalia, placing all his chosen troops in one wing, and those he least depended on in the other; the former he commanded in person, to the latter he gave directions, that when they found the enemies charge too heavy, they should retire leisurely, so as to expose to them a sloping front. *Cleombrotus* and *Archidamus* advanced to the charge with great vigour, but as they pressed on the *Theban* wing which retired, they gave *Epaminondas* an opportunity of charging them both in flank and front, which he did with such vigour, that the *Spartans* began to give way, especially after *Cleombrotus* was slain, whose dead body, however, they recovered; at length they were totally defeated, chiefly by the skill and conduct of the *Theban* general, who did mighty execution upon them, four thousand being killed on the field of battle, whereas the *Thebans* did not lose above three hundred. Such was the fatal battle of *Leuctra*, wherein the *Spartans* lost the empire of *Greece*, which they had held now near five hundred years ¹.

WHEN the ephori heard the news of this dreadful and unexpected defeat, they were superintending the *Gymnic* solemnities, and though they evidently saw what the consequences would be of this mighty loss, yet they did not interrupt or adjourn the festival, contenting themselves with sending advice to their relations of the names of those who had fallen in the battle. It was at this time that the *Spartan* virtue shone with greatest lustre; the fathers, mothers, and those who were nearest of kin to such as were killed, assembled the next morning, shook each other by the hand, applauding the courage of their children, while the relations of those who had escaped from the battle hid themselves among the women; or, if they were obliged to go abroad, appeared in tattered cloaths, with their arms folded, and their eyes fixed on the ground. Common people cried out, that now the oracle was accom-

Agefipolis
succeeds
Cleom-
brotus.
Year of
the Flood
2628.
Before
Christ
371.

¹ XENOPHON. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Pelopid. & in vit. Agess. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Epaminond. JUSTIN. lib. vi. c. 6. PAUSAN. LACON.

plished, which forbid them to admit of a lame king, since under the sovereignty of *Agefilaus* this direful misfortune had overtaken them. However, in regard to his great abilities, and the little hopes they had of *Agefipolis* the son of *Cleombrotus*, who was a person but of very mean parts, they appointed *Agefilaus* dictator, or rather legislator, giving him a power over the laws, for this reason; such as fled from battle were by them degraded from their honours, constrained to appear in garments patched with divers colours, to wear their beards half shaved, half unshaved, and to suffer any to beat them who pleased without resistance; to execute this at present was absolutely inexpedient, power was therefore given to *Agefilaus* to new-mold the constitution as he thought fit. But that great prince gave on this occasion such a proof of his wisdom, as shewed he was worthy of the trust reposed in him, such a proof as *Plutarch* confesses hath set him above comparison, and which indeed can never be sufficiently admired. He came out of the temple very gravely into the public assembly, and by one short sentence restored the public peace, preserved such as were under apprehensions, and at the same time saved the *Lycurgic* institutes; this sentence run thus; *Let the laws sleep this day, but to-morrow let them resume their full vigour*^m. Then, old and lame as he was, he assembled an army which he led out into the territories of the *Arcadians*, and purposely avoiding an engagement, after ravaging the country and taking a town or two, he returned home, being content to shew his countrymen that the fortune of *Sparta* was not entirely lost. Some time after this a peace was concluded; the *Mantinæans* took this opportunity of rebuilding their city, which exceedingly vexed the *Lacedemonians*, who at length, not able to contain themselves, invaded them; but the *Mantinæans*, shutting themselves up in their new city, refused to hazard their safety by a pitched battle. The *Arcadians* about the same time built the great city of *Megalopolis*, to which from all their villages they repaired; this too offended the *Lacedemonians*, who thereupon invaded *Arcadia*, and slew *Lycomedes* the *Mantinæan*, general of *Arcadia*, with two hundred men; this broke the spirits of the *Arcadians*, who thereupon sent to *Athens* for relief, but being denied there, they made their application to *Thebes*, from whence *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* were sent with a great army to their assistance; when they were come into *Arcadia*, and found themselves at the head of fifty thousand men, they knew not what to do, the enemy being retired; at last it

^m XENOPHON ubi supra. DIONOR. ubi sup. PLUTARCH. in vit. Agefil. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. ejusd.

was resolved to invade *Laconia*, a thing hitherto unattempted, which accordingly they did, and, under the auspice of *Epaminondas*, appeared before *Sparta* itself, which till then had never heard of war in its neighbourhood ; in this desperate situation of things, *Agésilas* took the command upon himself, disposing the citizens with such skill, and opposing the enemy, where-ever they attempted to enter, with such numbers, that *Epaminondas*, notwithstanding he greatly desired it, found it impossible to attack the place, but was constrained to retire, wasting the country as he marched off ^a. In the midst of these misfortunes a very dangerous conspiracy broke out, two hundred of the rebels seizing the temple of *Diana* at *Ifforion*. The *Spartans* would have immediately attacked them and put them to the sword, but *Agésilas*, not knowing how far the contagion might reach, prevented them ; and, having only one servant near him, went in person to the place, to which when he drew near, he called out, *Sirs, you mistook my orders, I did not direct you to go all to one place, but that some of you should go there, and some there*. The conspirators hearing this believed they were not discovered, and therefore separating immediately went to the posts which he assigned them ; thus separated they were easily seized, and being conducted to examination were afterwards put to death the same night, without any respect had to the ordinary forms of law. *Epaminondas*, when he quitted the territories of *Sparta*, left behind him such a mark of his virtue and magnanimity, as is scarce to be paralleled in history ; he rebuilt the city of *Messene*, and recalling the antient inhabitants of *Messenia* from the several countries where they had taken refuge, he restored them to the possession of their antient patrimony, after they had lost it three hundred years. It is remarkable that these *Messenians*, notwithstanding their dispersion, preserved the old *Doric* dialect, which continued to be spoke amongst them to the times of *Pausanias*, the geographer and historian ; when *Epaminondas* had accomplished this, he offered the *Lacedemonians* peace, on condition that they quitted all pretensions to *Messenia*, and left *Laconia* free, which terms were rejected with scorn ^o. The present distress of *Sparta* obliged her to sue for assistance to her rival *Athens*, which, whether from a principle of gene-

^a XENOPHON. ubi supra, & in orat. de laud. Agesil. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi sup. PLUT. in vit. Agesil. & Pelopid. CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Agesil. & Epaminond. PAUSAN. in Lacon. POLYÆN. Strategem. lib. ii. c. 3. ^o XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. vi. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xv. PLUT. in vit. Agesil. & in vit. Pelop. JUSTIN. lib. vi. c. 7. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Epamin. PAUSAN. in Messen. & Lacon.
rosity

rosity or vain glory is uncertain, was readily sent them under the command of *Iphicrates*, who in this expedition was so unlucky as to lose a great part of his reputation ; the military prudence of *Epaminondas* putting it out of his power to effect any thing to the prejudice of the army under his command. The next year the war continued with as great warmth as ever, *Epaminondas* being sent with as great army to join the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Eleans*, who were in arms in *Peloponnesus*; the *Lacedemonians* in the mean time applied themselves assiduously to all the methods that could be devised for restoring their affairs. They solicited their allies, they manumitted such of the *Helotes* as were willing to take arms, they sought the assistance of the *Athenians*, and even of *Dionysius* the *Sicilian*, who ordered two thousand *Gauls* and *Spaniards* to hold themselves in readiness to be transported into *Greece* as soon as the season would permit. In the interim, the *Lacedemonian* army, consisting of twenty thousand men, fortified the passes at the isthmus, and, having strongly retrenched themselves, determined to abide there, in order to hinder *Epaminondas* and his *Thebans* from entering *Peloponnesus*. But this hope was vain; for though the *Theban* army was far inferior in number, yet *Epaminondas*, having considered the extent of their works, and that they were apparently weakest where the *Spartans* were posted, determined at all events to attack them there, which he did with such vigour, that he forced their lines, and broke into *Peloponnesus*, where he wasted the country, reduced *Sicyon* and some other cities, and afterwards marched to *Corinth*, which he had also taken if it had not been for *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who, being cordially in the interest of *Sparta*, defended the place so well, that *Epaminondas* was forced to retire. Here the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, who were by this time come from *Sicily*, did great service, and in the end of the summer, being bountifully rewarded, returned home ^p.

The Arcadians routed by Archidamus.
Year of the Flood
2631.
Before Christ
368.



THE *Lacedemonians*, though they were still desirous of peace, continued to make as great preparations as possible for supporting the war. *Agésilas* assisted them with his counsels ; *Cleomenes*, who succeeded his brother *Agésilas* after a year's reign, discharged the functions of first magistrate, *Archidamus* the son of *Agésilas* having the chief command of their armies. In the first year of the hundred and third olympiad, this prince having drawn together a considerable body of *Spartans*, and their allies, and being assisted by *Cissilas* general in chief of *Dionysius's* forces, marched into *Arcadia* in order to revenge

^p XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. vii. DIODOR. ubi supra. CORN. NE-
RO, in vit. Epamin.

his country for the many inroads, which within a few years before they had suffered from the *Arcadians*. Having taken *Caryæ* and put those he took therein to the sword, he projected still greater conquests, till on a sudden all his attempts were checked by a declaration of *Cissidas*, that, his commission being expired, he could act offensively no longer ; in consequence of which declaration he immediately withdrew. But in his retreat, finding himself in danger of being surrounded by the *Messenians*, he sent to *Archidamus* to beseech his assistance ; the *Spartan* immediately marched with all his forces to the relief of his ally, and on his arrival fell with such vigour on the *Arcadians* and their allies, that he utterly defeated them with the slaughter of no less than ten thousand men, without so much as one *Spartan* being slain, whereby the prediction of the priests at *Dodona* is said to have been fulfilled, they having declared, when *Archidamus* marched, that this war would end without any mourning of the *Lacedemonians* ¹. Some time after this *Epaminondas* broke in again, notwithstanding all the care that could be taken, into *Peloponnesus*, yet without doing any great mischief ; the endeavours of the *Persian* king having disposed almost all *Greece* to think of peace, which with much ado was effected, after the *Laconian* or *Bæotic* war had lasted about five years, in which if *Agésilas* was to blame, for having through his hatred of the *Thebans* been a principal author thereof ; yet the great services he did his country therein, and his preserving the city of *Sparta* from being taken by a numerous and victorious enemy, were such reparations, that we may justly commend the *Spartans* for overlooking the failings of their prince, and making use of those high qualities which were alone capable of preserving them. We have been led to this observation from the nature of this history, which shews how soon the haughtiness of any state can raise up enemies enough to pull it down, and how far the wisdom of a single person may be capable of conserving and restoring a dejected and defeated nation both to spirits and power ². In the second year of the hundred and fourth olympiad, there broke out new commotions in *Peloponnesus*, the *Tegæans* and *Mantineans* making war on each other ; the former requesting the aid of the *Thebans*, the latter of the *Lacedemonians* and *Atterians*, gave occasion thereby to a new and fatal controversy ; for *Epaminondas*, at the head of a great

¹ XENOPHON. ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra. PAUSAN. in Lacon. ATREUS. Deipnosophistæ. vii. PLUT. in vit. Agesil. ² XENOPHON. ubi supra, & in orat. de laud. Agesil. POLYÆN. Strategem. lib. ii. c. 1. in vit. Agesil.

army marching to the assistance of his allies, had notice, that *Agésilas*, with the whole power of *Sparta*, was in full march to join the enemy; whereupon conceiving in himself that *Sparta* must be left naked, he directed his march thither with the utmost diligence. *Xenophon* himself acknowledges, that this measure was so well taken, and so briskly pursued, that nothing could have prevented his surprizing the place; but by accident a person gave notice of his march to *Agésilas*, who thereupon dispatched a courier to *Sparta* to desire the citizens to be on their guard; *Archidamus* no sooner received his father's dispatch, than he made all proper dispositions for the defence of the place; the old men and boys he placed on the tops of houses, that they might incommode the *Thebans* by throwing tiles and stones; such as were capable of bearing arms he posted in all the avenues of the city, so that when *Epaminondas* came, he had the mortification to see that his design was discovered, and that it was impossible for him to think of entering without great effusion of blood; notwithstanding all this, he attacked the place, but was received so warmly that he was obliged to retire; yet *Archidamus* following him gave an opportunity to the *Thebans* to revenge the death of their countrymen, which they did by cutting off a great number of *Spartans*, who had thus needlessly exposed themselves by an unwary pursuit. *Epaminondas*, to make himself amends for this successful attempt, marched directly to surprize *Mantinea*, which he rightly conjectured would be left naked by *Agésilas*'s march to the relief of *Sparta*. Yet here again an accident defeated all his wisdom; six thousand *Athenian* succours were just landed in *Peloponnesus*, and entered *Mantinea* the very day that he attacked it. These being fresh and full of spirits, had the better of his horse, and forced him to abandon his design^c. These miscarriages sunk deep into the bosom of this great general, who reflecting that his commission was about to expire, and that, if he retired out of *Peloponnesus* without effecting any thing, he should not only lose his own glory, but that authority also to which he had raised his country; he determined, for the preservation of both these, to risque a battle at all events. When therefore he understood that *Agésilas* at the head of the *Lacedemonians* and *Arcadians* with the rest of the allies, being no less than twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, were arrived in the neighbourhood of *Mantinea*, he led forth his army, and

^c XENOPHON. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Agésil. PAUSAN. IACON. CORN. NEPOT., in vit. Epamin.

having drawn it up in battalia, marched off towards the hills of *Tegæa*, as if he intended to incamp there; but on a sudden altering the disposition of his line to give it the form of a wedge, he marched suddenly back and fell upon the allies, when they expected no such matter; the confusion was so great, that the *Thebans* would have acquired a very easy victory, if *Epaminondas*, charging the *Lacedemonians*, had not exposed his person too much; for they, knowing well that the whole power of *Thebes* was centered in this single man, covered him with darts, many of which he pulled out of his flesh, and returned upon those who discharged them; at last one *Anticiates* a *Spartan* struck him into the breast with a javelin with such force, that it broke and left the iron sticking therein, whereupon he fell down, which occasioned a new contest for his body, and in this with much ado his countrymen were victorious, though with the loss of their best officers. All *Greece* looked with concern on the issue of this business, which was this; that the contending parties, fearing the continuance of so bloody a war, unanimously struck up a general peace, excepting only the *Lacedemonians*, who at the instance of *Agésilas* refused to become parties thereto, because the *Messenians* were comprehended therein; for which he is justly censured by *Plutarch*, who was likewise no less displeased at the last actions of his life, which were these. Finding that the *Persian* was no longer inclined to *Sparta*, he consented, for the sake of a large subsidy given to his country by *Tachos* king of *Egypt*, to go in person to command the *Greek* mercenaries he had in his service; there for a time he was of great use to the prince, at whose request he went into *Egypt*; but at length, either to gratify his own resentment, or because he thought it more advantageous to his country, he deserted him, and sided with his competitor; from whom having received a large sum of money for his good services, he embarked in order to return into *Peloponnesus*; but being by contrary winds forced on the *African* shore, he died after a short illness, rather of age and fatigue than of any other distempers, when he had attained the eighty fourth year of his life, and had reigned forty one years, leaving behind him the character of a wise prince, a great captain, and a passionate lover of his country ^u. (R).

Archidamus

^c XENOPHON. *Hellen.* lib. viii. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xv. PLUT. in vit. Agefil. JUSTIN. lib. vi. c. 7. CORN. NEP. in vit. Epamin. ^u XENOPHON. ubi supra. & in Orat. de laud. Agefil. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Agefil.

(R, If it may be justly esteemed a happiness to a great king to
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Archidamus succeeds Agefilaus.

Year of the Flood, 2637. Before Christ, 362.



Archidamus succeeded to his father *Agefilaus*, he was become the darling of the people for the glorious victory he had obtained

have his actions recorded by writers of eminent abilities, no prince of *Greece* ever was happier in this respect than *Agefilaus* : *Xenophon*, the best historian of his age and the companion of *Agefilaus*'s labours, was likewise the compiler of them. His *Grecian* history contains a very particular narration of the king's exploits, and his oration in praise of *Agefilaus* is a panegyric worthy of the character of that prince and of its writer. *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* hath also a very copious account of the transactions of this king of *Sparta* ; besides which, and the transcripts that have been made from antient *Greek* writers by translators and epitomizers , we have his life written by *Plutarch*, and again by *Cornelius Nepos*. His expedition into *Egypt*, when he was eighty years old and upwards, is to be the subject of this note ; this let us take from *Plutarch*, who hath given us the detail of this expedition with peculiar exactness. “ As soon “ as he arrived in *Egypt*, all the great officers of the kingdom came “ to pay their compliments to him at his landing ; his reputation “ being so great had raised the expectation of the whole country “ which did flock in to see him ; but when they found, instead of “ the great prince whom they looked for, a little old man of contemptible presence, without all ceremony lying down upon the “ grass, his hair uncombed, and his cloaths thread-bare, they fell “ into a laughter and scorn of him, crying out, that the old proverb was now made good, *The mountain had brought forth a mouse*. “ They were much scandalized at his insensibility and rudeness (as “ they thought it), who when the presents, usually offer'd to “ strangers of distinction, were made him of all manner of provisions, took only the meal, the calves, and the geese, but rejected the sweet-meats, the confections, and perfumes ; and “ when they did urge him to the acceptance of them, he said, “ *They might carry them to his slaves the Helotes*. *Theophrastus* saith, “ that he was taken with nothing he saw in *Egypt* so much as with “ the *Papyrus*, so proper for garlands by reason of the smoothness “ and plianthness of its rind ; and when he left *Egypt*, he desired “ the king to let him carry some of it home with him. When he “ joined with *Tachos*, he found his expectation of being generalissimo frustrated : *Tachos* reserved that place for himself, making “ *Agefilaus* only captain of the band of mercenaries, and *Chabrias*, “ the *Athenian*, admiral. This was the first occasion of his discontent ; but there followed others : He, being daily tired with “ the insolency and vanity of this *Egyptian*, was at length forced “ to attend on him into *Phœnicia*, in a condition much below his “ spirit and dignity, which, notwithstanding, he was obliged to digest for a while, till he had an opportunity of shewing his resentment. It was soon afforded him by *Nectanabis*, *Tachos*'s “ own

obtained over the *Arcadians*, and which, because no *Spartan* fell therein, they transmitted to posterity by the name of the
tearless

“ own nephew, and a great captain under him, who took an occa-
 “ sion to fall off from his uncle, and was proclaimed king by the
 “ *Egyptians*. This man invited *Agefilaus* to his party, and the
 “ like he did to *Chabrias*, offering great rewards to both. *Tachos*
 “ had quickly intelligence of this, and had then recourse to all the
 “ submissive methods he could think of, in order to engage both
 “ *Agefilaus* and *Chabrias* to his interest; the latter readily yielded
 “ to his intreaties, and endeavoured all he could to persuade *Agefi-*
 “ *laus*, but he pretended to depend wholly on the orders which
 “ should be sent him from *Sparta*, whither both the *Egyptian*
 “ princes had dispatched ambassadors. The *Lacedemonians* left the
 “ whole matter to *Agefilaus*, directing him to do what was most for
 “ the profit of the commonwealth; whereupon he immediately
 “ changed sides and carried off all the mercenaries with him. He
 “ had not been long in the service of *Neftanabis* before a certain
 “ *Mendesian* set up his claim to the *Egyptian* kingdom, and brought
 “ a hundred thousand men at his heels to support it. He attempt-
 “ ed to tamper with *Agefilaus*, of which *Neftanabis* having notice
 “ began to suspect him, and his suspicion increased when *Agefilaus*
 “ advised him to fight this multitude immediately; he took quite
 “ a different method, retiring into a strong city, and shutting up
 “ himself and his troops therein; the *Mendesian* advancing invested
 “ the place immediately, and began to sink a ditch, and throw up
 “ intrenchments all round the place. *Neftanabis* all on a sudden
 “ talked of fighting, being afraid of being cooped up, and starved
 “ out; but *Agefilaus* opposed it, for which the *Greeks* blamed him,
 “ and the *Egyptians* called him traitor; but he bore all with pa-
 “ tience, being ashamed of changing sides a second time. At last,
 “ when the enemy had almost perfected their works, and only a
 “ narrow aperture was left, *Agefilaus* went to *Neftanabis* and ad-
 “ dressed him thus: Now, young man, you have an opportunity
 “ of saving yourself; your enemies have been all this time work-
 “ ing for you; if you issue out with your forces, you will easily
 “ beat those who guard the gap which is yet open; and as for the
 “ rest, their own works will hinder them from surrounding us.
 “ *Neftanabis*, admiring his wisdom, exactly followed his advice,
 “ by which means he routed his competitor, and leaving the con-
 “ duct of the war for the future to *Agefilaus*, he quickly subdued
 “ all his enemies, and settled him firmly on the throne. After
 “ this being eagerly desirous of doing still something more for the
 “ service of his country, the king of *Sparta* embarked in order to
 “ return to *Greece*, carrying with him among other rich presents
 “ a gratuity of two hundred and thirty talents, as a free gift from
 “ *Neftanabis* to the state of *Sparta*. In this voyage he died, and

tearless battle. In his reign broke out the *Phocian*, or *sacred war*, wherein he sided with the *Phocians* at the persuasion, as some writers say, of his wife *Dinicha*. Others affirm, that not only his wife and himself were wrought on by the bribes of the *Phocians*, but even the *Ephori*, the senate, and the whole republic of *Sparta*; but tho' he espoused their quarrel, yet he was far from countenancing their cruelty, which on the contrary he openly condemned and opposed. When *Philip* king of *Macedon* began to interest himself much in the affairs of *Greece*, and to take highly upon him for the many victories he had gained, *Archidamus* is said to have sent him this message; *Sir, If you will be pleased to measure your shadow, you won't find it a whit longer than it was before.* He was by no means pleased with the customs of his country, but on the contrary thought them burdensome and rigorous, affecting to live freely and without restraint, supposing, that it did not at all affect a man's honesty, if he eat a good dinner: For this reason he was glad of an opportunity to leave *Sparta*, and of residing in a foreign country, where he might live as he would, without offending the laws or giving scandal to his subjects; the *Tarentines* therefore requesting aid of the *Lacedemonians* for their support against their neighbours, *Archidamus* very readily offered to command the forces that were decreed them, and passing on this occasion over into *Italy*, he was there slain near the city of *Mandonium* after having reigned fifteen years; his statue was erected at the temple of *Jupiter Olympus*, an honour which none of the *Spartan* kings had done them except himself, which *Pausanias* supposes was conceded to him, because he died fighting against the *Barbarians*, and did not receive those sepulchral honours which had been given to all his predecessors *.


* DIONOR. SICUL. lib. xvi. STRABON. Geogr. lib. vi. PLUT. Apophthegm. Lacon. PAUSAN. Lacon. & Messen. JULIAN. O-rat. ii.

“ for want of honey, which the *Spartans* were wont to use in
 “ embalming, his servants wrapped his body in wax, and brought it
 “ safe to *Sparta*”. *Xenophon* has taken much pains to vindicate even his deserting *Tachos*, which *Plutarch* justly treats as an act of treachery, proceeding, as he tells us plainly, from the *Spartan* maxim, that all things are just that are profitable to one's country (67).

(67) *Plutarch, in vit. Agesil.*

Agis

Agis the son of *Archidamus* succeeded his father; he was a Prince of great virtue and magnanimity; he in his youth had been sent ambassador to *Philip* of *Macedon*, who seeing him alone, whereas all other cities sent many deputies, said with an air of contempt, *What! from Sparta but one? Why, Sir,* said *Agis*, *I was sent but to one*¹. When afterwards one of the creatures of that prince told him, *Philip will not suffer you to set your foot in any other part of Greece. It is a mercy*, said he, *that we have a good deal of room at home*². During the reign of *Alexander*, though he hated the *Macedonians*, yet he did not think fit to expose his country to ruin by opposing them: but when after the battle of *Iffus* abundance of mercenaries fled out of *Persia*, he lifted them to the number of eight thousand, and openly declared for *Darius*; from whom receiving money to pay his troops and a fleet, he sailed over into *Crete*, part of which he subdued. After the battle of *Arbela* he stirred up all *Greece* to revolt, by shewing them, that, when *Alexander* had subdued *Persia*, they must become a province of his empire, which would be no less grievous to them, than if they had been subdued by any of the former kings of *Persia*; for, as he rightly observed, a *Grecian* king reigning in *Persia* would be a *Persian* to them; besides, having been always free, he encouraged them to defend their freedom, while their capital enemy was yet afar off, and would be constrained to manage the war by his lieutenants. The *Greeks*, roused by these remonstrances, raised an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, of which when *Antipater* had notice, he composed on any terms the disturbances in *Thrace*, and marched strait into *Greece* with forty thousand men. *Agis*, however, did not retire or shun an engagement, so that a decisive battle was quickly fought, wherein, after a glorious resistance, the *Spartans* and their confederates were routed with the loss of five thousand three hundred men, *Antipater* losing three thousand five hundred also. *Agis* himself fell, but in a manner greatly to his honour; for being covered with wounds he was borne by his soldiers out of the battle, till seeing them on the point of being surrounded, he commanded them to set him down, and preserve themselves for the future service of their country; remaining then alone with his sword in his hand, he fought it out upon his knees, killing several of the *Macedonians*, till at last he was shot through the body with a dart³. Such was the glo-

Agis succeeds Archidamus.
Year of the flood,
2653.
Before Christ,
346.


¹ PLUT. Apophthegm. Lacon. ² Idem, ibid. ³ DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xviii. CURT. lib. vi JUSTIN. lib. xii. STRAB. lib. viii. PAUSAN. Attic.

rious death of this most virtuous king, who died in defence of liberty and his country after a reign of nine years. Yet when *Alexander* heard of this engagement, he was vain enough to say, *While we are fighting Darius in Asia, there has been it seems a battle of mice in Arcadia* ^b.

Eudamidas succeeds Agis. Year of the flood 2669. Before Christ 330.

Agis was succeeded by his son *Eudamidas*, a prince of great wisdom, moderation, and gentleness; he governed all his days in peace, and we have of consequence nothing of him on record, except certain instances of his good sense and great capacity for governing in those troublesome times wherein he lived. The death of *Agis* had so much provoked the *Lacedemonians*, that they were for carrying on a war against *Macedon* at all events, which *Eudamidas* opposed; and when a certain *Spartan* addressed him thus, *Why, Sir, when all your citizens are for a war, do you alone advise them to continue in peace? Because,* answered the king, *I would convince them of their mistake.* Another magnifying the victories which had been obtained by their ancestors against the *Persians*, and encouraging them from thence to undertake a war against *Macedon*, *You think, Sir,* said *Eudamidas*, *that it is the same thing to make war against a thousand sheep and against fifty wolves.* Coming into the school of *Xenocrates* the philosopher, and observing that he was very old, he asked what was his profession, and some body answering that he was a wise man who sought after virtue, *Alas!* said he, *Is he seeking it at these years? When then will he make use of it?* When *Alexander* caused it to be proclaimed throughout *Greece*, that all the exiles should return in safety to their own cities, excepting those of *Thebes*; *This is a hard case,* O ye *Thebans*, said *Eudamidas*, *but at the same time very honourable; for it is evident, that Alexander fears you only of all the Greeks.* All these kings had for their colleague *Cleomenes* the son of *Cleombrotus*, who reigned very long, but without doing any thing that was remarkable.

Archidamus succeeded his father *Eudamidas*, as *Areus* the son of *Acrotatus* did his grandfather *Cleomenes*, but not without some dispute; his uncle *Cleonymus* setting up a title to the throne, though the people preferred the son of the elder brother to the younger. *Cleonymus*, however, retired to *Pyræus*, whom he brought with an army into his country to abet his cause, notwithstanding that the *Ephori* and senate would have granted him any reasonable terms he could have asked. The *Spartans* sent *Dercyllidas* to meet him on the frontiers, and to expostulate with him on the injustice of his invasion;

^b DIODOR. lib. xviii. c PLUT. Apophthegm. Lacon. PAUSAN. Lacon.

but *Pyrrhus* by one of his courtiers bid him carry this message to *Sparta*, that they should receive their king *Cleonymus*, or he would make them know that they were no better than other men. *Sir*, answered *Dercyllidas*, *If your master is a god we do not fear him, because we have done no wrong; and if he is a man we do not fear him, because we are as good as he* ^d. This expedition had well nigh accomplished the ruin of *Sparta*, occasioning much more loss thereto than either of the attempts of *Epaminondas*. It is our duty therefore to enter into a distinct detail thereof. *Pyrrhus* had with him twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants. *Areus* was at this time in *Crete*, and the city was chiefly intrusted to the care of his son *Acrotatus*, whose amours had in a great measure occasioned this war; for he had debauched *Chelidonis* the wife of *Cleonymus* his uncle, which was one great reason of his flying to *Pyrrhus*, whom he accompanied in this expedition. When they arrived in the neighbourhood of *Sparta*, which was very unexpected, the citizens flattering themselves that their ambassadors would have obtained peace, certain intelligence was brought to the king, that the city was so meanly provided, and the people so much amazed, that without question it would fall almost without trouble into his hands; when this news came it was almost evening, yet *Cleonymus* pressed hard for their marching thither that night; but the king, fearing that the darkness would afford an opportunity to the soldiers of possessing themselves of all the riches of *Sparta*, refused to attack it till day-light; a thing so little expected even by the *Spartans* themselves, that in *Cleonymus*'s house the *Helotes* were busy in providing a supper, not doubting, but *Pyrrhus* would take up his lodgings there. But when it was known, that his soldiers had pitched their camp near the walls, the senate assembled to consider if any thing could be done for their preservation; and the first resolution they came to was, to send the women immediately over into *Crete*, which resolution some way taking wind, the *Spartan* ladies assembled together, and having deputed *Archidamia* to carry their sentiments to the senate, she entered the room with a sword in her hand, addressing the assembly in these words: *Do not, my lords, entertain so mean an opinion of the Spartan women, as to fancy that they will ever out-live Sparta; instead of considering whither we are to fly, consider what we are to do, and be assured we will undertake any thing for the service of our country* ^e. Upon this it

^d PLUT. Apophthegm.^e PLUTARCH. in vit. PYRRH.

was resolved to sink a trench directly opposite to the enemies camp, and to defend the extremities thereof by burying waggons to their axle-trees crossing each other, in order thereby to prevent the passage of the elephants. When this work was begun, the women came out many of them in their shifts to assist the men in years who were employed in digging ; for they would not allow any of the young men to fatigue themselves, lest they should be unable to sustain the enemies charge in the morning. The dimensions of the trench once settled, which some tell us, were these, *viz.* the breadth six cubits, the depth four, and the length eight hundred feet ; the women took a third part of it, and engaged to finish it by morning †. When day began to break, and the troops of *Pyrrhus* were in motion, the *Lacedemonian* ladies armed the men for the fight, representing to them, as they were buckling their armour, and putting their spears into their hands, how glorious an opportunity they had of conquering the enemies of their country in the sight of their mothers, wives and daughters, or of falling in its cause. As for *Chelidonis*, she retired to her own house with a halter about her neck, to shew, that if things went amiss, she would rather end her own life, than live again with her husband. *Pyrrhus* saw with amazement the labour his troops were to undergo ; however, he led them in person to the assault, where they fought with the utmost fury against the *Spartans*, who, considering for what they fought, made a most desperate resistance ; in the mean time *Ptolemy* the son of *Pyrrhus* drew off two thousand *Gauls* and other choice men from the attack, and, marching to one of the extremities of the ditch, employed them in dragging out the waggons, which at last with much ado they effected, and began to draw them off towards a neighbouring river. *Acrotatus* was the first who perceived this desperate mischief, which he immediately sought to remedy ; for rushing through the city with three hundred men, he passed round by the sides of the hills and charged *Ptolemy's* troops in the rear, who thinking of nothing less, and being in no posture of defence, he forced numbers of them into the ditch, and drove the waggons they had removed over the rest to the great joy of the *Spartans* ; where *Pyrrhus* charged in person, the attack was sustained with greatest vigour, and one *Phyllius* a *Spartan* gave such a demonstration of invincible courage as is scarce any where to be found recorded ; he fought in the front of his countrymen's ranks, till he found himself so exhausted through the many wounds he had received, that he was no

† JUSTIN. lib. xxv. c. 4.

†

longer



longer able to stand ; when he called to the commanding officer, and having resigned to him his post, retired as far back as he could, that his body might be out of the reach of the enemy when he fell. The battle, as it began with the day, so it ended therewith, and *Pyrrhus* being extremely fatigued retired to his tent, where he slept very soundly till towards morning, when he had the following dream : He thought he saw himself throwing lightning on *Sparta* which set it all on fire, with the joy of which he awaked ; he immediately ran to his council of officers, and communicated to them his vision ; but *Lysimachus* his favourite did not understand the vision in the same light with the king ; *Thou knowest*, *Pyrrhus*, said he, *that with us places stricken with lightning are accounted sacred ; I am therefore of opinion, that the gods have hereby signified to thee, that Sparta is as sacred and inviolable as a place stricken with lightning ; Well*, replied *Pyrrhus*, *I am ready to own, my friend, that nothing can be more uncertain than our conjectures concerning these things ; yet this remains certain still, that we ought to do our duty ; and therefore, without thinking more of my dream, let us prepare for the attack*^s. The assault was no less vigorous than the day before, nor did the *Lacedemonians* defend themselves with less vigour, the women remaining all day at the trench, supplying the soldiers with arms, ammunition, meat, drink, and whatever else they wanted, binding up their wounds, and carrying them off in case they were disabled ; at last, however, *Pyrrhus* prevailed in the very attempt his son had miscarried in the day before, and of a sudden appeared within the waggons, charging at the head of a great number of horse with mighty resolution. In vain the *Lacedemonians* crowded from all sides to impede his passage ; they were trodden down by his horse, and *Pyrrhus* was on the very point of entering the city when an arrow struck his steed to the heart ; the beast, flouncing in the agonies of death, threw him off, and his soldiers, in the first confusion, not knowing whether he as well as his horse was not slain, gave back ; upon which the *Spartans* pressed on them so eagerly, and distributed their darts with such success, that when *Pyrrhus* was remounted he thought it best to retire, supposing that the third day would put an end to this contest, when after the heat of the action the *Spartans* had leisure to feel their wounds ; nor would he in all probability have been mistaken, if he had dealt the next day with none but those whom he engaged be-

^s PLUTARCH. in vit. Pyrrh.

fore. The good fortune of *Sparta* prevented this ; for one of *Antigonus*'s captains, having intelligence of their distress, and of the noble stand they had made, adventured with a body of troops under his command to throw himself into the place, where he was scarce arrived before king *Areus* himself entered with two thousand fresh men. *Pyrrhus* notwithstanding assaulted the place the third time, but with little success ; whereupon he embraced an invitation given him to march to *Argos*, and endeavoured to rid himself of this unlucky business as well as he could ; yet here again he found himself distressed, for king *Areus* being once come did not care to part with him so, but sent a choice body of horse to infest his rear. The king, vexed at this insult, ordered his son *Ptolemy* with some squadrons under his command to march to the assistance of the troops attacked, where the young prince, more ambitious of glory than careful of life, exposing himself too much was slain. *Pyrrhus*, when he heard the news, immediately jumped on horseback, and charging with unwonted fury on the *Lacedemonians* slew many of them, and particularly their commander in chief, with his own hand ; he afterwards quitted his horse and fought on foot, and when he had satiated himself with destroying numbers of the *Spartans*, he continued his march to *Argos*^h. *Areus* is very much blamed for his conduct on this occasion : it is said, that when *Pyrrhus* was retired, pursuing him was needless, and served only to throw away the lives of many brave men ; but it seems the *Spartan* king was of opinion, that no safety could be hoped for till *Pyrrhus* was out of *Greece* ; for this reason he posted away in person to *Argos* with a thousand choice foot, and yet he scarce arrived time enough there to save the city, a gate of which having been perfidiously opened to *Pyrrhus* in the night, he entered it before the citizens were aware ; however, they stood to their arms, and while they were hotly engaged with the enemy, *Areus* came to their aid ; *Pyrrhus* at last perceiving that he fought under great disadvantages would have retreated ; but his orders being mistaken, and his forces and elephants still continuing to enter the city, he was at last beat from his horse by a woman, who, standing on the top of her house, and perceiving him about to push his horse upon her son, discharged a thick tile at his head, which struck him on the temple, took from him his senses, and before he could recover them an officer of *Antigonus*'s army struck off his headⁱ. Concerning this *Areus*

^h JUSTIN. lib. xxv. c. 5.ⁱ JUSTIN. Hist. lib. xxv. c. 5.
PAUSAN. in Argol. PLUT. in vit. Pyrrh.

we know nothing farther than that he was a zealous defender of the liberties of *Greece*, as far as the broken and distressed state of his country would give him leave; for when he understood, that *Athens* was in danger of being oppressed by *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*, he generously armed in its defence, and was slain valiantly fighting at the battle of *Corinth* ^k. To this prince the best critics have referred that letter to *Onias* the high priest, which we find recorded in the book of *Maccabees* ^l (S). He was succeeded in his

^k PLUT. in vit. Demetr. ^l 1 Maccab. xii. 20. JOSEPH. Antiq. Judaic. lib. xii. c. 5.

(S) The letter above referred to runs thus :

Areus king of the *Lacedemonians*, to *Onias* the high-priest, greeting ;

It is found in writing, that the Lacedemonians and Jews are brethren, and that they are of the stock of Abraham : Now therefore, since this is come to our knowledge, you shall do well to write to us of your peace (69). This letter is exactly in the *Laconic* stile, and deserves therefore to be preferred to that which we find in *Josephus*, wherein *Demoteles* is named as ambassador from *Sparta*; the form of the letter is said to be square, and the common seal of *Lacedemon* is described as having represented thereon an eagle holding a dragon; the learned primate of *Ireland* hath been led into a great mistake, by paying too much regard to this *Jewish* writer; for it is certain, that this letter could never have been sent to *Onias* the 3d of that name, high-priest of the *Jews*, who flourished when there were no kings at all at *Sparta*; this the learned prelate was so well aware of, that to get over these difficulties, he supposes one *Areus* a nobleman of *Sparta* to have taken the title of king in the penning of this epistle (70); but here again is a new and greater difficulty incurred than the former; *Jonathan* in his letter to the *Lacedemonians*, speaking of the epistle before us, says it was wrote a long time ago, which no way quadrates with the time in which *Josephus* and archbishop *Usher* place it; the truth is, this letter was not written to *Onias* the son of *Simon*, but to *Onias* the first, who was undeniably cotemporary with this king *Areus*, of whom we have treated in the text. In this we have followed the opinion of the judicious Dr *Prideaux* (71). We take the liberty of adding, that there is the more reason to suspect some alteration in this letter by *Josephus*, because when he comes to give us *Jonathan's* letter, he

(69) 1 Maccab. xii. 20. (70) Usher. Annal. V. T. A. I. P. 4531. (71) Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, Part ii. Book II.

his throne by his son *Acrotatus*, who had so valiantly defended *Sparta* when attacked by *Pyrrhus*.

The acts of
Archidamus IV.
king of
Sparta.

OF the other house *Archidamus* the fourth of that name, the son of *Eudamidas*, governed with great reputation; he was a prince of the true *Spartan* race, who was desirous to maintain all *Greece* in freedom, and to repress, if it had been possible, the mighty power of the *Macedonian* kings, which like a torrent swept all before them; and though for a time they might be restrained from doing much mischief, by their being obliged to turn their arms elsewhere, yet, whenever they had leisure, they were sure to seek such an authority in *Greece* as suited not with her liberty. *Archidamus* had struggled against the stream when it was most rapid, that is, when *Demetrius Poliorcetes* after subduing *Athens* sought to make himself master of *Sparta*; twice *Archidamus* opposed him in the field, but was so unfortunate as to be as often defeated, nor could any thing have saved the virgin city of *Sparta* from the rage of the victor, if the declension of his affairs in *Asia* had not constrained him for a time to abandon all thoughts of *Greece* ^m. He was succeeded by his son, but how long he reigned, or at what age he died, is uncertain.

Eudamidas succeeds his father Archidamus.

Eudamidas the son of *Archidamus* was the colleague of *Acrotatus*, he married *Agessistrata*, by whom he had two sons, *Agis* and *Archidamus* ⁿ. As to his acts, we find no mention of them in history: It is probable, that, being a man of small parts, the government rested chiefly in *Acrotatus*, who could not but be highly beloved by the people on account of his great valour, and many virtues. *Aristodemus*, who had made him-

^m PLUTARCH. ubi supra.

ⁿ PLUTARCH. in vit. Agid.

has taken the liberty to alter its address also, and not at all for the better; thus it runs according to *Josephus*: Jonathan, high-priest of the Jews, and the senate, and commonalty of the Jews, to the ephori, senate, and people of the Lacedemonians, greeting (72). Whereas in the book of *Maccabees* the address is thus: Jonathan the high-priest, and the elders of the nation, and the priests, and the other people of the Jews, unto the Lacedemonians their brethren send greeting (73). Neither ephori or senate are mentioned here, they were probably put in by *Josephus* to make the letter look the better. The name of *Demoteles* is also inserted in this letter, though we find nothing of it in the letter recorded by the author of the book of *Maccabees*. How the *Spartans* and the *Jews* came to be related, must be considered in another place; our business here was to fix the time when the letter from *Arsus* was sent to *Onias*.

(72) *Antiq. Judaic. lib. xiii. c. 5.*

(73) 1 *Macc. xii. 6.*

self prince of *Megalopolis*, was the capital enemy of the *Lacedemonians*, seeking by all means to abase a nation, who were always ready to take arms for liberty, and who alike hated the oppression of tyrants themselves, or to see their neighbours oppressed by them. *Acrotatus*, at the head of the *Lacedemonian* army, endeavoured to make head against this prince, who was grown formidable to all *Peloponnesus*; but, his fortune being no way equal to his merit, his forces were routed, and himself slain, leaving the kingdom to his young son *Areus*, to whom *Leonidas* the son of *Cleonymus* was tutor or protector, and he dying after a very short reign, *Leonidas* stepped into the throne in his own right •.

Leonidas had been bred up, or at least had long lived, in the court of *Seleucus*, which made him extremely fond of that pomp and grandeur which he saw affected there; at *Sparta* he had a great opportunity of indulging his ambition and luxury, the people being greatly altered from what they were before, and the *Lycurgic* maxims grown not only into disuse, but contempt: One *Opytadeus*, being raised to a chair among the *ephori*, and taking occasion from thence to gratify his unnatural prejudice against his own son, procured a law whereby all men were left at liberty to dispose of their lands by gift or sale, or by testament at the time of their decease. This subverted the very foundations of the state, for by degrees the lands were most of them transferred from the ancient *Spartan* families, so that though they were reduced now to about seven hundred, not above one hundred of these had any lands, but lived in the city lazily, without employment, and without wealth, their spirits sinking with their fortune, and with both the credit and glory of the *Spartan* state ^P.

THE colleague of *Leonidas* of the other house was *Agis* the son of *Eudamidas*, a young prince of great hopes; he shewed himself both just and obliging to all men, and in the gentleness of his disposition and sublimity of his virtues, not only exceeded *Leonidas* who reigned with him, but all the kings of *Sparta* from king *Agisilaus*. For though he had been bred very tenderly, and in abundance of all things by his mother *Agisistrata* and his grandmother *Archidamia*, who were the wealthiest of the *Lacedemonians*; yet before the age of twenty, he so far overcame himself as to renounce effeminate pleasures. He was a very handsome person and of a graceful behaviour; yet, to give a check to the vanity he might take therein, would always go plain and mean in his cloaths. In his

Agis the son of Eudamidas attempts to restore the constitution of Sparta.

• PLUTARCH. ubi supra. & in vit. Cleomen. ^P PLUT. in vit. Agid. & in vit. Cleom.

diet, bathings, and in all his exercises he chose to imitate the old *Laconic* frugality and temperance, and was often heard to say, *He would not desire the kingdom, if he did not hope by means of that authority to restore their antient laws and discipline.* This maxim of his governed his whole life ; he endeavoured to associate himself with men of interest and capacity, sufficient to bring about the great design he had formed of thoroughly reforming the state. *Agésilas*, his uncle by the mother's side, was one of his principal counsellors, a man of great eloquence, but no great virtue ; the part he took in this business being chiefly owing to his son's persuasions, whose name was *Hypomedon*, one of the worthiest men of his age. This *Agésilas* brought over his sister king *Agis's* mother to the sentiments of her son, notwithstanding her averfeness to them at first ; and she in a short time brought over most of the ladies of *Sparta*, which was a thing of prodigious consequence, since they had always a mighty stroke in political affairs, and their husbands seldom took any step without their advice. On this occasion, as on many others, they shewed their great good sense and virtue ; for when they had thoroughly considered the matter, and perceived that though these new regulations would take away their finery and their trinkets, yet at the same time it would restore the credit of *Sparta*, and give her new lustre in the world ; they came into it unanimously, and endeavoured to engage their husbands to relish the proposal, which they found no difficult task to perform among the gross of the people, who, partly because they saw the power of the state decline, and partly from their natural fondness for revolutions, were eager to see the thing accomplished. But the few in whose hands the wealth of *Sparta* was centered grew very uneasy ; they applied themselves to *Leonidas*, telling him, that, as he was an older and wiser man than his colleague, he ought to interpose, and not suffer the constitution to be destroyed to gratify the ambition of a young man. For these possessors of money called that the constitution by which their usurious gains were to be preserved, and trembled at the name of *Lycurgus*, as runaway slaves are wont to do if they hear that of their master. *Leonidas* was afraid to meddle with the people, whom he saw evidently inclined to favour his colleague and the scheme which he had formed. He therefore applied to the principal magistrates whom he laboured to bring over to his opinion, that *Agis* intended to establish an independent power in his own person by inclining the people to his interests ; first by a remitting of debts, and then by an equal division of lands. The party he formed
by

by these suggestions was very considerable ; however, *Agis* persisted in his resolution ; and, when his friend *Lyfander* was chosen one of the *ephori*, actually presented his rhetra or decree to the senate ; the chief articles of which were these : *That every one should be free from his debts ; all the lands to be divided into equal portions ; those that lay betwixt the valley of Pellene and mount Taygetus as far as the cities of Mallea and Sellasia into four thousand five hundred lots, the remainder into fifteen thousand ; these last to be shared by some chosen out of the adjacent countries, men able and fit to bear arms ; the first among the natural Spartans, admitting also strangers to supply their number, such as were young, vigorous, well educated, and ingenious. All these were to be divided into fifteen companies, some of four hundred, some of two, with a diet and discipline agreeable to the laws of Lycurgus.* The matter being hotly debated in the senate, *Lyfander* began to doubt the event, and therefore, without staying to put the question, convoked a general assembly of the people ; in this assembly both the kings, the *ephori*, and other considerable persons were heard, and by long orations sought to shew the conveniency or inconveniency of the scheme, according as they were inclined or averse to it ; at last, however, it was rejected in the senate, though but by one voice, and from the time of that rejection the people in general attended on and paid their court to *Agis*, while the richer citizens, and those especially who had placed their money out at interest, applied themselves to *Leonidas*. *Lyfander*, however, contrived a method for removing him out of the way ; he caused an accusation to be preferred against him for the breach of two old laws, the one forbidding the kings of *Sparta* to marry a stranger, the other prohibiting travel to foreign countries. By the help of these accusations and practising a little on the superstitious temper of the people, he so terrified *Leonidas*, that he fled to the temple of *Minerva* for shelter. Upon this *Lyfander* stirred up *Cleombrotus*, who was of the royal house and who had married the daughter of *Leonidas*, to pretend to the kingdom, of which when *Leonidas* had notice, he withdrew, taking his daughter with him, who chose rather to fly with her father, than to reign with her husband ⁹.

Cleombrotus, being raised to the regal dignity, concurred with *Agis* in all his designs ; but the next year the *ephori* being chosen out of the opposite faction, they cited *Lyfander* and his friends to appear before them, and answer for what they had done during their administration ; they in this dis-

Cleombrotus succeeds Leonidas on his accession.

⁹ PLUT. ubi supra.

tress had instantly recourse to the kings, beseeching them to protect those who were threatened for having performed their command; *Lyfander* at the same time suggested, that the *ephori* were created only to take care of the state in case any difference happened between the kings; but that while they agreed, these magistrates had no right to call in question any acts they thought fit to authorize. *Agis* and *Cleombrotus* being persuaded of this resolved to make *Lyfander* and his friends easy immediately; they therefore went directly to the place where the *ephori* were sitting, removed them from their seats, and placed others in their room, the first of these being *Agefilaus*. Such a transaction as this could not well happen without a tumult, but, through the great care and steady integrity of *Agis* no blood was spilt, nor did any ill accident happen. *Agefilaus* indeed had projected the murder of *Leonidas* as he was on the road to *Tegæa*; but king *Agis* having notice of it sent a considerable number of his own friends to escort him; things being in this situation the kings would have proceeded both to the cancelling of debts and to the equal division of lands, had not *Agefilaus* prevented it, by pretending that it would not be safe to attempt both at one time; but that first the debts should be cancelled, and then that monied men would more readily come into a division of lands; this he said, because he had himself a good estate, but was greatly in debt; wherefore he sought to rid himself of the importunities of his creditors without parting with any of his possessions. The kings, and even *Lyfander*, were deceived by his specious pretences, so that they came readily into his schemes, causing all obligations to be brought in and burnt immediately, but referring the division of lands to a further opportunity, which greatly displeased the people. *Agis* quickly perceived this, and therefore he sought to repair his error by immediately dividing the estates; but *Agefilaus* still found means to put it off, under one pretence or other, till *Agis* was obliged to go with a body of *Spartan* troops to the assistance of the *Achæans*. In his absence he lost all bounds of modesty, and acted so tyrannically, that by the time *Agis* returned a conspiracy was formed for restoring *Leonidas*, which was accordingly effected; and upon this *Agis* fled to the temple of *Minerva*, and *Cleombrotus* to that of *Neptune*. *Leonidas* shewed more resentment against his son-in-law than against *Agis*, he went to his sanctuary, and reproached him with his ingratitude and want of duty, and threatened him with death; but his daughter *Chelonis*, interceding and holding the two children she had in her arms, prevailed so far as to have his sentence changed into that of perpetual banishment;

ment; in which she accompanied him, notwithstanding all the intreaties of her father; which extraordinary transaction hath drawn this reflection from *Plutarch*, that *Cleombrotus* was happier in being banished with such a wife, than he could be in the possession of a kingdom without her^r (T).

Leonidas, once resettled on the throne, began to contrive all the methods possible for drawing *Agis* out of his sanctuary; but all his attempts failed, at last he corrupted some of the king's friends, who were wont to visit him daily to condole with him, and after a time to carry him to the baths and guard him back again. The names of these persons, for it is but just that they should be always recorded, were *Amphares*, *Demochares*, and *Archefilaus*. The first of these had borrowed abundance of rich goods and plate from the mother of king *Agis*; he therefore conceived, if that prince was taken off, he should acquire the possession of them; the other

restored to the kingdom, and Cleombrotus banished.

^r PLUT. ubi supra.

(T) The character of *Chelonis* the wife of *Cleombrotus* is one of the most noble and most laudable in the *Spartan* history; we cannot therefore be blamed for inserting her speech to her father, which she pronounced in a mourning habit and in a suppliant posture, thus: "This mourning vest, these dejected looks, and all those other tokens of unutterable woe, which cannot be concealed, are not worn for the sake of *Cleombrotus*, but were put on to condole with you in your banishment; and now you are restored to your country and to your kingdom, must I still remain in grief and misery? Or would you have me attired in my festival ornaments, that I may rejoice with you, when you have killed within my arms the man to whom you gave me for a wife? Either *Cleombrotus* must appease you by mine and my children's tears, or he must suffer a punishment greater than his faults have deserved: He shall infallibly see me die before him, whom he so tenderly loves. To what end should I live, or how shall I appear among the *Spartan* ladies, when it shall so manifestly be seen that I have not been able to move compassion, either in my husband for the sake of my father, or in my father for the sake of my husband? I was born, it seems, to be dishonoured and disgraced both as a wife and a daughter, in that relation which is nearest to me in each capacity. As for *Cleombrotus*, I sufficiently disowned his cause, when I forsook him to follow you; but now you yourself will justify his proceedings, by shewing to the world that for the sake of a kingdom it is just to kill a son-in-law, and be regardless of a daughter" (70).

(70) *Plut. in vita Agid.*

two were bribed by *Leonidas*; these men therefore took an opportunity, when king *Agis* was returning from the baths, and relied entirely on their protection, to seize him; *Amphares* caught him by the arm, *Demochares*, being a strong man, threw a cloak over his head and muffled him up; then their associates coming in to their assistance, they dragged their sovereign away to the common prison, where the new *ephorî*, constituted by *Leonidas*, sat ready to judge him. To give the greater colour of justice to their proceedings, some senators were by, but they took care that they should be such as were of their party. As soon as the king came in, they asked him how he durst attempt to alter the government? At which he smiled without affording them an answer, which provoked one of the *ephorî* to tell him, *That he ought rather to weep, for they would now make him sensible of his presumption.* Another asked him, *Whether he was not constrained to do what he did by Agesilaus and Lysander?* To which the king with a composed countenance answered, *I was constrained by no man, the design was mine, and my intent was to have restored the laws of Lycurgus, and to have governed by them.* But do you not now, said one of his judges, *repent of your rashness?* No, replied the king, *though I see my death is inevitable, I can never repent of so just and honourable an intention.* The *ephorî* then ordered him to be haled away and strangled. The officers of justice refused to obey, and even the mercenary soldiers declined so unworthy an action; whereupon *Demochares*, reviling them for cowards, forced the king into the room where the execution was to be performed. *Agis* about to die, perceiving one of the serjeants bitterly bewailing his misfortune, *Weep not, friend, for me,* said he, *who die innocently; but grieve for those who are guilty of this wicked act; my condition is much better than theirs.* Then stretching out his neck, he submitted to death with a constancy worthy both of the royal dignity and his own great character. Immediately after *Agis* was dead, *Amphares* went out of the prison gate, where he found *Agesistrata*, who casting herself at his feet, he gently raised her up, pretending still the same friendship as formerly. He assured her she need not fear any further violence should be offered against her son; and that, if she pleased, she might go in and see him; she begged her mother might also have the favour of being admitted, and he replied no body should hinder it. When they were entered, he commanded the gate should again be locked, and the grandmother to be first introduced; she was now grown very old, and had lived all her days with great reputation of wisdom and virtue. As soon as *Amphares* thought she was dispatched,

patched, he told *Agefistrata* she might now go in if she pleased; she entered, where beholding her son's body stretched on the ground, and her mother hanging by the neck, she stood at first astonished at so horrid a spectacle; but after a while recollecting her spirits, the first thing she did was to assist the soldiers in taking down the body; then covering it decently, she laid it by her son's, where embracing and kissing his cheeks; *O my son*, said she, *it is thy too great mercy and goodness which has brought thee and us to this untimely end.* *Amphares*, who stood watching behind the door, hearing this, rushed in hastily, and, with a furious tone and countenance, said to her, *Since you approve so well of your sons's actions, it is fit you should partake in his reward.* She, rising up to meet her destiny, only uttered these few words; *I pray the gods that all this may redound to the good of Sparta*^r. *Archidamus* the brother of *Agis* saved himself by flight, but was constrained to leave his wife, who had just lain in, behind him; her, because she was the heiress of a great estate, *Leonidas* compelled by force to marry his own son *Cleomenes*; to this the young lady was very averse, yet in the end she was forced to comply. *Cleomenes* behaved towards her with so much tenderness and humanity, that she became quickly reconciled to her marriage, but continued to hate her father-in-law for all that. *Cleomenes* was too young to consummate the marriage as yet, but having an extreme tenderness for his wife, he would often beg her to relate to him the story of *Agis's* murder, at which he wept, and by degrees began privately to follow his example; yet he followed it according to his own disposition, which was by far more bold and violent than that of *Agis*. He was constrained, however, to bridle his desires till after the death of his father, he well knowing, that both the king and the nobles were too much dissolved in luxury and ease ever to incline to, or so much as bear with, the execution of his design.

ON the death of *Leonidas*, *Cleomenes* mounted the Spartan throne alone, and in the very beginning of his reign found himself obliged to exert both his conduct and his courage. *Aratus* at the head of the *Achæans* had formed a grand project of uniting all the *Peloponnesians* into that league; the youth of *Cleomenes* seemed to furnish him with an opportunity of trying the disposition of the *Spartans*, which he neglected not, but suddenly invaded the *Arcadians* their neighbours and their friends, who lived in a manner under their protection^s. The *ephori* upon this ordered *Cleomenes* to seize on a pass into

Cleomenes succeeds Leonidas.
Year of the Flood 2763.
Before Christ 236.

^r P^{er} τ. in vita Agid.

^s P^{er} τ. in vita Arati.

Laconia, which was then in the hands of the allies of the *Achæans*, which he performed, and afterwards disappointed *Aratus* in a scheme he had formed for seizing *Tegæa* and *Orchomenium*; upon which the young king sent a message full of sneer to *Aratus*: the old statesman deriding his youth asked *Democritus*, a *Spartan* exile who lived with him, *What sort of a person this Cleomenes was?* *Why*, my friend, replied the *Spartan*, *I will answer you in few words; if you have any thing to do against the Lacedemonians, let me advise you to begin before this young eagle's talons are grown.* In the subsequent course of the war, *Aratus* by his great skill obtained some advantages over the *Spartans*; but *Cleomenes* gave therein such shining instances of his courage and military virtues, that this great captain grew himself apprehensive, and the people of *Sparta* seemed to take new spirit from their king. The *ephori*, however, were for putting an end to the war, because they did not care to run any hazard, and because they were not a little afraid of success, which they knew would raise not only the power, but the credit of *Cleomenes*, which they dreaded more than that of their enemies. The king, who was a man of great penetration, saw clearly, that without reducing the power of the *ephori*, he should have nothing more left him than the title of king, with this farther mortification, that he should see the power of *Sparta* sink daily, without being able to hinder it. In this perplexity he took a bold resolution of ridding himself of the *ephori* at once; this he communicated to some of his friends, who agreed to assist him in it from the same generous desire of restoring the glory of their country^c. The first step that was taken in this business was the recalling of *Archidamus* the brother of *Agis*, who on his approach to *Sparta* was murdered by his brother's enemies, not without some suspicion that *Cleomenes* consented thereto; but this seems to agree little with his character, and *Plutarch*, who reports this suggestion, owns, if there was any truth in it, he was forced thereto^d. When it appeared a point out of dispute, that without an army a revolution could not be effected, he by money prevailed on the *ephori* to engage in a war, and to give him the command. His mother *Cratesiclea*, a woman of great spirit, perceiving the difficulties her son had to struggle with, married again, that she might fix a nobleman of great interest to his party, and at the same time engaged to give up her own fortune, persuading her husband also to come to the same

^c PLUT. in vit. Cleom.^d Id. ibid. POLYB. l. v.

terms,

terms, whenever a division of goods and of lands should be made. *Cleomenes*, carrying such as he suspected most into the field with him, did many things there worthy of a *Spartan* prince ; but withal he took care so to harass his army with quick and almost continual marches, that many desired to be left behind in *Arcadia* ; with the rest he advanced slowly towards *Lacedemon*. When he drew near the place, he sent a small party headed by some of his confidants, who surprised the *ephori* at supper, killed four of them upon the spot, and had killed the fifth if he had not counterfeited himself dead, and thereby gained an opportunity of retiring, wounded as he was, to a temple, from whence he came forth next day without being injured. On the morrow *Cleomenes* came into the forum, ordered all the chairs of the *ephori* to be removed, except one which he reserved for himself, then he made a most artful apology to the people for what he had done (U) ; he shewed them the necessity of restoring the *Lycurgic* institutions,

(U) It is from *Plutarch* that we learn the purport of the king's speech on this occasion, which it is necessary for us to report here, not only as it nearly concerns the present thread of our history, but because we have referred ourselves to it elsewhere, as containing several curious particulars relating to the *Spartan* policy. *Cleomenes* then in this harangue alledged, “ That the government, as it was framed by *Lycurgus*, was composed of the kings and the senate ; and “ that that model of government had continued a long time, and “ needed no other sort of magistrates to give it perfection. But “ afterwards in the long war with the *Messenians*, when the kings “ being to command the armies had no time to attend civil causes, “ they chose some of their friends, and left them to determine the “ suits of the citizens in their stead. These were called *ephori*, “ and at first behaved themselves as servants to the kings, but afterwards by degrees they appropriated the power to themselves, “ and erected a distinct sort of magistracy. An evidence of the “ truth of this may be taken from the usual behaviour of the kings, “ who upon the first and second message of the *ephori* refuse to go, “ but upon the third readily attend them : And *Asteropus*, the “ first that raised the *ephori* to that height of power, was not *ephorus* till many years after their institution ; therefore, whilst they “ modestly contained themselves within their own proper sphere, “ it was better to bear with them than to make a disturbance. But “ that an upstart introduced power should so far destroy the old “ model of government, as to banish some kings, murder others, “ without hearing their defence, and threaten those who desired to “ see the best and most divine constitution restored in *Sparta*, was “ unsufferable. Therefore if it had been possible for him without “ blood-shed to have freed *Lacedemon* from those foreign plagues,
“ luxury,

institutions, and assured them, that though the situation of things had obliged him to make use of violence in effecting this resolution, yet for the future he would pay a strict regard to the laws, though for his own safety he proscribed at this time fourscore citizens. He was the first who delivered up his whole substance to the public stock, wherein he was followed by his father-in-law and other friends. In assigning the lands, he gave shares to all whom he had banished, promising to recall them as soon as was consistent with the public safety; immediately after he restored the old *Laconic* way of educating youth, of eating in public, and of doing their exercises together; he also raised a considerable body of troops, and disciplined, and armed them in a new manner; to shew his dislike to tyranny, and to remove any umbrage that his citizens might take at his doing all these things by his own authority, he associated his brother *Euclidas* in the kingdom, declaring, that for the future there should be always two kings at *Sparta*, as there were in times past, and that he would not erect a monarchy in order to transmit it to his posterity; which declaration of his was extremely grateful to the people. But that which of all others served to establish most the power and the character of *Cleomenes*, was the course of his own life, which was in nothing more stately or more expensive than that of the meanest citizen. There were in his house no

“luxury, vanity, debts, and usury; and from those more antient
 “evils, poverty and riches, he should have thought himself the
 “happiest king in the world; having, like an expert physician,
 “cured the diseases of his country without pain. But now in this
 “necessity, *Lycurgus*’s example favoured his proceedings; who
 “being neither king nor magistrate, but a private man, and aiming
 “at the kingdom, came armed into the market-place, inso-
 “much, that king *Charilaus* fled for fear to the altar: But he, being
 “a good man and a lover of his country, readily consented to
 “*Lycurgus*’s project, and admitted an alteration in the state. Thus
 “by his own actions *Lycurgus* shewed, that it was difficult to correct
 “the government without force and fear; in using which, he
 “said he would be so moderate as never to desire their assistance,
 “but either to terrify or ruin the enemies of *Sparta*’s happiness
 “and safety. He commanded that all the land should be left in
 “common, and private claims laid aside: That debtors should be
 “discharged of their debts, and a strict search be made who were
 “foreigners, and who not. That the true *Spartans* recovering
 “their courage might defend the city with their arms; and that
 “they might no longer see *Laconia*, for want of a sufficient number
 “to secure it, walled by the *Ætolians* (70).”

(70) *Plutarch in vit. Cleom.*

purple

purple furnitures, no canopies or cloths of state, no superb chairs or couches for indulging ease, but a plain king, and every thing plain about him : When any offered petitions, he stepped forward to receive them, talked graciously to every body, redressed all the injuries that were done by others, and did none himself ; yet had his virtue nothing in it of austerity or affectation ; he was naturally of a pleasant temper, which he indulged. When strangers dined with him he had plenty of wine, which was set down in a brass vessel, with silver cups near it, according to the number of the guests, every man being permitted to drink what he pleased, being neither desired nor forced to drink more ; being informed that *Aratus* and the *Achæans* were preparing to give him some disturbance, from an apprehension that after these alterations he durst not leave the city, he immediately marched with a body of troops into their territories, and cut them out work enough at home. In the course of the war, he gained such advantages over *Aratus*, as made that great statesman and captain decline being chosen captain general of the *Achæans* next year as he was wont ; yet did not *Cleomenes* make any ill use of his victories, or attempt to oppress the cities which fell into his power, but restored them to their liberty, and, where they had been expelled, recalled their antient inhabitants. The *Achæans* were so much frightened with this unexpected run of ill success, that they were ready to listen to any terms which *Cleomenes* should think fit to offer. That generous victor declared, that he sought nothing more than to be acknowledged general of the *Greeks*, and that he was ready to deliver up the prisoners without ransom, and to restore the cities he had taken. *Lerna* was appointed for the place of treaty, the *Achæans* being willing to accept of the king's terms ; but *Cleomenes* marching thither swiftly heated himself very much by the way, and, drinking in the midst of his heat a draught of cold water, threw himself into a fever, which was attended with the loss of his speech ; he ordered, however, the principal captives of the *Achæans* to be set at liberty, and put off the meeting to another time and place. This accident ruined him and *Greece* ; for *Aratus*, who till this time had approved himself a most worthy *Grecian* commander, now suffered envy, jealousy and self-conceit, to triumph over his virtue and his love for his country ; and he, who in his youth had expelled the *Macedonians* out of *Peloponnesus* merely from the love of freedom, now privately recalled them, fearing that *Cleomenes*, the most worthy of the *Spartan* kings, should be raised to that
dignity

dignity which he so highly deserved *. When *Cleomenes* was recovered, he advanced towards *Argos*, where the *Achæans* held their assembly ; but when he drew near, *Aratus* caused deputies to be sent him, to inform him, that he must either enter the city alone, or be content to treat without the place ; to which *Cleomenes* answered, that he was unjustly dealt with, for they ought to have told him so plainly at first, and not now, when he was come to their very doors, shew their jealousy, and deny him admission. Not long after he declared war, and began to act offensively. Upon this the whole league of the *Achæans* was put into a ferment, most of the towns being ready to revolt and break the union ; because on the one side the people had been made to hope for a division of the lands, and a discharge of their debts ; and on the other the nobility grew weary of *Aratus's* power, and were almost all of them provoked against him for having called the *Macedonians* into *Peloponnesus*. Encouraged by these misunderstandings, *Cleomenes* invaded *Achæa*, where he first took *Pelene* by surprize and beat out the *Achæan* garison ; afterwards he made himself master of *Phenæon* and *Penteleon*. Not long after he surprized *Argos*, and in a very small space of time raised himself to greater power than any of his predecessors, and his city to greater pre-eminence than she had ever held in *Greece*. In this space he would very gladly have treated with *Aratus*, offering him any terms to have engaged his friendship ; but he was immoveable in his resolution of destroying the *Spartan* greatness ; with this view he procured the castle of *Corinth*, which was the key of *Peloponnesus*, to be delivered up to *Antigonus*, who suddenly came to his assistance with an army of twenty eight thousand foot and twelve hundred horse. *Cleomenes* though he was much inferior to the enemy, yet defended the far greater part of *Peloponnesus* till *Argos* was betrayed ; even there he did great things, and, when over-powered by numbers he could do no more, made a most glorious retreat. At this time he received from *Sparta* the news of his wife's death, at which he was exceedingly grieved ; for though the *Spartans* were remarkable for being fond husbands, yet *Cleomenes* was distinguished for his fondness even among them. He bore his grief, however, like a hero, and like a king ; he went to his house, indulged his sorrow with his mother and other relations, and then returning to the camp resumed his functions of a monarch and a general, without suffering his private concerns to interfere

* PLUT. in vit. Arat. POLYB. lib. ii.

with public affairs. *Ptolemy* at this time offered him his friendship in case he would send him his mother and his son as hostages. This demand troubled *Cleomenes*; he went often to break the matter to his parent, but was unable to do it; at last, when it broke out, *Cratesiclea* burst out a laughing; *Well*, said she, *was it this you were afraid of telling? Why do you not put me on shipboard, and send this carcass where it may be serviceable to Sparta, before age wastes it unprofitably here?* When she was going on board, she withdrew her son into the temple of *Neptune*, where, having wept and embraced each other, *Come king of Sparta*, said she, *let us dry our tears, that no signs of grief may appear when we go out, nor any token of weakness appear unworthy your dignity or the honour of our country, since our actions are all that are in our power, and events belong wholly to providence.* She wrote afterwards to him from *Egypt*: *King of Sparta, do what is worthy of your country and may redound to its profit; nor, for the sake of an old woman and a little child, stand in fear of what Ptolemy may do.* *Cleomenes* acted in this unequal war with all the conduct and valour that could be expected in the most excellent captain among the *Greeks* ¹. He had to do with a numerous army composed of veterans, well armed, well disciplined, and well paid; his own troops were most of them new raised, many of them half armed, and nothing but what he could get to subsist them with. Yet he kept the war out of *Laconia*, took the city of *Megalopolis*, which was bigger than *Sparta*, in the midst of king *Antigonus's* armies, and when he had taken it generously offered to restore it untouched to its citizens, but they rejecting his offer, he abandoned it to the plunder of his soldiers ². After this he harrassed the territory of *Argos*, raising mighty contributions, though *Antigonus* and the *Macedonian* forces were in that very city. This even in his own time was stiled rashness, arrogance, and a vain-glorious shew of short-lived success; and it is owing to *Polybius*, that posterity considers it in a different light; for he tells us, that though the generality believed *Cleomenes* to have acted from a desperate temerity, yet men of the best discernment and understanding agreed, that he behaved with great prudence and judgment. The true state of the case is this; *Cleomenes* saw, that though at present he could make head against his enemies, yet in a short time he should be destroyed without fighting; he there-

¹ PLUT. ubi supra, & in vit. Arati. POLYB. ubi supra. ² PLUT. in vit. Arat. & Philopœm.

fore fought to provoke *Antigonus* to fight, where his choice of ground might give him an advantage; and here again *Antigonus* gave a strong testimony of his consummate skill in military affairs; for notwithstanding the murmurs of his own troops, the outcries of the *Greeks*, and the insults of *Cleomenes*, he kept himself where he was, and would not suffer either his own, or the passions of others, to push him upon a step which might be injurious to his fortune. But afterwards, when he had it in his power to fight, and *Cleomenes* by reason of his poverty could no longer decline it, he gave him battle at *Sellasia*, where, partly through the superiority of the *Macedonian* troops, partly through the treachery of *Damoteles*, the *Lacedemonians* were defeated with a vast slaughter of their mercenary troops, and with almost the utter destruction of their own; for of six thousand *Spartans* only two hundred escaped. In the beginning of the action *Cleomenes* had the better, at least in that part of the army where he commanded in person; but looking behind him, and seeing the other wing commanded by his brother surrounded, he cried out, *Thou art lost, dear brother, thou art lost; thou brave example to our Spartan youth, and theme of our matrons songs!* This misfortune of *Cleomenes* deserves the more to be pitied, since, if he could have avoided fighting but two days, he must have seen *Antigonus* constrained to abandon the *Achæans*; for within that space after the battle messengers arrived in his camp from *Macedonia*, which brought advice of such disorders there as forced him immediately to return^a. When the battle was over, *Cleomenes* retired to *Sparta*, where, however he knew it was impossible for him to stay, nor indeed did he rest there above a few hours; for, after having given a few directions, he went to his own house, where, without taking any refreshment, he leaned himself, in his armour as he was, against a pillar, and considering what he should do, he at length determined to retire to *Egypt*; which resolution he and his friends immediately put into execution, going directly to *Gythium*, there imbarqued on board a few ships, and passed over to *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who entertained him honourably while he lived; but his son growing suspicious of him confined him, which *Cleomenes* at length resenting, he with twelve friends forced the place where he was confined; but finding it afterwards impracticable to escape, they slew each other. *Ptolemy Philopater* in revenge of this caused the body

^a POLYB. lib. ii. PLUT. in vit. Cleomen. & Philop. JUSTIN. lib. xxviii. c. 4.

of *Cleomenes* to be exposed on a cross, butchered his mother, the rest of his family, and all her attendants. Miserable end of so great a man, who fought only to make his country free, and his countrymen virtuous ! In him ended the *Herculean* race of *Spartan* kings, if we except the short reign of *Ageſipolis* which we ſhall preſently mention (X).

AFTER

(X) In this note we ſhall vindicate our hiſtory of the reign of *Cleomenes*, which we confeſs to be very little conſiſtent with the account given us by *Polybius*, though we acknowledge that he is, generally ſpeaking, a moſt judicious and impartial writer, and had great opportunities of knowing the true ſtate of things at the time of which we are ſpeaking ; and yet we affirm, that he has not ſpoken of *Cleomenes* things exactly conformable to truth, whence we conceive we had a juſt right to differ from him, notwithstanding his great and eſtabliſhed reputation. Two things therefore we ſhall endeavour to demonſtrate in this note : *Fiſt*, That *Polybius*, hath injured the character of *Cleomenes* in his hiſtory ; and, *Secondly*, That the cauſes of his miſrepresentations may with probability, and even with certainty, be aſſigned. *Fiſt* then, *Polybius*, opening to his reader the cauſes of the *Cleomenic* war, writes thus : *When this war was kindled, and Cleomenes had ruined the republic of Lacedemon, and converted a lawful authority into tyrannic power, Aratus, who ſaw that this prince made war with no leſs conduct than valour, and being at the ſame time afraid of what might be attempted by the Ætolians, thought it neceſſary to counterwork their projects* (71). In this paſſage *Cleomenes* is roundly declared a tyrant, and undoubtedly he was ſo in the opinion of all the *Achæans* ; and the hiſtorians of thoſe times dealt ſo freely with his character, that the great *Livy* makes no ſcruple of calling him *Cleomenes* the fiſt tyrant of *Lacedemon* (72). *Pauſanias* is yet more outrageous : he ſays, that *Cleomenes*, following the example of the great *Pauſanias*, who gained the battle of *Platæa*, affected tyranny, and thereby diſguſted the *Lacedemonians* ſo much, that they hated the thought of kings ever after (73). Yet all theſe great men are moſt certainly in the wrong ; nay, *Polybius* and *Pauſanias* are ſo of their own ſhewing. For the fiſt every where admits, that *Cleomenes* was a prince of great wiſdom and mildneſs, as well as intrepidly valiant, and of a lofty ſpirit. The reaſon for which he ſtiles him a tyrant is, as appears from the foregoing paſſage, becauſe he altered that condition of the republic in which it ſtood when he aſcended the throne. It is confeſſed he did ſo, but that this could not denominate him a tyrant, we will prove from *Polybius* himſelf. In another part of his writings, deſcanting like a grave politician, as indeed he was, on the ruin of

(71) *Polyb. Hiſt. lib. iv.* (72) *Liv. lib. xxxiv.* (73) *Pauſan. in Corinthiacis.*

*The state of
Sparta af-
ter the
flight of
Cleome-
nes.*

AFTER the fatal battle of *Sellasia*, *Sparta* fell into the hands of king *Antigonus*, who, out of regard to the merit of

the *Spartan* state, he makes use of these words: “ *Lycurgus*, in providing by his laws for the harmony of his citizens, for the security of his polity, and the maintenance of liberty, hath done so well, that his institutes seem rather to be divine than human. An equality of possessions with a simple and inexpensive course of life, could not but render men honest and sociable in private life, and quiet and peaceable in public concerns; finally, continual exercise, and a readiness to undertake any kind of labour, could not fail of making them both valiant and indefatigable (74)”. He then shews, that their affecting conquest engaged them to depart from the laws of *Lycurgus*, and induced their ruin; and in the very place where he calls *Cleomenes* tyrant, he commiserates the *Lacedemonians*, for having from a state of perfect freedom sunk by degrees into that of abject slavery under *Nabis*, by a continual declension from the *Lycurgic* institutes. Now, if the slavery of the *Lacedemonians* and their ruin arose from their leaving the laws of *Lycurgus*, and if the laws of *Lycurgus* derived their chief excellence from their enjoining an equality of possessions, a simple frugal life, and continual exercise, how could *Cleomenes* be a tyrant for changing that declining condition, in which he found the *Spartan* republic, into that form, as near as might be, wherein *Lycurgus* left it? but perhaps it will be said he acted tyrannically in putting to death the ephori, and in effecting this alteration by force; yet if this be admitted, it will subvert all the *Greek* notions of liberty. The ephori were not established by *Lycurgus*, they had exceeded the limits of their office, they had destroyed the constitution by introducing the sale of lands, they had most impiously murdered *Agis* their natural sovereign, and, in one word, by keeping one of the thrones of *Sparta* vacant, which they did by force, they violated the fundamental laws of the state, and had, as *Polybius* phrases it, changed a legal authority into a most detestable tyranny, from which *Cleomenes* rescued his country, and restored it to its antient lustre and liberty by the only way it could be effected, that is by force. That *Cleomenes* was legally king of *Sparta*, *Polybius* himself owns; that the change he wrought did not make him a tyrant, we have proved, and consequently we have shewn, that *Livy* was in an error when he stiled him the first of the *Lacedemonian* tyrants. We will next shew the falshood of *Pausanias*’s account; he says, that *Cleomenes* affected the empire of *Greece*, and *Polybius* intimates the same thing, but they offer no facts to support it; and the contrary thereof is evident from the current of *Polybius*’s history. A tyrant is one who sacrifices public rights to his particular views, which *Cleomenes* had mighty opportunities of doing, and whenever he had them

(74) *Fragment. lib xiii.*

of their ancestors, treated the inhabitants with great kindness and indulgence; they in return for this behaved for a time very quietly, and, submitting to the present situation of things, acted in such a manner as might give least umbrage to *Aratus* and the *Achæans*, who were the king's friends; as long as *Cleomenes* lived, though an exile, and at last a prisoner in *Egypt*,

constantly rejected them. He brought his paternal estate into the public stock when he new-modelled *Sparta*; he restored all the cities he took to their ancient form of government, when he might have annexed them to his own dominions, and chose to have allies where he might have had subjects; with reason therefore have we concluded with *Plutarch*, that he did not affect the tyranny of *Greece*. As to the latter part of *Pausanias*'s censure, that the *Spartans* so hated the memory of *Cleomenes*, it is diametrically opposite to truth; for *Polybius* tells us, that after his flight into *Egypt* they remained without kings, because they tenderly loved *Cleomenes*, and ardently wished and expected his return. These are his very words, and he afterwards tells us, that as soon as they knew that *Cleomenes* was dead, they resolved to be no longer without kings. We come now to the second part of what we proposed, the causes of *Polybius*'s misrepresentations, and they were no other than those which have been and will be common in the world, as long as it is inhabited by men. *Polybius* lived in these times: He was by birth of the city of *Megalopolis* which *Cleomenes* destroyed; he was an *Achæan* statesman, a professed and zealous friend of *Aratus*, the capital enemy of this prince whom he so much decries. *Aratus* sought to bring all the *Peloponnesian* states into the *Achæan* league, and why? that they might be thereby safe against the *Macedonian* power; *Cleomenes* opposed this, because it was contrary to the interest of *Sparta*, which would have thereby become inconsiderable. *Aratus* endeavoured in a time of full peace to have executed his scheme by force, on a supposition, that *Cleomenes* being a young man might have been easily deposed. After all, when *Cleomenes* in his own defence had humbled the *Achæans*, he did not pretend to reduce them into subjection, but offered to join with them to support the liberty of *Greece* against the *Macedonian* kings; but *Aratus*, resolving to have all things his own way, called in these very *Macedonians*, delivered up to them *Acro-Corinth*, destroyed the *Lacedemonian* kingdom, induced the ruin of his own country, and was himself poisoned by *Philip* king of *Macedon*, whom he vainly called and imagined to be his pupil. *Polybius*, misled by *Aratus*'s notions, paints *Cleomenes* as a tyrant, though he took the only method to preserve *Greece* free, and *Greece* lost her freedom because he failed in his design; this has appeared since, and *Plutarch*, who was a true friend to liberty and virtue, living without the reach of prejudice, has done that justice to *Cleomenes* which *Polybius* denied him (75).

(75) *Hist. lib. iv. Plut. in vit. Cleom. Arati & Philopœm.*

the *Spartans* lived as well as they could under the government of the ephori and senate ; but as soon as the news came of his death, and they were once thoroughly ascertained it was true, new stirrs arose, in which *Adimas*, one of the ephori, endeavoured all he could to moderate the people ; and when his colleagues had summoned them to meet in arms, he had the courage to represent to them, how little their behaviour corresponded with their circumstances, and how unreasonable it was for them to involve themselves in their present unsettled condition in a new war with the *Macedonians*, who not long ago had vanquished them, and had ever since treated them well. The people of *Sparta*, like the people of most other cities, were inclined to listen to reason as soon as they began to understand it, which the rest of the ephori perceiving, they and their associates gathered about *Adimas* and stabbed him ; which once done, they did what they pleased. Soon after this *Philip* the son of *Antigonus* arrived with a great army on their frontiers, when the *Spartans* sent deputies to make their submission, which when the king had heard, he suffered them to withdraw, and caused the matter to be afterwards debated in council. Most of those who composed it, after representing the *Lacedemonians* as a turbulent and factious people, declared, that the king ought to treat them as heretofore *Alexander* had done the *Thebans*, that is, put their principal men to death, and humble the rest by a very severe chastisement. But the king, though but seventeen years old, differed from them ; he said, the sedition of the *Spartans* turned to their own hurt, that on his appearance they had offered to submit themselves and become his subjects ; and that to put their principal men to death, and mal-treat the rest, would be unworthy of a prince ; he therefore contented himself with telling the deputies, that he should have his eye upon the *Spartans* for the future, and therefore advised them to be quiet ; after which he dismissed them ^b.

Lycurgus
and Agefi-
polis elect-
ed kings.

THE *Ætolians*, making new disturbances in *Greece*, were very desirous to engage the *Lacedemonians* in their interest ; to this end they sent *Machates* ambassador to *Sparta* ; he endeavoured to persuade the ephori to chuse two kings, and to unite themselves strictly with the *Ætolians* ; but those magistrates, liking neither of his propositions, procured them both to be rejected by the people, notwithstanding that a strong party had declared themselves for *Machates*. This party after his departure found means to stir up the people so effectually against the ephori, that at a solemn festival they murdered

^b POLYB. lib. iv. PLUT. in vit. Arat.

them at the temple of *Pallas*, and elected others, whom they directed to elect kings. In consequence of this, they chose first *Ageſipolis* a boy, the grandson of *Cleombrotus* whom *Leonidas* banished, and appointed *Cleomenes*, the son of *Cleombrotus* and the child's uncle, his tutor. For the other king they ſet up *Lycurgus*, a man, no way allied to the royal family, or at leaſt never conceived to be allied to it, till by giving a talent a piece to the ephori, they declared him of the *Herculean* race and the lawful king of *Sparta*. He after ſome time drove *Ageſipolis* into baniſhment, and involved his country in ſeveral wars, which he waged with various ſucceſs. At laſt *Chilo* conſpired againſt him ; this man conceived he had ſome right to the *Spartan* throne, and having engaged about two hundred perſons to abet his ſcheme, he fell upon the ephori ſuddenly and murdered them ; after which he ſurrounded the houſe of *Lycurgus*, who, by the fidelity of ſome of his ſervants, made his eſcape. *Chilo*, perceiving that the people little affected him, fled out of *Laconia*, and retired to the *Macedonians* whom he endeavoured to irritate againſt his country. When things were a little ſettled, *Lycurgus* was recalled, and reigned in *Sparta* many years. When king *Philip* came into *Peloponneſus* for the ſecond time, and began to tranſact things there, not only without advice, but contrary to the opinion, of *Aratus*, *Lycurgus* and the *Lacedemonians* began to take heart, and to think once more of contending with the power of *Macedon*, notwithſtanding all the miſchiefs they had ſuſtained ; neither were they frightened from this purpoſe, when they were informed, that the king was become friends again with *Aratus* and his ſon ; wherefore, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year permitted, they invaded *Meſſenia*, which immediately drew *Philip* that way, upon which *Lycurgus* retired, that he might put his country into a condition to ſuſtain the invaſion, which he plainly perceived was intended, though king *Philip* took all the precautions poſſible to hinder his deſign from being penetrated^c. He advanced with his army as far as *Amyclæ*, from whence he ſpoiled all the country round about : In the mean time the *Meſſenians* invaded *Laconia* on the other ſide, reſolving to march through it and join the *Macedonians* ; but while their commander, who greatly contemned the *Spartans* in their preſent diſtreſſed condition, encamped careleſſly and without throwing up any intrenchments, *Lycurgus* ſuddenly attacked them with ſuch ſucceſs, that he took the greateſt part of their horſes and baggage, and returned with much

^c POLYB. Hiſt. lib. iv. PLUT. in vit. Arati.

honour to *Sparta*. As soon as he returned, he made the necessary dispositions for the defence of the city. In the first place, he recovered the posts which the *Macedonians* had seized on the mountains, and then causing the waters of the *Eurotas* to be dammed up, he provided a means of laying all the country between the river and the mountains under water ; so that the *Macedonians*, not being able to march that way, would be obliged to coast the foot of the mountains, and thereby expose their rear to the insults of *Lycurgus* and his *Lacedemonians*. *Philip* perceiving this, resolved first of all to dispossess *Lycurgus* of his posts in the mountains, which, at the head of a choice body of troops, he with much ado performed ; however, he retired with his forces at last into the city, which he preserved from any insult ; and thus this great king of *Macedon*, after having plundered and ravaged *Laconia*, was obliged to retire, his own camp being full of sedition, and his soldiers more inclined to mutiny than fighting. Some short time after this, the *ephor*i, having, or pretending to have, information, that *Lycurgus* intended to make himself absolute, they attempted to surprize and murder him in his house ; but he, having previous notice of their design, withdrew into *Ætolia*, and the iniquity of the *ephor*i being clearly discovered by the people, he was shortly after recalled. What he did after this we know not, nor how long he held the kingdom ; whether he died in peace, or by the sword, in possession of the regal authority, or not ; neither can we say what steps were taken by the *Spartans* when they lost this king of their own election : If we take him for the last of their princes, or if according to others, we look upon *Cleomenes* in that light, either way we shall see the oracle concerning a lame reign fulfilled ; but perhaps it will be better to interpret this prophecy generally of all single reigns, which, according to the constitution of *Sparta*, could not but be lame, and under them all the people were most notoriously unhappy, falling continually from bad to worse, every succeeding tyrant excelling in wickedness his predecessor.

Machanidas assumes the tyranny. Year of the Flood 2792. Year before Christ 207.



Machanidas was the successor of *Lycurgus*, but when he attained the sovereignty is very uncertain ; the year in which we find him first mentioned, we have placed in the margin ; by what colour he held his dignity appears not, but that he was a person of great abilities is certain. At home he ejected the *ephor*i, as not caring to have any either equal or greater than himself in *Sparta* ; abroad he made all *Peloponnesus* tremble, which in all probability he would have subdued and brought under his own power, if *Philopæmen* the chief of the *Achæans* had

had not opposed him ^d. He engaged all the cities in that league to furnish troops for reducing the power of *Machanidas* within bounds, which, as he plainly shewed, if not timely undertaken, would be a thing beyond their abilities. When he had drawn together this army, after exercising them for some time in slight skirmishes, he marched towards *Mantinæa*, in order of battle. Thither also came *Machanidas* at the head of a very powerful army, composed not only of *Spartans*, but of mercenaries; an engagement quickly followed which was very obstinate, in which at first *Machanidas* had the better; but he pursuing this advantage too far, *Philopæmen* attacked him in the rear; however, the *Lacedemonians* fought desperately for a time, expecting that *Machanidas* would come to their relief, which accordingly he did; but *Philopæmen* foreseeing that he would take the shortest way, and knowing that there was a ditch there of which *Machanidas* was ignorant, he left *Polybius* the *Megalopolitan* to push the enemy that were still fighting, and with a small party of horse advanced to the ditch to meet *Machanidas*, whom he presently distinguished by his purple robe. The tyrant, who with two or three friends had out-rode the rest of his troops, seeing that *Philopæmen* and his company were but few, resolved to pass the ditch; in order to this he pushed his horse directly against *Philopæmen*, who turning side-ways from him, as if he meant to avoid him, brought the point of his spear to bear directly against his breast as his horse leaped, so that, just as he passed the ditch, *Machanidas* fell down dead; this put an end to the battle, for as soon as his death was known his army fled: The *Achæans* wasted all the provinces which had been subject to him, the *Spartans*, who lost four thousand men in this engagement, having neither spirits nor strength to oppose them ^e.

NOT long after the death of *Machanidas*, we find *Sparta* under a new and yet severer bondage under one *Nabis*, who is reported to have exceeded all tyrants, and to have left the epithets of gracious and merciful to *Phalaris* and *Dionysius* on a comparison of their actions with his. Other evil princes had their peculiar vices, and perhaps many ways of plaguing and punishing their subjects; but *Nabis* had not only all, but invented and practised such acts of cruelty as were never heard of before, and have sunk into oblivion since. To all who were honest, brave, or noble, he was an open enemy, such as he could lay his hands on he murdered, such as were not immediately in his power he banished: But did he stop there?

Nabis succeeds Machanidas.
Year of the Flood, 2803.
Before Christ, 196.

^d POLYB. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Philo. ^e PLUTARCH in vit. Philopæmen. POLYB. Fragment. lib. vii.

no. He sent some of his *Cretan* assassins after them wherever they retired, who watched them so narrowly, that in the field, or at their tables, or in their beds, they found an opportunity to slay them. At home he reigned with a dissimulation, which some called wisdom. He kept up the state of a prince, he wore purple, was attended by guards, performed the functions of a first magistrate, kept an equal countenance, made use of smooth speeches, entertained numbers of spies and sycophants, and struck such a terror into all who were not so, that they durst not express their thoughts or their fears. *Polybius* tells us, that he had a painted image which resembled his wife, and this being clad in royal robes he introduced, when he fancied it impracticable to wheedle any *Lacedemonian* out of his money; and such was the art with which this image was contrived, that, by touching certain secret springs, it caught any who were near it in its arms, and forced them to say any thing the tyrant pleased^f. The distressed and dejected state of all *Greece* which was now mightily divided, weak in its councils, and weaker still in the execution of them, and with all this mightily over-awed by the power of the *Macedonian* kings, and the *Roman* republic, gave vast opportunities to the tyrant to increase his dominions, and to exalt his power. He in the midst of these confusions seized, under pretence of assisting some of the exiled citizens, on *Argos*, into which he put a garison under the command of *Pythagoras* his son-in-law, a man of great abilities, and who was indeed the support of his tyranny. The *Achæans* immediately applied to the *Romans*, for they began to be affrighted themselves at the apprehensions of the tyrant's growing power. *Titus Quintius* the *Roman* general arriving in *Greece*, they quickly made him sensible of the mischiefs that would follow, if *Nabis* was permitted to go on; for, not contented with holding the prime part of *Peloponnesus* under his sway, he began to be ambitious of the empire of the sea, and to project such schemes as threatened disturbance even to the *Romans* themselves. *Quintius* marched immediately into the neighbourhood of *Argos*, and had some thoughts of attacking the city, where on his approach a rising was attempted, which issued in the destruction of those who were desirous to be free. After this he marched towards *Lacedemon* itself, at which *Nabis* was exceedingly troubled; he ordered, however, a general assembly of the people to be held without the city, whither as soon as they were come, he surrounded them with his troops; then he made a short speech, intimating the mighty danger they were in; for it is the mode of all tyrants to call themselves and their private concerns the interest of

^f Id Fragm. lib., xiii.

their country ; he then magnified the great pains he had taken in securing all the posts and avenues of *Sparta*, and concluded, that since without speaking he had done so much for their service, they ought not now he did speak to grudge doing somewhat for him, the rather, because what he sought concerned likewise their own safety ; some there were amongst them, he said, who had given him just cause to suspect their conduct, these therefore he was determined to seize and imprison, till, the present danger being over, he might, which he greatly wished, restore them again to liberty consistent with his own and the public safety : Having made this goodly harangue, he caused fourscore persons of worth and honour to be arrested, the unarmed multitude looking on with amazement, and that same night he caused them all to be murdered in prison ; a little afterwards, growing jealous of the *Helotes*, he seized a great number of them, caused them to be scourged in the streets, till the kennels were discoloured with their blood, and then put them to death without mercy. After all, finding the *Romans* about to besiege him, he resolved to attempt a treaty, knowing that king *Antiochus* was meditating new stirs, and from thence concluded, that *Quintius* would be glad to come to some agreement with him. His hopes were not ill grounded, that great man, having nothing so much in view as the interest of *Rome*, readily agreed to meet him and hear his proposals : *Nabis* at this interview made a long and well-composed oration, to which *Quintius* made him but an indifferent return, yet promised to send him certain articles in writing ; and thus this conference ended. The allies laboured hard to engage *Quintius* not to treat any more ; king *Eumenes*, who was in his camp, affirmed, that it was to no purpose, for that the tyrant would think no longer of peace than war was near him ; *Agessipolis* king of *Sparta*, who with many other illustrious exiles waited on *Quintius*, insisted, that it would be unworthy of the *Roman* name to enter into treaty with so execrable a person ; the *Achæans* were of the same sentiments, yet *Quintius* remained firm to his own ; he saw clearly that they regarded their own interests, and thence he inferred, that he ought to mind none but those of *Rome* ; acting therefore on this motive, he sent *Nabis*, as he had promised, an account of the terms whereon he would grant him peace, and those terms were these : That he should withdraw all his garisons from *Argos* and its territories : That he should deliver up all the ships of war he had taken, and of all his fleet should retain no more than two galliots : That he should deliver up such as had fled to him from the *Roman* allies, and make restitution to the *Mellianians* for

plundering their territories : That he should restore to the *Lacedemonian* exiles their wives and children : That he should build neither castle nor city in his own territories, nor in those of his neighbours : That he should give five such hostages as the general would chuse, and among them his own son : That he should pay down a hundred talents, and that he should continue paying fifty talents a year for eight years together. *Nabis* disliked these conditions, and found means to make all the *Lacedemonians* dislike them, so that they determined to make an obstinate defence ; *Quintius*, perceiving nothing was to be done but by force, and having with him an army of fifty thousand men, resolved to attack the place, which accordingly he did several times, but was as often repulsed. At last he penetrated into the city, and his soldiers, beginning to take post in the first long street, *Nabis* thought of nothing but making his escape ; yet *Pythagoras* delivered him from this danger, by setting the street on fire at each end, and engaging the *Lacedemonians*, who were yet fighting in front, to supply the rising flames with fuel. The *Roman* soldiers were forced again to withdraw, but *Nabis* was so thoroughly frightened, that with much ado he procured peace on the terms before specified, which was hardly concluded before advice came, that the *Argives* had delivered themselves by expelling his garisons. When *Nabis* was free from the neighbourhood of the *Roman* army, he began to cast about in his mind how he might extricate himself from the mischiefs he laboured under ; for he could not bear the thoughts of losing at once those dominions, which he had been so long and with so much pains acquiring. He was especially irritated at beholding himself without a sea-port, and little set by amongst his neighbours ; he therefore began to treat privately with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* for creating new disturbances in *Peloponnesus*, and having received from them great promises, he began to act offensively against the *Achæans* and their allies. *Gythium* the sea-port of *Sparta* he besieged and recovered ; but after that and a slight victory at sea, which he obtained against *Philopæmen*, he was routed at land, rather for want of abilities as a general in himself, than any fault in his soldiers. *Philopæmen*, tho' he could not hinder the taking of *Gythium*, yet resolved to terrify the tyrant by marching directly towards *Lacedemon*, which had the consequence he expected and desired, since *Nabis* drew his forces together, and led them with the utmost diligence to the relief of his capital ; by this forced march he fronted the *Achæan* army within ten miles of the city, the tyrant seizing on this occasion a very strong camp, where

Philopæmen

Philopæmen intended to have lain that night. This great general, perceiving that his first design was rendered abortive, immediately formed a second, and, since he could not spoil *Sparta*, resolved to content himself with destroying an army every way superior to his own. There lay between the camps a little rivulet, from which both the *Achæans* and *Lacedemonians* were to fetch water; but it was considerably nearer to the former than to the latter. *Philopæmen* therefore sent a great detachment to take post privately in a copse which bordered on the river; when the troops of *Nabis* came to water their horses, and to fill their vessels for the camp, this detachment suddenly attacked them, and cut many of the light-armed soldiers in pieces. About the same time he sent one of his auxiliary soldiers as a deserter to *Nabis*, with instructions to give him information, that the *Achæans* designed to move in the night, in order to get between him and *Lacedemon*. The tyrant, affrighted at this news, as soon as it was thoroughly dark, quitted a camp which *Philopæmen* could never have forced, and, leaving only a few light-armed troops in his intrenchments, marched with all the speed he could towards *Sparta*. *Philopæmen* foreseeing this attacked his camp as soon as he was out of it, and so harassed his army with his light-armed mercenaries, that *Nabis* found himself constrained to retire into the neighbouring woods, where he remained all the next day. *Philopæmen* in this space recalling his light-armed forces, left them in the camp which he had taken, and, with his troops that were still fresh, marched with great secrecy, and seized the passes which led to *Lacedemon*, not doubting, but at the approach of night the tyrant would march again; this fell out as he expected, and as he had seized the avenues the forces of *Nabis* were in a manner at his mercy, and he used his advantage so well, that the tyrant with a very small part of his army got into the city, covered with disgrace, and unable to hinder *Philopæmen* from spoiling the country, which he did for thirty days, and then retired, leaving *Nabis* much dejected, and with small forces to continue the war. His recovery of *Gythium* furnished him at present with little comfort, for the enemy being master of all the country, he could scarcely hold any correspondence therewith; besides, his navy was very inconsiderable, and he had every day repeated advice, that the *Romans* intended suddenly to send a new army into *Greece*. The *Lacedemonians* themselves appeared dissatisfied, which made him afraid to lead his soldiers without the city; and pent up within it they were scarce of any use. In the midst of these distresses and distractions, he placed

placed all his hopes in the *Ætolians*, who had indeed done a great deal of mischief in *Greece*, and had been strongly instrumental in drawing him into this war. To these he dispatched courier after courier, not with the haughty commands of a tyrant, but with the humble supplications of a distressed ally; he reminded them, that for their sakes only he had so precipitately entered into this war, at a time when none else cared to own them for allies; he shewed them truly the nature of his distress, hoping that it would make their relief quicker and more effectual; but it produced quite a contrary effect, the *Ætolians* being fit confederates for such a tyrant. As soon as they had given audience to his messengers, they dispatched them with large assurances of ready assistance, while in the mean time they consulted what for their interest would be fittest to be done; the result of their consultation was, that in the days of his prosperity, and when he had a strong army of mercenaries at his command, *Nabis* was their good ally, and deserved all possible regard; but in the present situation of things, when his forces were in a manner cut off, and he scarce able to maintain himself in *Sparta*, it would better serve their purposes to remove him out of the way, and take the city to themselves. This counsel taken and approved, a thousand foot and thirty horse were chosen to march to *Lacedemon* under the command of *Alexamenus*. When they were ready to depart, the horsemen were sent for into the great council, where they received the following short and pithy instructions, that they were not sent to assist *Nabis* to make war upon the *Achæans*, or for any other purpose whatsoever, than to obey *Alexamenus*, and to do what he directed, let it be what it would. Thus dismissed, they marched under the command of that general to *Sparta*, where they found *Nabis* very little satisfied with so small a reinforcement. *Alexamenus* did all he could to encourage him, he told him, the *Ætolians* by sending him intended no more than to give him a specimen of their good will, instructing him also to inform him, that if his necessities required it, they would, whenever he requested it, march with the utmost forces they could raise to his relief; he likewise informed him, that *Antiochus* was resolved to make war on the *Romans*, and intended to cover *Greece* with his armies and the sea with his ships; that many of the *Greek* states were inclined to his party, and that the *Ætolians* were about to muster all their troops before the king's commissioners shortly, which was the reason why they sent so few under his command. The tyrant, encouraged by these consolatory speeches, began, by the advice of *Alexamenus*, to exercise his forces without
the

the city, that he might at once give them courage and the *Ætolians* apprehensions. At these exercises the *Ætolian* general failed not to assist; his guard of horse keeping, according to his order, aloof, and he sometimes riding up to them as if it were to give them orders. These growing at last into daily practices, the *Lacedemonians* sinking again into a timorous obedience, *Nabis* entertained fresh hopes of regaining all his dominions, and of revenging himself upon the *Romans* for the injuries which he conceived they had done him. The *Spartan* guards, which *Alexamenus* looked upon as the best corps in the tyrant's army, he advised to be posted, phalanx-wise, behind the rest, offering such plausible reasons, that *Nabis* readily yielded to it, which was the only step wanting to his ruin. When the day came whereon *Alexamenus* resolved to execute his great and desperate design, he behaved towards *Nabis* with more than ordinary complaisance; he commended the appearance and discipline of his troops, applauded his cavalry, promised him the supremacy in *Peloponnesus*, and perceiving that his complaisance had wrought a proper effect, the tyrant testifying by his looks and gestures the highest satisfaction, *Alexamenus* suddenly wheeled off, and riding up to his troop of *Ætolians*, bid them remember the instructions they had received when they were first chosen for this service. Having said this, he turned the head of his horse, and rode with a full career against *Nabis*, whom he overthrew, and his *Ætolians*, riding immediately after him, one after another buried their spears in the bosom of the tyrant. His guards were hardly informed of what past till he was dead, and then not knowing for whom to fight, they forbore fighting at all. The rest of the *Lacedemonians* looked on with a mixture of joy and terror, joy that the tyrant was dead, who had so long and so cruelly oppressed them, terror at beholding so strange an accident; the reasons of which they knew not, and of its consequences were therefore afraid. *Alexamenus* and his *Ætolians*, taking advantage of their amazement, marched directly into the city, their chief breaking into the tyrant's palace and rifling all his treasures; the soldiers shortly after followed his example, so that in a short time the *Lacedemonians* looked on the murder of *Nabis* as their misfortune; but considering how little it became the inhabitants of the famous *Sparta* to look on and see their riches carried away by foreigners, they without much ado took a child whose name was *Laconicus*, and who on account of his being descended from the royal family was bred up by *Nabis*; him they set on horseback, and gathering about him, they surrounded many of the *Ætolians* and put them to the sword; after a while they broke into the palace,

palace, where they slew *Alexamenus* and those who were with him; they forced likewise a temple of *Diana* to which many of the *Ætolians* were fled; all of whom they put without mercy to the sword. When they were in the midst of this confusion, of which none had projected any issue, *Philopæmen* arrived, some friends of his having posted to him with the account of the death of *Nabis*; the forces he had were few, nor did he from them conceive any hopes of seizing the city; on the contrary he did what *Alexamenus* ought to have done, that is, he convinced the *Lacedemonians* of the madness of their proceedings, and engaged them, since they had so happily recovered their freedom, to unite themselves to the *Achæans*, reaping thus by his virtue all the fruits the *Ætolians* expected from their treachery.

IT may indeed seem strange, that the *Spartans*, who had entertained such generous notions of liberty, submitted patiently for so long a tract of time to the arbitrary commands of lawless tyrants; but this wonder will be in a great measure taken off, if we consider two things; *First*, That the manners of the *Lacedemonians* were greatly corrupted, which is indeed the very basis of slavery; there can be no such thing as bending the necks of virtuous people: but when once men are abandoned to their vices, and become slaves to their passions, they readily stoop to those who can gratify them; and this was the case of the majority of the inhabitants of *Sparta* at this time. *Secondly*, those amongst them who were distinguished by their merit and their morals, were on this very account proscribed by the tyrants and hated by their creatures; so that they were forced to forsake their country, and leave it to groan under a power which they were unable to resist. To this we may add, that such as were of mild dispositions flattered themselves with the hopes of seeing better times, and even in these consoled themselves with the thought, that *Sparta* yet retained her independency, and was not subjected to any other state ^s (Y).

^s TIT. Liv. lib. xxxiv. PLUTARCH. in vit. Philop. JUSTIN. lib. xxx. c. 4. lib. xxxi. c. 1. 2.

(Y) There is a point or two in the *Lacedemonian* history, which though they have been handled in a curious manner already, require to be considered more largely. *Aratus* undoubtedly intended the preservation of the *Grecian* liberty, especially from the *Macedonian* power, but at the same time he as certainly intended to engage all the *Peloponnesian* states in the *Achæan* league, which was absolutely inconsistent with their retaining any monarchical form. On this account it was that he hated and made war upon all the
little

little princes in his neighbourhood, whom he stiled tyrants and persecuted as such, as the *Achæans* continued ever after to do. If *Sparta* had acceded to the *Achæan* league, it is very possible, that *Greece* might have vindicated its freedom, for some time at least, against both the *Macedonians* and the *Romans*; but *Sparta* had been too long at the head of *Peloponnesus* to think of changing her government at the first motion of *Aratus* and the *Achæans*, and therefore gladly accepted the proposal of *Cleomenes* to restore her antient form of government, and with it her antient lustre (75). *Aratus*, seeing that this would intirely overturn his scheme, immediately called *Cleomenes* tyrant, and as such would have pulled him down. While the *Spartans*, and those who sided with the *Spartans*, acknowledged him the vindicator of the antient *Grecian* liberty, one who desired to leave all cities to be governed according to their own laws, as well as to preserve kingly government in *Sparta*. It is true, that *Machanidas* and *Nabis* pretended to carry on the same design, the latter actually dividing the lands as *Cleomenes* had done; but this they did with a view to the aggrandizing of themselves and their families, and the supporting of a dominion unlawfully acquired, which was far from being his case (76). That in this and in a former note we have fairly stated these matters, will clearly appear from the subsequent history of the *Achæans*, wherein it will be found, that there was no depending upon the *Lacedemonians*, till their manners were wholly changed and the *Lycurgis* institutions rooted out by force. Now whether such proceedings as these of ruining a constitution that did not suit with their league, or *Cleomenes's* scheme for supporting every state in its pristine form, ought with greatest justice to be stiled a desire of bestowing liberty on *Greece*, the reader must determine.

(75) *Polyb. Hist. lib. iv. Plutarch. in vit. Arati.* (76) *Tit. Liv. lib. xxxiv.*

C H A P. XX.

The History of the several States of Greece, from the Beginning of the Achæan League to its Dissolution, and thence succinctly to the present Time.

S E C T. I.

The History of Achaia.

ALL Greece, in the ages we are now to write of, may be reduced to three states, viz. *Achaia*, *Ætolia*, and *Athens*. There were, 'tis true, at this time several other republics in Greece; but as they only acted an under-part, and in conjunction sometimes with one, and sometimes with another, of the more powerful states just now mentioned, their histories are so interwoven with those of the greater republics, that to deliver them separately would be only swelling the work with needless repetitions, as the reader will find in the perusal of the following sheets. We shall begin with the history of *Achaia*, by far the most considerable republic of Greece in its declining times; after having premised, that the name of *Achaia* was used by the antients in three different senses. In the earlier ages it comprehended all the provinces of that great continent, which the geographers, strictly speaking, call Greece; that is, *Attica*, *Megaris*, *Locris*, *Phocis*, *Bœotia*, the territory of *Thebes*, *Ætolia*, and *Doris*. In after-ages it was confined to that country in *Peloponnesus* which was possessed by the *Achæans*, and extended along the bay of *Corinth* and the *Ionian* sea, from the confines of *Sicyon* to the territory of *Elis*. In the Roman times the name of *Achaia* comprised

prised not only all *Peloponnesus*, but such other cities beyond the isthmus as had entered into the *Achæan* league; upon the dissolution of which all *Greece* was by a decree of the *Roman* senate divided into two provinces, viz. that of *Macedonia*, containing *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*, and that of *Achaia*, which took in all the other states of *Greece*. We have already described the country ^a, and shall therefore now proceed to the history of a people, that not only maintained their own liberties amidst innumerable tyrants, but restored most of the *Greek* cities to their antient freedom.

Achaia, a state originally of small account, rose by degrees to such a height of reputation and prosperity, as to rival and even eclipse the most powerful states of *Greece*. This great increase of power was not owing either to the vast numbers or extraordinary valour of its inhabitants, but solely to its wholesome laws and happy constitution. For the *Achæans*, after having shaken off the tyrannical yoke of regal power, formed to themselves, on the plan of a democracy, a new system of government, which obtaining by degrees in all the cities of their small republic, united them into one body, and at the same time left them in full possession of their respective liberties, and quite independent of each other. Thus the *Achæans* were not only joined together by a firm alliance, and governed by the same laws, but moreover had the same money, weights, and measures, the same magistrates, council and judges, and in short every thing so uniform, that all *Achaia* seemed but one city. This invited many of the *Peloponnesians* to embrace their form of government, and accede to the *Achæan* alliance, while in the mean time the authors of this institution reaped no advantage by their accession; for no sooner did any city receive their laws, but it was admitted to the enjoyment of the same rights and privileges with the rest. Neither was the fame of their wise laws and mild government confined within the narrow bounds of *Peloponnesus*, but even reached the *Greek* colonies in *Italy*, where the *Grotoniates*, the *Sybarites*, and the *Cauloniates*, agreed to adopt the *Achæan* laws, and govern their states conformably † (A). The *Lacedemonians* and *Thebans* had such an esteem

^a Universal History, Vol. V. p. 570, & seq. † POLYB. lib. ii. PAUSAN. in Achaic.

(A) Polybius tells us (1), that great disturbances arising among the *Greek* cities in that part of *Italy* which was called *Magna Græ-*

(1) Polyb. lib. ii.

esteem of their impartial justice and equity, that they chose them after the famous battle of *Leuctra* to compose some differences that were still subsisting between them. The contending parties were not induced, as our author observes^b, to refer their differences to the arbitration of the *Achæans* by any argument of their greatness or power, there being no state at that time in all *Greece* that was not superior to them in both these respects, but merely in consideration of their justice and probity, which had acquired them the good opinion of all the world.

THIS form of government continued from the expulsion of *Gyges* the last king of *Achaia* to the time of *Alexander the Great*, upon whose death this little republic was involved in all the calamities that are inseparable from discord. The spirit of patriotism no longer prevailed among them, each city pursuing their private interest to the prejudice and destruction of their neighbours. As these dissensions and emulations were artificially sown and carefully fomented by the *Macedonian* princes, so they failed not to take their advantage of them; for *Demetrius*, *Cassander*, and *Antigonus Gonatus*, seizing on some of their cities, obliged them to receive the *Macedonian* yoke. In this unhappy situation they changed masters as often as *Macedon* did sovereigns, and were moreover enslaved by tyrants of their own, who as they espoused the *Macedonian* interest, so they were supported with the whole strength of that kingdom.

The Achæan league revived.
Year of the flood, 2719.
Before Christ, 280.



THE *Achæans*, accustomed to live according to their own laws and inured to liberty and freedom, could not brook so slavish a subjection, and therefore in the 124th olympiad, which was coincident with the expedition of *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*, they began to revive their antient union and return to their former association. The inhabitants of *Patra* and *Dyma* gave the first example of this happy change. Five years after those of *Ægium*, having driven out the *Macedonian* garrison, acceded to the alliance. The inhabitants of *Bura*

^b POLYB. *ibid.*

^c POLYB. & PAUSAN. *ubi supra.*

cia, ambassadors were dispatched to them from all parts of *Greece*; but that the council only of the *Achæans* was chosen to cure those great evils and compose the dissensions; which they did with such success, that all those cities by common consent agreed to imitate them, and to form themselves according to the example of the *Achæan* republic. Whereupon uniting in one body they built a temple to *Jupiter Honorius*, appointing that place for the congress of their general assemblies.

followed

followed their example, having first killed their prince or tyrant; and soon after those of *Ceraunia* incorporated their city into the same *Achæan* body, *Iseas* their tyrant resigning the dominion, upon promise of indemnity for what was passed ^d.

THE cities we have mentioned were the first that revived the antient association, continuing for the space of twenty five years to maintain the same form of government without being joined by any others. But at last the good order that reigned in this little republic, where liberty and equality, with a sincere zeal for justice and the public welfare, were the fundamental principles of their government, drew several neighbouring cities to join them. *Sicyon* was one of the first that acceded in this manner, being induced thereunto by *Aratus* (B) the *Sicyonian*, who at the age of twenty years rescued

^d Idem, *ibid*.

(B) *Aratus*, a native of *Sicyon*, played on this occasion a noble part on the stage of action, which rendered his name famous all over *Greece*. *Sicyon*, having long mourned under the yoke of her domestic tyrants, attempted to shake it off by devolving the power on *Clinias*, the father of *Aratus*, and one of her best citizens. The government began to flourish and assume a new form under his wise conduct, when *Abantidas* found means to disconcert his measures, and take the whole power into his own hands. He killed *Clinias*, and with him all those who stood up for the liberties of their country; and would have likewise destroyed *Aratus*, who was then but seven years old, had not the infant escaped with some others, amidst the disorders and confusion that filled the house when his father was killed. As he was wandering about the city in the utmost consternation and distress, he accidentally entered the house of the tyrant's sister, with a design to conceal himself there till the tumult was over, for he knew not to whom it belonged. The tyrant's sister being persuaded that this destitute infant had taken refuge under her roof by the impulse of some deity, caused him the ensuing night to be secretly conveyed to *Argos*, where he was educated with the utmost care by some hospitable friends of his father. The new tyranny had passed through several hands, when *Aratus*, being come to man's estate, began to entertain thoughts of rescuing his country from the oppression it groaned under. He was greatly respected both for his birth and the many excellent qualities which he began already to display on several occasions. The *Sicyonian* exiles, discovering in him an early aversion to tyrants, began to cast their eyes upon him, as a person destined by heaven to be one day their deliverer. Neither were they deceived in their conjecture. For *Aratus* had scarce attained the twentieth year of his age,

rescued his country from tyranny, and restored his countrymen to the enjoyment of their former liberties. Eight years after he had engaged his country in the *Achæan* league, he took by surprize *Acro-Corinth* (C), and also the city of *Megara*,

age, when he formed a confederacy against *Nicocles*, who was tyrant of *Sicyon* at that time, and pursued his measures with so much prudence and secrecy, that, notwithstanding the tyrant kept a vigilant eye on his conduct, he scaled the walls of *Sicyon*, and entered the city by night, before *Nicocles* had any notice, or even suspicion of his design. However, he had the good luck to make his escape, leaving *Aratus* in possession of the city. The next morning the people being assembled in a tumultuous manner, without knowing what had been transacted, a herald proclaimed with a loud voice, that *Aratus the son of Clinias invited the citizens to resume their antient liberty*. These joyful words were no sooner heard, but the whole multitude, with repeated shouts and loud acclamations, flocked to the tyrant's palace, and burnt it down to the ground in a few minutes. Thus was *Sicyon* delivered from its tyrants without the loss of one single man on either side; for *Aratus* commanded his followers to abstain from slaughter, saying, that an action of this nature ought not to be polluted with the blood of his fellow-citizens. This circumstance gave him no less joy than the action itself.

Sicyon began then to recover its antient splendor; but *Aratus* was not yet quite eased from his inquietude and perplexity. *Antigonus* king of *Macedon* had supported and protected *Nicocles*, and was ready to lay hold of the first opportunity to make himself master of the city, or establish in it some other tyrant: Seeds of sedition were artfully sown among the citizens by his partizans and emissaries; and *Aratus* was extremely apprehensive of their effects. He therefore concluded, that the safest and most prudent conduct in so delicate a juncture would be to unite *Sicyon* in the *Achæan* league, which he did accordingly, strengthening the league with all the forces of his country, and entering himself among the cavalry for the service of that state (2).

(C) The isthmus of *Corinth* unites the continent of *Greece* with that of *Peloponnesus*. The citadel of *Corinth*, known by the name of *Acro-Corinth*, was situated on a high mountain between those two continents, which are there divided by a very narrow neck of land; so that this fortress cuts off all communication by land from the inner part of the isthmus, and can awe, if well garisoned, all *Greece*; for which reason *Philip* of *Macedon* used to call it the fetters of *Greece*.

This fortress *Antigonus* had taken by surprize, with a design to enslave all *Peloponnesus*; but *Aratus* wrested it out of his hand by an

(2) *Plut. in Arat.*

action

gara, from the *Macedonians*, uniting them both to the *Achaëans*. The cities of *Træzene*, *Epidaurus*, and *Megalopolis*, were

action equal, in the opinion of *Plutarch*, to the most celebrated enterprizes of the antient heroes of *Greece*. After he had been long meditating with himself by what means he might gain that important place, he was by accident furnished with an opportunity of accomplishing his design.

One *Erginus*, an inhabitant of *Corinth*, had contracted an intimate acquaintance with a banker of *Sicyon*, who was a particular friend of *Aratus*. As the citadel happened one day to be the subject of their conversation, *Erginus* told his friend, that in going to visit his brother, who was a soldier of the garison, he had observed a narrow track hewn in the rock, which led up to that part of the hill where the wall of the fortress was very low. The banker, who was very attentive to this account, asked his friend with a smile, whether he and his brother were desirous to make their fortunes. *Erginus* understood him, and promised to sound his brother, by name *Diocles*, on that head. A few days after he returned to *Sicyon*, and engaged with the banker to conduct *Aratus* to that part of the mountain where the wall was but fifteen feet high, adding, that his brother was ready to concur with him in every other particular relating to the enterprize. *Aratus* promised on his part to reward them with sixty talents if the affair should succeed; but as he was not master of such a sum, and the borrowing it might create suspicion, he pawned all his plate, together with his wife's jewels, to the banker, as a security for the promised reward.

Aratus having thus engaged the two brothers, and surmounted a great many difficulties, each of which was sufficient to discourage any other but him, the troops were ordered to pass the night under arms. He then selected four hundred men, furnished them with scaling-ladders, and led them to one of the gates of the city; for the citadel was on the top of a steep rock within the city. They scaled the walls without being observed, *Erginus* having, with the assistance of his brother and some others that were gained over by him, killed the centinels that were there upon duty. As they were marching in great silence through the city, they met with a small guard that was going the rounds, and killed them all but one, who making his escape alarmed the city. But *Aratus*, notwithstanding the alarm, continued his march, and arriving at the foot of the rock, on which the fortress stood, began to climb up at the head of his men. But missing the path that was struck out of the rock, by reason of a thick fog which rose from the sea at their first entering the city, *Aratus* was not a little perplexed. The city was already alarmed, all the streets, and even the ramparts blazed with innumerable lights, and the trumpets sounded to arms on all sides. While he was thus perplexed, the fog

were likewise prevailed upon by him to join in the alliance, the tyrants making a voluntary resignation of the authority they had usurped over their fellow-citizens^c. The tyrants of the *Argives*, of the *Hermionians*, and the *Phlians*, following their example, those states were likewise received into the alliance.

As these glorious successes raised the reputation of the *Achaean* league, so they created no small jealousy in the neigh-

^c POLYB. *ibid.* PLUT. in *Arato*.

fog all on a sudden cleared up, and the moon, returning to shine with the same brightness as before, discovered the intricate windings of the track, which he followed at the head of a hundred of his boldest men, and arrived with much ado at the spot which had been described to him. But he found the garison, which was by this time alarmed, ready to receive him. Whereupon he immediately dispatched *Erginus* to acquaint the body of three hundred men, which he had left behind with orders to cover his rear, with the danger he was in. While these were waiting at the foot of the rock drawn up in a close body, *Archelaus*, who commanded the troops of king *Antigonus*, appeared at the head of a considerable band, with a design to mount the hill and attack *Aratus* in the rear. The three hundred *Sicyonians* at his approach concealed themselves among the rocks; but he was no sooner past than they started out, and fell upon him with such resolution, that he was soon put to the rout. This action was scarce over when *Erginus* arrived, and acquainted them, that *Aratus* was engaged with the enemy, and in great need of immediate assistance. Upon this notice the victorious troops, conducted by *Erginus*, began to climb up the rock, proclaiming their approach with loud shouts to animate their friends, and strike new terror into the enemy. The light of the moon reflecting on their arms, and their shouts, doubled by the echoes among the rocks and hollow places in the midnight silence, made them appear far more numerous than they really were. Whereupon the enemy retired after a faint resistance from the wall, and left *Aratus* absolute master of the citadel. In the mean time the rest of the troops arriving from *Sicyon* were not only received with open arms, but assisted by the *Corinthians* in seizing all the *Macedonians* that were in the city.

Aratus having secured the citadel went from thence to the city, and having assembled the people in the theatre acquainted them in a long discourse with the particulars of the *Achaean* league, and exhorted them to accede to it. They unanimously agreed to join in the alliance; whereupon *Aratus* restored to them the keys of their city, which till then had never been in their power since the time of *Philip* the father of *Alexander* (3).

(3) *Plut. in Arat.*

†

bouring

bouring states. But before we proceed to the wars which they were soon involved in by their jealous and restless neighbours, we shall give a succinct account of their happy constitution. All the cities subject to the *Achaean* league were governed by the great council or general assembly of the whole nation. To this assembly or diet each of the confederate cities had a right to send a certain number of deputies, who were elected in their respective cities by a plurality of voices. By this means no resolutions were taken, but what were equally advantageous to the whole confederacy, and the interests of each particular city so consulted as to leave no room for complaints. As the supreme and legislative power was lodged in the assembly, it was constantly convened twice a year, in the spring and autumn ; but seldom out of these stated times, unless upon some very urgent occasion. In these meetings they enacted laws, disposed of the vacant employments, declared war, made peace, concluded alliances, &c. If any city of the league did not acquiesce to the determinations and ordinances of the diet, or refused to furnish their quotas in time of war, they were compelled to it by dint of arms. The chief magistrate of the whole league, called by the *Greeks Strategos*, and by the *Latins Prætor*, was chosen in the general assembly by the majority of votes. This employment was both a civil and military one, it being the *prætor's* province to preside in the diet, and command the army. They chose at first two *prætors*, but it was soon thought adviseable to reduce them to one ; and the first who enjoyed that dignity alone was *Marcus the Carian*, who was succeeded by the famous *Aratus*. The *prætor* and other magistrates were appointed in the vernal assemblies, and seldom continued two years successively in the same employment. The former was vested with great power, especially in time of war ; but at the same time liable to be called to an account by the general assembly, and punished without any regard to his dignity, if convicted of misdemeanour or any other crime. The *demiurgi* were next in power to the *prætor*, and therefore stiled by *Polybius* and *Livy* the supreme magistrates of the *Acheans*. They were ten in number, chosen by the general assembly from among the most eminent men of the whole league for prudence, equity, and experience. It was their office to assist with their advice the *prætor*, who was to lay nothing before the assembly but what had been previously approved of by the major part of the *demiurgi*. In the *prætor's* absence the whole management of civil affairs devolved upon them ; and in some extraordinary cases they

were even impowered to summon the general assembly out of the stated times.

FEW of their laws have reached our times ; however, from the writings of the antients we have collected the five following, which we find to have been religiously observed, while the republic continued in a flourishing condition. 1. That an extraordinary assembly was not to be summoned at the request of foreign ambassadors, unless they first notified in writing to the *prætor* and *demiurgi* the subject of their embassy. 2. That no city subject to the league should send any embassy to a foreign prince or state, without the consent and approbation of the general diet. 3. That no member of the assembly should accept of presents from foreign princes under any pretence whatsoever. 4. That no prince, state, or city should be admitted into the league without the consent of the whole alliance. 5. That the general assembly should never sit above three days. These laws have been explained at length, and illustrated with many useful observations by a modern writer of no mean character^e, to whom we refer the reader, and resume the thread of our history.

THE *Ætolians*, conceiving no small jealousy at the growing power and extraordinary success of the *Achæans*, began to instil the same into the neighbouring states, with a view of breaking the union of those cities that were already joined, and preventing others from entering into the league. The sense of the benefits which they had a little before received from the friendship of the *Achæans*, during their war with *Antigonus*, with-held them from openly declaring war against their benefactors. However, they left no stone unturned to stir up the *Lacedemonians*, and engage their king *Cleomenes* in a war against the *Achæans*; wherein they succeeded to their wish ; for *Cleomenes* at their instigation having built a fortress in the territory of the *Megalopolitans* called *Athenæum*, the *Achæans* interpreted that as an open rupture, and declared in a general assembly, that the *Lacedemonians* should be reputed enemies^f. Such was the beginning of the war, which was called the *Cleomenic* war (C).

THIS

^e MARTINI. SHOOKII. Respub. Achæor. & Veient. ^f Idem, ibid.

(C) *Plutarch* (4) relates the occasion of this war in a quite different manner; for he tells us, that *Cleomenes*, not being able to

brook

(4) *Plut. in Cleom.*

THIS declaration of the *Achæan* confederacy was no sooner heard at *Sparta*, but the *ephorî* commanded their troops to take the field under the conduct of *Cleomenes*, who, coming up with the *Achæans* near *Pallantium*, offered them battle. But *Aratus* declaring against an engagement, *Aristomachus* the *Achæan* general made a retreat, which drew severe reproaches upon *Aratus*, both from his own countrymen and from the enemy, whose army did not amount to five thousand men in the whole; whereas that of the *Achæans* consisted of twenty thousand foot and a thousand horse ^g. Not long after the two armies met again, when the *Achæans* were defeated; but *Aratus*, having rallied in the flight what troops he could, marched strait to *Mantinæa*, and, before the enemy could have any suspicion of his design, made himself master of that important place. This advantage was soon counter-balanced by the loss of another battle, wherein great numbers of the *Achæans* were slain with *Lyfiades* their general, while they were pursuing with too much eagerness and in disorder the *Lacedemonians*, who had given way and feigned a retreat. After this victory *Cleomenes* advanced into the territories of *Megalopolis*, where his troops committed great devastations, and got a very considerable booty. To these ravages he added insults, causing public games and plays to be exhibited in the sight of the enemy, not that he had any satisfaction in such shews and diversions, but only with a view to convince the *Achæans*, that he entirely despised them, and was sure of victory, having to deal with so contemptible a foe ^h.

THE *Achæans*, now reduced to the last extremity, and under apprehension of being enslaved by the *Lacedemonians*, ei-

^g PLUT. in Cleom.^h PLUT. ibid.

brook the authority of the *ephorî*, who engrossed all the power to themselves, leaving him only the empty title of king, resolved to change the form of government; and as he was sensible that few would concur with him in that view, he imagined the accomplishment of his design would be greatly facilitated by a war; and therefore endeavoured to embroil his city with the *Achæans*, who luckily for his purpose had given *Sparta* some occasions of complaint; for *Aratus*, as our author tells us, not being able to prevail upon the *Arcadians*, who had espoused the party of the *Lacedemonians*, to abandon them and enter into the *Achaean* league, entered their territories in a hostile manner, ravaged their country, and in a word treated them as declared enemies. This opportunity *Cleomenes* laid hold of, and taking the field treated the *Achæans* as they had done the *Arcadians*. According to this account the *Achæans*, and not the *Lacedemonians*, were the aggressors.

The Cleo-
menic
war.
Year of
the Flood
2766. Be-
fore Christ,
233.



pecially if they should be joined by the *Ætolians*, who at that time were making great preparations for a war, began to entertain thoughts of concluding a peace upon any terms. But *Aratus*, dreading the consequence of a treaty set on foot between his dispirited countrymen and a victorious enemy, used his utmost efforts to divert them from it, and at the same time had recourse to an expedient which no ways redounded to his honour. This was to engage *Antigonus* king of *Macedon* in this war against the *Lacedemonians*, which opened a way to the *Macedonians* into *Greece*.

The Achæ-
ans invite
Antigonus
into
Greece.
Year of
the Flood
2772.
Before
Christ
227.

Aratus knew, that *Antigonus* had great cause to be dissatisfied with his former proceedings ; but he was likewise sensible, that princes have neither friends nor enemies, but measure amitie and enmities by the rules of interest. However, he would not openly enter into a negotiation of this nature, being well aware, that *Cleomenes* and the *Ætolians* would oppose it, and that the *Achæans* themselves would have reason to despair, if they should see their general applying to their enemy. He therefore resolved to prosecute his purpose with such caution as to leave no room for suspicion, and to carry on his measures so as to keep them undiscovered. He was not ignorant, that the *Megalopolitans*, by their neighbourhood to the *Lacedemonians*, were most exposed to the incursions of the enemies, and consequently, as they were greatly inclined to the house of *Macedon*, for the many favours they had received at the hand of *Philip* son of *Amyntas*, they would resort for succour to *Antigonus* and the *Macedonians*. Having therefore gained over to his scheme *Nicophanes* and *Cercidas*, two principal citizens of *Megalopolis*, and well qualified for conducting the enterprize, by their means he brought it so about, that the *Megalopolitans* decreed to send ambassadors to the assembly of the *Achæans*, begging leave to solicit succours from *Antigonus*. *Nicophanes* and *Cercidas* were themselves sent to the *Achæans* with orders to proceed to *Antigonus* if they approved the proposition. The general assembly, having given audience to the ambassadors, and reflecting that they were not in a condition to yield them any effectual succours by reason of their own great straits, assented to their proposal, and granted them leave to pursue their orders. When they received audience of *Antigonus*, they touched upon the affairs of their own country in a few words, but enlarged, pursuant to the instructions of *Aratus*, on the imminent danger to which the king himself would be exposed, should the alliance, which was then talked of between the *Ætolians* and *Cleomenes*, take place. They represented to him, that, if the united forces of those two states should gain over the *Achæans* the advanta-

ges they expected, the ambition of *Cleomenes* and the *Ætoli-ans* would never be satisfied with the single conquest of *Peloponnesus*, but would aspire to the empire of all *Greece*, which they could not compass without first destroying the *Macedonian* monarchy. They therefore begged him to deliberate maturely which was the safest counsel for him to take ; whether to succour the *Achæans* in opposition to *Cleomenes* and defeat his ambitious designs, or, by neglecting the occasion of gaining the friendship of so great a people, become liable at last to sustain a war in *Thessaly* for the empire of *Macedon*, not only with the *Lacedemonians* and *Ætolians* but with the *Achæans* themselves. To these remonstrances they added, that, if the *Ætolians* continued their neutrality, the *Achæans* would be capable of supporting themselves with their own forces ; but, if on the other hand the *Ætolians* should join the enemy, they must then intreat him to prevent with timely succours the ruin of *Peloponnesus*, which might be attended with fatal consequences to himself. They likewise took care to insinuate, that *Aratus* would give such security for his fair proceeding and sincere intentions as should be pleasing to both parties, and that he himself would take upon him to demand assistance when he should think it needful.

Antigonus highly approved all these representations, and with great pleasure laid hold of the opportunity of engaging in the affairs of *Greece*. He likewise wrote an obliging letter to the *Megalopolitans*, assuring them of his assistance whenever the *Achæans* should think fit to call for it. The ambassadors having acquainted *Aratus* with the good disposition wherein they found *Antigonus* towards the *Achæans*, he was not a little pleased to find his project succeed so well. He wished indeed to have had no occasion to call in foreign aids, and did all that lay in his power to prevent it ; and though necessity obliged him to have recourse to that prince, yet, to shun the blame that might redound upon the authors of such measures, he took care they should appear as concerted by the *Achæans* without his privity. The *Megalopolitans* having acquainted the *Achæans* with the kind reception their deputies had met with at the court of *Macedon*, and sent the letter of *Antigonus* to be read in the general assembly, most of them were for inviting that prince to march his army into *Peloponnesus* without further delay. But *Aratus* standing up made a long speech, exhorting them to try first, whether they could support themselves with their own forces ; adding, that if after all their efforts fortune should declare against them, it would then be time enough to have recourse to their friends. His advice was approved by the whole assembly, and it was then concluded, that

that the *Achæans* should employ their own forces only in the prosecution of the war ^l.

Antigonus
arrives in
Greece.
Year of
the Flood
2774.
Year Be-
fore
Christ,
225.

THE war proved very unsuccessful for the *Achæans*, who, being often worsted by *Cleomenes*, were obliged to abandon the field and retire into their strong holds. Neither were these able to stop the career of the conqueror, who in one campaign took the cities of *Caphyes*, *Pellene*, *Pheneus*, *Phlionte*, *Cleonaë*, *Epidaurus*, *Hermione*, and *Corinth* itself. These successes allowed the *Achæans* no further time to deliberate; and accordingly, *Aratus*, at their entreaties, dispatched his son to *Antigonus*, inviting that prince to come with all speed to their assistance, and assuring him that, on his arrival, *Acro-Corinth* should be put into his hands. *Antigonus* immediately began his march towards *Peloponnesus*, at the head of twenty thousand foot and fourteen hundred horse, and arriving at the isthmus encamped just opposite to *Cleomenes*, who had fortified with a ditch and rampart the whole space between *Acro-Corinth* and the *Onion* hills. As *Antigonus* did not think it adviseable, nor even practicable, to force his way through, and on the other hand had not a sufficient quantity of provisions to subsist his army till the *Achæans* joined him, he was preparing to decamp, and transport his troops by sea to *Sicyon*. But in the mean time a messenger arriving at the camp acquainted *Aratus*, who was come to meet *Antigonus*, that the inhabitants of *Argos* had revolted from *Cleomenes*, and were then besieging the citadel. Whereupon *Aratus*, with a detachment of fifteen hundred men, immediately put to sea, and arriving at *Epidaurus* marched from thence to *Argos*, and made himself master both of the city and castle, after having defeated in a skirmish the partizans of *Cleomenes*, and killed *Megistones* who had been detached from the army to their relief ^k. This success proved of great consequence to the *Achæans*, and first of all gave rise to the prosperity of the allies; for *Cleomenes*, hearing that *Argos* was taken, and being apprehensive that the enemies would surround him, abandoned his lines and retired with great precipitation, first to *Argos*, and then to *Mantineia*. He appeared before *Argos* quite unexpected, and in that alarm got into the city, but could not keep it, the citadel being in the hands of *Aratus*, and *Antigonus* pursuing him close with all his forces.

Antigonus, having thus entered *Peloponnesus* without the loss of one single man, advanced to *Corinth*, which immediately surrendered, and thence to *Tegea*, *Mantineia*, *Orchome-*

^l *Plur.* ubi supra. *Plur.* in *Cleom.* & *Arat.* ^k *Plur.* in *Arat.* & *Cleom.* *Plur.* ubi supra.

us, *Haerea*, and *Telphussa*; all which places, terrified at the approach of the *Macedonians*, either voluntarily submitted, or made but a faint resistance. And now winter drawing near, he sent home his troops, and went himself to *Ægium* to assist at the general assembly of the *Achæans*, where, after having acquainted them with the motives of his coming among them, he was chosen general of the confederate army, and the important castle of *Acro-Corinth* was, by a decree of the council, made over to him.

IN the mean time *Cleomenes*, receiving intelligence that *Antigonus* had sent home his army while he himself continued at *Ægium*, formed a design of surprising the city of *Megalopolis*, very considerable at that time, and no ways inferior in power and extent to *Sparta* itself. As the garison was not very strong at that time, nor the guards very strict in their duty, since *Antigonus* was near at hand, and the enemy weakened with frequent losses, *Cleomenes*, imagined he might easily get into the town in the night, provided he could gain some of the inhabitants over to his interest; and accordingly applied himself to certain *Messenians*, who, having been banished their country, had taken sanctuary in *Megalopolis*. Being conducted by these, he arrived at the city by night, scaled the walls, and made himself master of the place without the least opposition. Most of the inhabitants retired to *Messene*, whither *Cleomenes* sent a herald to acquaint them, that he would restore them to the possession of their city, provided they would renounce the *Achæan* league and join the *Lacedæmonians*. But they chose rather to see themselves divested of all that was most dear and valuable to them, than to violate the fidelity they had sworn to their allies. The famous *Philopæmen*, whom we shall have frequently occasion to mention in the sequel of this history, contributed not a little to this generous resolution. This refusal highly enraged *Cleomenes*, who immediately gave up the town to be plundered, sent all the statues and pictures to *Sparta*, demolished the houses, threw down the walls, and committed so many outrages, that he left not so much as any appearance that it had ever been a peopled place¹.

Antigonus having sent his troops, as we have already observed, into winter quarters in *Macedonia*, *Cleomenes* assembled his early in the spring with a design to put in execution a project, which in the opinion of the vulgar was the result of temerity and despair, but according to *Polybius*, a competent judge in matters of that nature, conducted with all im-

¹ PLUT. & POLYB. *ibidem*.

aginate prudence and sagacity. As the *Macedonians* were dispersed in their winter quarters, and *Antigonus* enjoying himself with his friends at *Argos*, without any other forces but a few mercenaries, *Cleomenes* taking the field made an irruption into the territories of *Argos*, laying waste the whole country to the very gates of the city. What he proposed in this enterprize was, to bring *Antigonus* to hazard an engagement, which in all probability he would have lost; or, if he declined it, to lessen his reputation among the *Achæans*, and raise complaints against him, chiefly in the city of *Argos*. This project succeeded according to his expectation; for the *Argians*, seeing their country ravaged and laid waste under the king's eyes while he continued inactive, assembled in a tumultuous manner at the palace gates, and with threats pressed him either to take the field and protect his friends, or to resign the command of their troops to those who were less timorous than himself. But *Antigonus* was deaf to all their reproaches and remonstrances, and, in spite of the many reflections that were publicly cast upon him on that occasion, kept within the walls of the city, and tamely beheld the enemy insulting him at the very gates. Thus *Cleomenes*, having frightened the enemy, and inspired his own men with new courage, returned loaded with booty to *Sparta*. In the beginning of the summer, *Antigonus*, being desirous to retrieve the reputation he had undeservedly lost among the *Achæans*, took the field with an army of twenty eight thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, and advanced into *Laconia*.

Cleomenes, not doubting but the enemy would soon visit him, took care to guard all the passes with strong detachments, and to fortify the avenues with ditches and ramparts, filling up and barricading the roads with large trees laid across. He marched himself with a body of twenty thousand men, and encamped at a certain place called *Sellasia*, having reason to suspect that the enemy proposed to pass that way; nor was he deceived in his conjecture. This pass was formed by two mountains, the one called *Eva*, the other *Olympus*; between these runs the river *Oenus*, along the banks of which there was a narrow way leading to *Sparta*. *Cleomenes*, having thrown up a good intrenchment at the foot of these mountains, posted the auxiliaries on the eminence of mount *Eva*, under the command of his brother *Euclidas*, while he himself encamped on mount *Olympus* with the *Spartan* troops and the mercenaries. The cavalry he drew up along the banks of the river sustained by a body of mercenary foot. When *Antigonus* arrived, and viewed the situation of the ground with the fortifications and defences that *Cleomenes* had made, and observed

observed with how much judgment he had posted his troops, he did not think it adviseable to attack him, but encamped at a small distance on the banks of the *Gorgulus*, which covered part of his army. There he remained some days, the better to acquaint himself with the situation of the different posts, and the disposition of the enemy. He often marched round their camp feigning to attack them, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another; but finding every post well guarded, and *Cleomenes* warily watching his motions, he gave over all thoughts of forcing the enemies camp, and retired to his own, which was equally secured against all attempts. Both armies having stood thus to their defence some days, without being able to gain any advantage over each other, the two generals at last agreed on a decisive battle.

It is not easy to comprehend what could induce *Cleomenes* to such a resolution; he was posted very advantageously; his troops were not so numerous as the enemy's by one third; he was supplied with all sorts of provision from *Sparta*, with which city he had a free communication. What then could make him hazard a battle, whereof the event was to decide the fate of *Lacedemon*? *Polybius* indeed seems to insinuate the cause of this proceeding; for he tells us^m, that *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, who had promised to assist him in this war, acquainted him, that he was not in a condition to make good his engagement, exhorting him at the same time to come to an accommodation with *Antigonus* and the *Achæans*. As he was therefore incapable of bearing the whole charge of the war, and had no prospect of any supplies from foreign states, we may suppose that the desperate posture of his affairs forced him to venture a battle.

The battle of Sellasia.
Year of the Flood 2776.
Year before Christ, 223.



BOTH armies being drawn up and the signals given, *Antigonus* detached a body of *Illyrians* against *Euclidas*, who was posted on mount *Eva*; but while they were ascending the hill some light-armed troops of the enemy advancing charged them in flank, while *Euclidas*, who was posted on the top of the hill, pressed them in front, and a body of mercenaries warmly attacked their rear. *Philopœmen*, who then served in the army as a volunteer, observing what danger the *Illyrians* were in, acquainted the commanders with it; but, they not hearkening to him, as he was but very young and had not yet bore any command in the army, without any orders from the generals, he attacked, with a small body of *Megalopolitans* his countrymen, the enemies horse, and obliged them to give ground. This forced the mercenaries, who had fallen on

^m POLYB. lib. ii.

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The battle
of Sellasia.
Year of
the Flood
2776.
Year be-
fore
Christ,
223.



^m POLYB lib ii.

the *Illyrians* rear, to hasten to the relief of the cavalry ; for *Cleomenes* had posted them at first near the cavalry on purpose to support and cover them. By this means the *Illyrians* being disengaged resolutely marched up the hill against *Euclidas*, who, instead of moving towards the enemy, and thereby improving the advantage of the shock which the descent of the hill gave him, remained in the place where he was first posted. The *Illyrians*, having gained the top of the hill without any opposition, now advanced against *Euclidas* on even ground, and attacked him with such resolution, that he was obliged to abandon the top of the hill and retire to the rocks and precipices, where he was soon defeated and most of his men cut in pieces. This success against *Euclidas* was entirely owing to *Philopæmen*, as *Antigonus* himself acknowledged ; for, after the battle, having asked the officer that engaged the enemy's horse, how he came to fall upon them before the signal, and the officer excusing himself by saying, that a young man of *Megalopolis* had done it without his direction, the king replied, that the young man had behaved like an experienced commander and gained the victory, but that he had acted like a raw soldier ⁿ.

DURING this variety of action the cavalry of both armies had likewise engaged on the plain by the river. The *Achæans* behaved with uncommon bravery, being sensible that this battle would decide their liberties. *Philopæmen* distinguished himself above the rest, for his horse being killed under him, he afterwards fought among the foot, killing with his own hand great numbers of the enemies, till he was with a javelin struck through both thighs at one stroke.

BUT the sharpest encounter was on mount *Olympus*, where the two kings engaged with their light-armed troops and mercenaries, consisting of about five thousand on each side. As they fought under the eye of their princes, every man strove to signalize himself, and perform something worthy of such spectators. It was a long time before victory inclined to either side ; but at last *Cleomenes*, receiving notice that his brother was defeated on the hill, and that his cavalry began to give ground on the plain, being apprehensive that the enemy would pour in upon him from all quarters, thought it adviseable to level all the intrenchments before his camp, and order his troops to march out in front. The trumpets therefore having sounded the signal for the light-armed troops to retire, the phalanxes advanced on both sides with equal animosity ; but the *Lacedemonian* phalanx, not being able to sustain the

Cleomenes defeated.

ⁿ Idem, ibid.

shock of the double *Macedonian* phalanx, gave ground, and soon fell into the utmost confusion. The overthrow then became general; the *Lacedemonians* were every where cut in pieces, and those who found means to make their escape fled from the field of battle in the greatest disorder. *Cleomenes* with a small party of horse retreated to *Sparta*, whence he departed the night following to *Gythium*, where he embarked on a vessel, that attended him there according to his directions, and sailed to *Alexandria*, accompanied by a small number only of his intimate friends *. *Plutarch* assures us, that most of the foreign troops in both armies were slain in this engagement, and that of six thousand *Lacedemonians* two hundred only outlived the action.

Cleomenes had scarce set sail when *Antigonus* arrived at *Sparta*, and made himself master of it without resistance; for *Cleomenes* had advised the citizens to receive *Antigonus*, assuring them at the same time, that, whatever might be his own condition, he would always promote the welfare of his country. The conqueror treated the inhabitants in a very friendly manner, declaring to them, that he had not engaged in a war against the *Spartans*, but against *Cleomenes*, whose flight had disarmed his resentment. He added, that nothing could render his memory so glorious in future ages as to have it said, that *Sparta* had been preserved by the prince, who alone had the good fortune to conquer it. Having in this friendly manner addressed the citizens, he declared them free and restored them to the full enjoyment of their antient privileges. He shewed an inclination to continue some time among them, but was obliged to leave the city three days after he had entered it. His departure was occasioned by the intelligence he received that the *Illyrians* had invaded *Macedonia*, and were committing there dreadful ravages. If *Cleomenes* had respite giving battle three days only, or had fortified himself in *Sparta* and held out for so short a space of time, he would have preserved his dominions. From *Sparta* *Antigonus* marched to *Tegæa*, which city he likewise declared free, and from thence to *Argos*, where the general assembly of the *Achæan* confederacy was then sitting. There he was thanked by the deputies of each city of the *Achæan* league, and by a decree of the council declared the protector of *Achaia*. From *Argos* he proceeded by long journies to *Macedon*, where he gained a signal victory over the *Illyrians*; but on that occasion straining his voice to animate his men, he burst a vein, and having voided a great quantity of blood, he fell into an ill state of

* POLYB. ubi supra. PLUT. in Cleom.

health, which soon after took him out of the world^p. Thus ended the *Cleomenic* war, leaving all *Greece* in a profound tranquility.

The war
of the con-
federates.

BUT the *Ætolians* were soon weary of peace, which obliged them to live honestly, and abstain from plunder and rapine which they used to subsist on, leading much the same life on land as pirates do at sea; they had no sense of friendship or alliance, accounting all those as enemies whom they could prey upon, and believing they had a right to any thing they could take away. However, during the life of *Antigonus*, the fear they were under lest he should fall upon them kept them in awe. But he was no sooner dead, and *Philip* the son of *Demetrius*, who was then very young, placed on the throne, than they returned to their old manner of life, entering the territories of the *Messenians*, and carrying off their cattle and whatever else they could meet with. Complaints were made to their chief magistrates of such proceedings; but they seemed rather enclined to encourage than restrain such robberies, being sharers in the booty. The chief author of all these disorders was one *Dorimachus* of *Trichonia*, a turbulent young man, and, as our author calls him^q, every way an *Ætolian*, who being sent to *Phigalia*, a city in *Peloponnesus*, but of the *Ætolian* confederacy, to be as a spy upon the *Achæans*, encouraged the loose rabble of that place to plunder their neighbours, with a view of enriching himself with their spoils. To him therefore chiefly the *Messenians* had recourse, demanding reparation for the damages they had suffered, and begging he would not give countenance to the disturbers of the public tranquility. *Dorimachus* told their deputies, that he would come himself to *Messene*, and there hear their complaints and see all their grievances redressed. He went to *Messene* accordingly, but application being made to him by the chief sufferers, he dismissed them with reproachful language and menaces; nay, while he still remained in the city, a band of *Ætolian* robbers from *Phigalia* attacked in the night a certain country-house called *Chyron*, killed all those who made resistance, bound the rest, and carried them off together with cattle and furniture. Hereupon the *Messenians*, having cited *Dorimachus* to appear before their assembly, arrested him on his entering the council, and kept him in prison, till he promised, in the most solemn manner, that reparation should be made for all the injuries they had suffered, and the authors of the late slaughter put into their hands. But he was no sooner returned to his own country, than he

^p Paus. p. lib. ii.

^q Paus. lib. iv.

prevailed

prevailed upon the *Ætolians* to revenge the treatment he had met with at *Messene*, by declaring war against the *Messenians*, which being proclaimed, the *Ætolian* pirates began to infest the neighbouring seas, taking all the ships they met with; they even made prize of a ship belonging to the king of *Macedon*, and carrying her to *Cythera* sold there both the ship and her company. In short, they plundered all the coast of *Epirus*, made an attempt on *Thyrea* a city of *Acarmania*, and, conveying some troops privately into *Peloponnesus*, surprised and kept possession of a strong hold called *Clarium* in the *Megalopolitan* territory, making use of it to lodge and secure their plunder. And now, having a place of retreat in the very heart of *Peloponnesus*, they began their march towards *Messene*, plundering the cities of *Patræ* and *Pharæ*, which were of the *Achæan* alliance, and laying waste all the countries through which they passed, till they came to *Phigalia*, which they made their place of arms, making from thence frequent inroads on the lands of the *Messenians* ^r.

THE *Achæans* in the mean time assembling according to custom at *Ægium*, the complaints of the *Patræans* and *Pharæans* were heard, and the deputies of the *Messenians* sent to implore the assistance of the *Achæans* against the common enemy. After the assembly had deliberated on these matters, it was agreed, that the state had been affronted by this insolent proceeding of the *Ætolians*, who had presumed to enter *Achaia* in a hostile manner, contrary to the treaty of peace. Whereupon, justly provoked by these infractions, they resolved to send succours to the *Messenians*, and that, as soon as the prætor should have raised them, they would then proceed further to execute what should be thought expedient by the assembly. *Timaxenus*, who was then prætor of the *Achæans*, was not at all pleased with the decree of the assembly; for, his authority not being yet expired, he had no mind to head the army, which duty was annexed to his office, as having a very mean opinion of the *Achæan* soldiery. But *Aratus*, provoked at the indignities they had suffered by the audacious *Ætolians*, lost no time in putting the *Achæans* under arms, being determined to come speedily to a battle with the enemy. Five days before he entered on his charge, he dispatched orders to all the towns and cities, appointing them a day, when all their young men fit for the service should assemble at *Megalopolis*. All the *Achæan* youth being drawn together pursuant to his orders at the place of rendezvous, he sent a messenger to the *Ætolians*, requiring them to depart

the territories of *Messenia*, and not to march into *Achaia* on peril of being treated as enemies. The *Ætolians*, not being at that time in a condition to make head against the army of the *Achæans*, complied with his demand. Whereupon *Aratus* dismissed the *Achæans* and *Lacedemonians* who had joined him, marching only with three thousand foot and three hundred horse, to observe the motions of the enemy and prevent them from plundering the country. As he drew near them he observed, that they were marching off with an immense booty, which so provoked him, that he could not forbear attacking them under all the disadvantages imaginable. The dispute was long and obstinate, but at last the *Achæans*, having the disadvantage of the ground and being overpowered with numbers, were obliged to retire. The *Ætolians* pursued them close with great shouts and acclamations, and made such a slaughter of the fugitives, that they must have all been cut off, had they not had at hand the safe retreats of *Orchomenus* and *Caphya*. The *Megalopolitans*, who had drawn all their forces together in order to join *Aratus*, arrived the day after the battle, and proved of no other use than to bury those whom they hoped to have relieved. And now the *Ætolians*, having gained a complete victory contrary to their expectation, marched without fear or danger quite cross the *Peloponnesus*, made an unsuccessful attempt on the *Pellene*, plundered the territory of *Sicyon*, and encamped on the isthmus.

Battle of
Caphya
lost by Aratus.
Year of
the Flood
2778.
Before
Christ,
221.

Aratus a. - IN the mean time, the *Achæans* having called their general assembly, complaints were made against *Aratus* by all the allies, as the cause of the loss and dishonour which they had sustained. And indeed there was no dispute, but *Aratus* had greatly erred in having, we may say, usurped the magistracy, by taking it upon him before he was regularly elected into his charge; and he could not deny but what he had undertaken thereupon had succeeded very ill. However, he endeavoured to prove, that the loss of the battle was not his fault; adding, that, if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able commander, he asked pardon, and hoped, that in regard of his past services they would not censure him with more rigour than humanity. His submission on this occasion changed the minds of the whole assembly, and the people began to vent their rage upon his accusers, who, privately withdrawing, left *Aratus* in greater esteem among all ranks of people than he had ever been to that time: the assembly gave themselves entirely up to his counsel and conduct, and re-instated him in the command of the allied army. However,

ver,

ver, the remembrance of his defeat had thrown a great damp on his courage ; so that he behaved as a prudent civil magistrate, rather than as an able warrior ; and though the *Ætoli-ans* often gave him opportunities to distress them, he made no advantage of them, but suffered their parties to lay waste almost the whole country^c (D).

THE *Achæans* were therefore forced to address *Macedonia* again, and call in *Philip*, in hopes that the affection he bore to *Aratus*, and the confidence he had in him, would incline that monarch to send them speedy succours. For *Antigonus* on his death-bed had above all things entreated *Philip* to join with *Aratus*, and follow his counsel in all things relating to *Greece* ; he had also sent him when very young into *Peloponnesus*, to learn the art of government under the eye of so great a statesman. *Philip*, having given audience to the *Achæan* deputies, and understood by their speech the injuries they had suffered from the *Ætoli-ans*, contrary to the articles of peace agreed on in the reign of *Antigonus*, promised to assist them with the whole strength of his kingdom ; and accordingly soon after set out for *Greece* and arrived at *Corinth*. Upon his arrival the ambassadors of the confederates, who were already met at *Corinth*, began to concert with him what measures they should take with relation to the *Ætoli-ans*. Complaints were made to the king by almost every city in *Peloponnesus* against them, and war unanimously declared both by the king and the confederates. It was moreover enacted by the assembly, with the concurrence and approbation of *Philip*, that all those who had been sufferers by the *Ætoli-ans*, since the death of *Demetrius* father to *Philip*, should be received into the confederacy, and that if any city or state had been awed into an alliance with the *Ætoli-ans*, and paid them tribute, they should be forthwith set at liberty, the security

^c POLYB. ubi supra. PLUT. in Arat.

(D) *Aratus* was accused in the assembly, first, of having taken the command upon him before he was duly elected : secondly, he was blamed for having dismissed the *Achæan* troops, while the *Ætoli-ans* were still in the heart of *Peloponnesus*, notwithstanding he had before been well assured, that they did all they could to engage *Peloponnesus* in a war. The third article against him was, his venturing to join battle with so few troops, when he might have made with great ease a safe retreat to the neighbouring towns, and there reinforced his army. The last and heaviest charge against him was, that, after he had resolved to give the enemy battle, he did not make one soldier-like step in the whole conduct of the action.

of

of their respective governments committed to their own hands, and all garisons withdrawn. This decree was sent to all the confederate towns, to the end, that, it being every where received and ratified by the suffrages of the people, they might jointly in their different states proclaim war against the common enemy. Which was done accordingly, and the war from thence called the *confederate war* ^c.

THE *Ætolians* on the other side prepared for war, and chose for their prætor one *Scopas*, who had been the chief author of all the violences they had committed. *Philip*, having concerted with the *Achæans* the operations of the ensuing campaign, marched his army back into *Macedon*, where he employed all the winter in making the requisite military preparations. He won over *Scerdilaidas* to the *Achæan* league. He was a petty king of *Illyria*, and had engaged in an alliance with the *Ætolians*, but was at that time highly incensed against them for refusing to give him, according to the articles agreed upon between them, share of the spoils which had been got at the taking of *Cynætha*. This breach of articles so disgusted him, that he was easily prevailed upon by *Philip* to enter into the common alliance, and furnish a fleet of thirty ships, on the terms of being paid yearly the sum of twenty talents ^d. The *Achæans* likewise sent to invite all their allies to join them in the confederacy. The *Acarnanians* without any hesitation declared war against the *Ætolians*, though they were most exposed to the enemy's insults, as lying nearest the *Ætolian* territories, and no-ways in a condition to defend themselves. Our author bestows the highest encomiums on this people, telling us, that there is no nation among the *Greeks* with which friendship may be more safely contracted, there being none that profess more regard to public or private faith, or will venture further for the love of liberty; that, both in public and private treaties, they prefer honour to all other considerations, and that, however weak, they have often in defence of their reputation engaged in the greatest dangers ^e. The *Epirots* refused to declare war, till *Philip* should first proclaim it. The *Messenians*, for whose sake the war was undertaken, declared, that they would not engage in it, unless *Phigalia*, which commanded their frontiers, were first drawn off from the *Ætolian* league. The *Lacedæmonians* had declared at first for the *Achæans*, but the contrary faction prevailing, they joined the *Ætolians*. Thus all things falling out to the wish of the *Ætolians*, they entered on

^c POLYB. *ibid.* p. 294, 299.
306.

^d Idem, *ibid.* p. 330.

^e Idem, *ibid.* p. 305,

the war with great hopes of success, while the *Achæans* had but a melancholy prospect of their affairs. For *Philip*, on whom chiefly they relied, was yet but forming his army; the *Epirots* were slow in their preparations, and the *Messeni-ans* continued neuter, while the *Ætolians*, assisted by the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*, attacked them on all sides * and gained very considerable advantages. Embassadors were therefore dispatched to *Philip*, who, hearing the danger his allies were in, marched out to their relief with fifteen thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, and crossing *Thessaly* arrived in *Epirus*. Here he was prevailed upon by the *Epirots* to lay siege to *Ambracia*, which took him up forty days, and gave the enemy time to prepare against his coming; whereas, if he had led his army directly into *Ætolia*, he would in all likelihood have at once put an end to the war. While *Philip* was employed at *Ambracia*, *Scopas*, at the head of a numerous body of *Ætolians*, took his march through *Thessaly*, and entering *Macedonia* ravaged the country without the least opposition, returning home in a short time with an immense booty. However, this did not hinder *Philip* from pursuing the siege of *Ambracia*, and, after the surrender of that city, entering *Ætolia* and seizing on a great many important places. He would have soon reduced all *Ætolia*, had he not been obliged to repair to the relief of his own country, which the *Dardanians* were upon the point of invading. At his departure he assured the embassadors of the *Achæans*, that as soon as he should be able to compose his affairs at home, he would return into *Greece* and assist them to the utmost of his power. His unexpected arrival so terrified the *Dardanians*, that they dismissed their army, after they had got near the frontiers of *Macedonia*, and retired home. Whereupon *Philip* returning to *Thessaly* spent there the remaining part of the summer in the city of *Larissa* †.

IN the mean time *Dorimachus*, whom the *Ætolians* had just before appointed their prætor, drawing together their troops led them into the upper *Epirus*, laying waste the whole country, not so much in prospect of profit to himself, as out of malice to the *Epirots*. He did not even spare the temple of *Dodona*, but laid it in ashes, carrying home all the ornaments and rich furniture of that stately edifice. *Philip* having notice of these ravages, though it was now the depth of winter, left *Larissa*, and taking with him three thousand *Chalcipides*, so called from their carrying brazen shields, two thousand buckler-men, three hundred *Candidi*, and about

* Idem, ibid. p. 334.

† POLYB. ibid.

Pfophis
taken by
the confederates.

four hundred horse, marched through *Theffaly* and *Eubæa* to *Corinth*, where he arrived without any one's having the least notice of his march. On his arrival he sent for *Aratus*, and dispatched letters to his son, who bore the same name, and was that year prætor and commander in chief of the *Achean* forces, requiring him to assemble the troops as soon as possible, and appoint a place of rendezvous. *Caphya* was the place agreed on, whither while *Philip* was marching, he met with a detachment of two thousand *Eleans*, who under the command of *Euripidas*, were advancing to plunder the territory of *Sicyon*, and having attacked them unexpectedly, for they were quite ignorant of *Philip's* return, he took about twelve hundred of them, and cut the rest in pieces. Three days after he arrived at *Caphya*, where he halted two days to refresh his troops, and then together with *Aratus* the younger, who had there drawn together ten thousand *Acheans*, he advanced to *Pfophis*, with a design to besiege it. This was a bold attempt, for the city was accounted impregnable, both on account of its natural situation, and the many fortifications which had been added to it (E), and besides was furnished with a strong garison commanded by *Euripidas*, who had escaped from the late defeat. *Philip* encamped on an eminence at a small distance from the town, and, after viewing the fortifications and situation of the place, was a long time doubtful whether he should attempt it or not; but at length, reflecting on the great importance of such a fortress, he resolved at all adventures to begin the siege. Having therefore ordered his troops to refresh themselves, and be in a readiness under their arms by break of day, he commanded them to march down and pass the bridge over the *Erymanthus*; which they did without opposition, the garison not suspecting they would venture on such a dangerous enterprize. Having crossed the river they approached the town, and lodged themselves at the very foot of the wall. This struck *Euripidas* and the garison with great terror; for they never imagined, that the enemy would be so bold as to make an essay of their strength against

(E) *Pfophis* was the most antient city of *Arcadia*, situated in the very heart of *Peloponnesus*, and on the west borders of *Arcadia* towards the frontiers of *Achaia*. It was surrounded on the west side by a rapid stream, which during the winter was no where fordable; on the east by the *Erymanthus*, a great and violent river; on the south by a torrent which emptied itself into the *Erymanthus*; on the north it was defended by an eminence very strong by nature and greatly improved by art, which served for a citadel; and besides, the walls and works about the town were very considerable, both for their height and thickness.

a place

a place so well fortified and provided, or to undertake a long siege by reason of the winter and bad weather. What they chiefly apprehended was, that *Philip* might become master of the place by intelligence. But when these fears were over, there being none in the town so much as inclined to the king's party, they betook themselves to the defence of the works, the greatest part of the *Ætolians* mounting the walls, while the *Elean* mercenaries made a sally by a gate in the upper part of the town, in hopes of surprising the enemy on that side. In the mean time the king, having appointed three several attacks to be made, ordered ladders to be raised by men destined for that particular service against each place, with a strong guard of *Macedonians* to support them; then commanding the signal to be given, they advanced to the assault on all quarters of the town. The garison for some time made a brave resistance, overturning many of their ladders; but their darts beginning to fail them, and the *Macedonians* bravely maintaining the attack, notwithstanding the opposition they met with, they deserted at length their posts, and betook themselves by flight to the citadel, leaving the *Macedonians* possessed of the walls. At the same time the *Candiots*, who had engaged the party that had made the sally, beat them back, and in the pursuit entered pell-mell with them into the town; so that it was taken in all quarters at once. The inhabitants with their wives and children took sanctuary in the citadel, as did *Euripidas* and such as had time to provide for their safety². *Euripidas*, foreseeing what must inevitably befall him, capitulated with *Philip*, and yielded up the citadel, after having obtained indemnity for all that were retired thither, both towns-men and strangers. The king being obliged by the bad weather to take up his abode here for some days, he assembled all the *Acheans* that were with him, and after shewing them of what importance the city of *Psophis* was to them in the war they had on their hands, generously gave it up to their deputies, assuring them at the same time, that he would let no occasion pass of shewing them the strongest proofs of his affection to their nation, and zeal for their interest.

From *Psophis* the king led his army to *Lafon*, which he found abandoned both by the *Elean* garison and the inhabitants. This town likewise he delivered up to the *Acheans*, as he did the city of *Stratus* to the *Telpugians*, whom the *Eleans* had driven out. From *Stratus* he continued his march to *Olympia*, where after he had allowed his troops three days rest, he entered the territories of the *Eleans*, sending detach-

² POLYB. *ibid.* p. 336.

ments abroad to plunder and lay waste the country, while he encamped with the main body of the army in the neighbourhood of *Artemissium*. This territory had been formerly accounted sacred in regard of the *Olympic* games, which were solemnized there every fourth year; and all the nations of *Greece* had agreed never to turn their arms against it. But the *Eleans* had forfeited this privilege by engaging in the wars of *Greece*, and adhering to one party against another. As the territory of the *Eleans* was the best peopled and the most fruitful of all *Peloponnesus*, and the inhabitants so fond of a country life, that they could never be prevailed upon to inhabit their towns, the allied army found here so great a booty that they could scarce carry it off, the soldiers being over-loaded with the rich moveables of their country-houses, besides the many prisoners and numerous herds of cattle, which greatly embarrassed them in their march. *Philip* therefore found it necessary to retire out of the *Elean* territory, and re-encamp at *Olympia*, taking on his march the fortrefs of *Thaleme*, whither many of the *Eleans* had conveyed their most valuable effects ^a.

*Disturbances
raised by
Apelles.*

WHILE *Philip* was thus employing his arms in defence of the *Achæan* liberties, one of his courtiers formed a project of reducing them to a state of slavery. Among the many tutors and governors left by *Antigonus* to king *Philip*, who came a child to the crown, *Apelles* held the chief rank, and had preserved a powerful influence over the young prince. This minister took it into his head to reduce the *Acheans* to the same condition in which the *Thessalians* were at that time; that is, to subject them to the caprice of the ministers of *Macedon*, leaving them only the bare name of liberty, which was the case of the *Thessalians*. To compass this design, his first essay was on the patience of the *Achean* soldiery, whom the *Macedonians* by his orders often dislodged, taking possession of their quarters, when they found them better provided than themselves, and depriving them of their plunder; when they complained of this hard usage he caused them to be put under arrest, and severely punished by the common executioner, imagining, that by this sort of usage he should be able by degrees to bring the *Acheans* to bear any burden the king should think fit to lay upon them. But *Aratus* complaining to the king of this injurious treatment, and imparting to him the project of *Apelles*, that prince assured him, that care should be taken for the future to prevent any such injuries. And accordingly he ordered *Apelles* never to lay any commands on

^a Idem, ibid.

the *Acheans* without the concurrence of their prætor or chief officer. The *Acheans*, over-joyed at the favour the king shewed them, and the orders he had given for their peace and security, were ever bestowing the highest encomiums on his equity and other exalted qualities. And indeed, if our author is to be credited, he was possessed of all those virtues which can endear a king to his people; such as a lively genius, an uncommon understanding, a happy memory, an agreeable utterance, an unaffected grace in all his actions, and a beautiful aspect heightened by a majestic air, which bespoke the greatness of his mind; but his brightest virtues were the sweetness of his temper, his affability, and a great desire to please and content all who lived under his government ^b. How he forfeited this great character our author gives him, and from a glorious king became an inhuman tyrant, we refer to a more proper place.

THE king, having thus settled matters between the *Macedonians* and *Acheans*, decamped from *Olympia*, and, having caused a bridge to be laid over the *Alpheus*, entered the territory of the *Triphalians* (F), reduced the city of *Aliphera* (G), and in a few days brought all that country under subjection. The rapidity of his conquests struck such terror into all the neighbouring states, that most of them voluntarily submitted, and the rest, after a faint resistance, were forced to receive the yoke. Having thus greatly weakened the *Ætolian* confederacy, he returned loaded with spoils and glory to *Argos*, where he passed the remainder of the winter ^c.

^b POLYB. ubi supra. p. 338, 339. ^c Idem, p. 343.

(F) This country, which took its name from an *Arcadian* youth, lies on the sea-coast of *Peloponnesus* between the *Eleans* and *Messeni-ans*, on the north-west skirts of *Achaia*. Its towns were *Sancticum*, *Lepreum*, *Hypana*, *Typanæa*, *Pyrgus*, *Æpyum*, *Bolax*, *Styllagium*, and *Phryxa*. All these places the *Eleans* had lately reduced to their obedience, together with *Alipheræa*, a town of *Arcadia*, and *Megalopolis* itself, a city at that time of great note (3).

(G) *Aliphera* was seated on the top of a high and steep hill, which was defended by a strong fortress. In this fortress was to be seen a brazen statue of *Minerva*, famous for its size and the excellence of the workmanship. The inhabitants themselves, as our author tells us, could give no clear account why it was placed there, nor at whose charge. It was the work of *Hecatodorus* and *Sotiratus*, and generally esteemed the most beautiful and finished piece they ever performed (4).

(3) Polyb. lib. iv p. 339, 340. (4) Idem, ibid. p. 343.

Apollon

Apelles *Apelles* had not yet so given over his project, as to be with-
endeavours out hopes of bringing by degrees the *Achæans* to a servile
to put Ara- subjection. But he well knew, that both the *Aratus's*, father
tus in dis- and son, withstood his design, and that the king held them
g ace with in great esteem, especially the father, in whom he reposed
the king. the greatest confidence. He therefore resolved to attack
 them both, and by fraud and address put them, if possible, in
 disgrace with the king. With this view he sent for all those
 who were of the opposite faction among the *Achæans*, and
 enemies to *Aratus*, and having instructed himself in their se-
 veral interests and characters, he employed all his arts to en-
 gage them in his friendship, acting in their favour with the
 king, whom he endeavoured to persuade, that if he continued
 to treat *Aratus* with so much deference, he could never hope
 to gain any thing on the *Achæans* further than was stipulated
 by the articles of confederacy. But if he would be pleased to
 countenance those he should recommend, he might soon
 compass whatever he desired, and dispose of all matters in
Peloponnesus at his pleasure. The new friends enforced these
 reflections, and improved on the arguments of *Apelles*. As the
 time of electing a new prætor was drawing near, he prevailed
 with the king to be present at the *Achæan* assembly, and to
 employ all his interest in favour of one *Eperatus* a declared
 enemy to *Aratus*, who was accordingly elected in preference
 to *Timozenus*, whom *Aratus* had set up. Thus *Philip*, not-
 withstanding his excellent parts, became the tool of his
 prime minister; what then can be expected from a weak
 prince that devotes himself to the will of a crafty intrigueing
Apelles? And now *Apelles* began to think that he had advanced
 far in his enterprize, having obtained an *Achæan* prætor of
 his faction. He therefore renewed his attempts, being deter-
 mined totally to destroy the interest of *Aratus* with the king.
 An incident which happened at that time armed him with new
 calumnies. *Amphidamus* chief of the *Eleans*, who had been
 taken prisoner, persuaded the king that it would be no diffi-
 cult matter, to procure him the friendship of his countrymen,
 and that he could easily make them covet his alliance. Here-
 upon the king discharged him without ransom, empowering
 him to assure the *Eleans*, that on condition of their entering
 into an alliance with him, he would suffer them to live in the
 entire enjoyment of all their privileges, and exempt them
 both from garisons and tribute. But the *Eleans* would not
 listen to any conditions how advantageous soever, declaring,
 that no consideration should be capable of inducing them to
 abandon their antient allies. This so unreasonable a refusal

Apelles

Apelles ascribed to the ill services done clandestinely by *Aratus*, telling the king, that he had kept *Amphidamus* from enforcing, as he had engaged to do, his offers to the inhabitants of *Elis*, and that, on *Amphidamus*'s departure from *Olympia* towards *Elis*, he had conferred with him and made him change his mind, being by him persuaded that it would be no-ways for the interest of *Peloponnesus* that *Philip* should acquire any power over the *Eleans*. The king immediately sent for *Aratus*, and insisted upon *Apelles*'s charging him to his face with what he had brought against him in private. This *Apelles* did not scruple to do, and that with such an air of assurance as might have disconcerted innocence itself. He even added, that since the king had discovered his insincerity, by which he had rendered himself so unworthy of his kindness and good offices, the whole matter should be referred to the general assembly of the *Acheans*, and the king in the mean time return with his army into *Macedon*. This was what he wanted, not doubting but he should get him condemned there by the powerful influence of his authority. *Aratus* beseeched the king not to give credit over-hastily to what he heard, shewing, that it was a piece of justice owing by a king, more than by any other man, to a person accused, to command that a strict enquiry be made into the several articles of impeachment, and till then suspend his judgment. In consequence of this he required, that *Apelles* should be obliged to produce those who were witnesses to the conference whereof he had been accused, and likewise the person who had given *Apelles* the information, and that in short nothing ought to be omitted whereby the king might arrive at the certain truth of the matter, before he discovered any thing to the assembly. The king thought *Aratus*'s request very just and reasonable, and engaged his royal word that he should be gratified in it. Not long after *Amphidamus*, being suspected by the *Eleans* to favour the king's party, was obliged to fly his country and retire to *Dymas*, whither the king was come to settle some affairs. *Aratus* laid hold of this opportunity, and begged the king, that he himself would examine *Amphidamus*, since the secret was said to have been imparted to him. He complied with his request, and upon a strict examination found that there was not the least grounds for the charge. Accordingly *Aratus* was pronounced innocent, and restored to the king's favour and confidence ^d.

^d Idem ibid. p. 344. 349.

As *Philip* began to want both money and provisions for his army, he prevailed upon the *Achean* magistrates, by means of *Aratus*, to convene a general assembly at *Sicyon*, where, on the report he made of the state of his exchequer and of the urgent want he was in of money to maintain his forces, it was decreed, that, the instant his troops should set out on their march, fifty talents should be advanced to the king with ten thousand measures of wheat; and that afterwards, so long as he should carry on the war in person in *Peloponnesus*, he should receive seventeen talents a month. This renewed his esteem for *Aratus*, to whom he was indebted for so large a supply, as he himself acknowledged in a private conference which he had both with the father and the son after the council was dismissed. On this occasion he imputed all that had passed to the artifices of *Apelles*, begging them to forget their wrongs, and continue to him their affection in the same degree as heretofore, since he considered them now more than ever^c.

AND now the armies beginning to move from their winter quarters, it was resolved to prosecute the war likewise by sea, in order to divide the enemies forces, and be able to carry their arms with more ease whithersoever they should judge it most expedient, for they had to do at once with the *Ætolians*, *Lacedemonians*, and *Elonians*. Pursuant to this resolution the king ordered the fleet, both his own and the *Achean* ships, to rendezvous at the port of *Lechæum*, where he commanded the *Macedonian* phalanx to be instructed in the use of the oar.

Treason-
able prac-
tices of
Apelles.

WHILE *Philip* was thus employed in training up his *Macedonians* for naval expeditions, *Apelles*, who could not brook the diminution of his credit with the king, nor suffer that the counsels of *Aratus* should be followed and not his, took secret measures to defeat all the king's designs. He agreed with *Leontius* and *Megaleas*, two chief officers who were to act in the army, that they should secretly thwart and obstruct all his measures, while he, making his abode at *Chalcis*, should take care to shorten and retard his supplies, so that he should be obliged, for want of money and provisions, to pass the whole summer in a state of inactivity. His view was to make himself necessary to his sovereign, and to force him by the ill posture of his affairs to throw himself into his arms. With this prospect he acted his own part so well, that, by stopping the convoys of money and provisions that were send-

^c Idem, l. v. p. 350.

ing to the king, he reduced him to such straits, that he was obliged to pawn all his plate to supply his wants.

Philip, thinking his *Macedonians* now sufficiently instructed in the use of the oar, embarked with six thousand of them, and twelve hundred mercenaries, steering his course towards *Patræ*, where he arrived the next day. From *Patræ* he dispatched messengers to the *Epirots*, *Messenians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Scardilaidas*, requiring them to hasten with their ships and join him at *Cephalenia*. He then left *Patræ*, and came to *Paleis* a strong city in the island of *Cephalenia*. Here, *Paleis* be-
finding plenty of corn on the ground to maintain his army, *sieged*.

he disembarked and set down before the place, drawing his vessels ashore, and securing them with a good ditch and palisadoe. He had appointed the confederates to meet him at this place, and was mighty desirous to become master of it before their arrival. It was of great use to the *Ætolians*, who from thence made all their descents in *Peloponnesus*, and plundered the coasts of *Epirus* and *Acarmania*. *Philip* therefore, having viewed the situation of the town, caused the military engines to be planted before it, ordering his *Macedonians* to undermine the walls. They went chearfully to work, and in a very short time undermined great part of the wall, propping and supporting it with great wooden stakes. The king then summoned the town to surrender, which the garison refusing to do, fire was set to the posts that sustained the walls, and a breach made six hundred fathoms wide.

Leontius was ordered to mount the breach, and enter the town over the ruins of the wall. But he, mindful of his agreement with *Apelles*, having corrupted some of the chief officers that served under him, attacked the enemy so faintly, that he was repulsed with great loss, when he had the fairest opportunity that could be wished for of taking the town. This obliged the king to raise the siege, though he was joined by the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, *Messenians*, and by fifteen vessels sent him by *Scardilaidas* &c.

*Treachery
of Leon-
tius.*

WHILE *Philip* was thus employed at the siege of *Paleis*, *Lycurgus* the *Lacedemonian* marched at the head of a numerous army into the territories of *Messenia*, and *Dorimachus* the *Ætolian* with a strong detachment into *Thessaly*, both with the same design of obliging the king by this double diversion to break up the siege. Whereupon ambassadors were dispatched to him from the *Acarnanians* and *Messenians*, the former advising him to make an inroad into *Ætolia*, and

^f *Idem*, *ibid.* p. 350, 365.

thereby oblige *Dorimachus* to return to the defence of his own country ; and the latter intreating him to sail directly to *Messenia*, where he might easily surprize *Lycurgus*, who was not under any apprehension of being attacked. *Leontius* strongly seconded this advice, foreseeing, that if the king followed it he would be obliged to spend the whole summer there, while the *Ætolians* would be at liberty to put all to fire and sword in *Thessaly* and *Epirus* ; for during the season of the *Etesian* winds, which continued most part of the summer, it was impossible to return back, as they were not in those days very expert mariners. *Aratus* therefore did not fail to declare in favour of the former opinion, shewing how advantageous it would be to fall on the *Ætolians*, while their country was unfurnished with troops, and adding, that the opportunity of making descents was not to be neglected now that *Dorimachus* with the *Ætolian* troops was employed elsewhere. The king, who, ever since the cowardly behaviour of *Leontius* at *Paleis*, began to suspect his fidelity, followed the advice of *Aratus*, and having wrote to *Eperatus* the *Achean* prætor to assemble his troops, and march to the relief of the *Messenians*, he himself weighed anchor, and arrived the next day at *Leucas*. There he landed his forces, and having caused his vessels to be carried over the isthmus of *Dioryctus*, he passed into the gulph of *Ambracia*, which runs far up into *Ætolia*, and came before day-break to *Lemnæa*. Here he commanded the soldiers to take a short refreshment, and to be in a readiness to march without any baggage but what was absolutely necessary. While the king was on the point of setting out from *Lemnæa*, *Aristophontes* the *Acarnianian* general came to join him with all his forces ; for that people, having been great sufferers by the *Ætolians*, greedily embraced so fair an opportunity of repaying them in their own coin ; and on this occasion not only such as were obliged by their laws to bear arms, but even those who were exempted, in regard of their age or long services, took the field. The *Epirots* incited by the like motives were not less forward, though, by reason of the extent of their country and the sudden arrival of king *Philip*, they had not been able to draw all their forces together. The king, being thus reinforced, departed from *Lemnæa* in the close of the evening, leaving the baggage under a strong guard, and arrived by day-break at the river *Achelous*, intending to surprize the important town of *Therma*. *Leontius*, foreseeing that this enterprize would be attended in all likelihood with success, advised the king to encamp on the banks of the *Achelous*, and allow the army some rest after so fatiguing a night's march, being wil-

ling

ling that the *Ætolians* should have some time to bethink themselves and provide for their defence. But *Aratus*, being now sensible that *Leontius* opposed all promising designs, pressed *Philip* by no means to consent to any delay, nor upon any reason whatsoever respite his march, the success whereof lay in dispatch. The king followed his advice, and setting out that instant marched directly to *Thermæ*, through a very rugged and almost impracticable road, cut between two steep rocks and exceeding narrow. *Thermæ* was the capital of *Ætolia*, and the place where their yearly assemblies and fairs were held. As it was reckoned impregnable by reason of its situation, and no enemy had ever before dared to approach it, the *Ætolians* had lodged in it all their most valuable effects. So great therefore was their surprize when they saw *Philip* all on a sudden appear before it, that they had not so much presence of mind as to shut the gates or make the least resistance. The *Macedonians* and allies were permitted to plunder the town, which abounded with all sorts of provisions, military stores, and valuable movables. The army remained that night in the town, and the next morning every one chusing out of the booty what was most valuable and easy to be carried away, they made a heap of the rest and burnt it before the camp. They likewise saved the best arms which were found in their armories, exchanging them for such of their own as were less serviceable, and burning the rest to the number of fifteen thousand suits ⁸.

Thermæ,
the metro-
polis of
Ætolia,
surprized
and plun-
dered.

THE *Macedonians* did not stop here ; but calling to mind what the *Ætolians* had done at *Dium* and *Dodona*, they set fire to the porticoes of the temple, and levelled that magnificent structure with the ground, throwing down, defacing, and breaking in pieces to the number of two thousand statues of exquisite workmanship, and at that time greatly esteemed even in *Greece*. They respected, however, such as were known, either by their form or the inscription, to represent any of the gods. The desolation was such as to strike the king himself and those about him with a kind of terror, though at the same time they believed, that they had not over-acted their revenge for the sacrilegious impieties of the *Ætolians* at *Dium*.

Philip having plundered the town marched back the same way he came ; the booty he placed in the van, guarded by his heavy-armed troops ; the *Acarnanians* and mercenaries were posted in the rear, and the king himself with a body of

⁸ Idem, ibid. p. 365, & seq.

light-armed *Macedonians* ready to face the enemy in what part soever they should appear; for he was extremely solicitous to pass the straits before the *Ætolians* could draw together a body of troops to oppose his passage. But he had scarce begun his march when three thousand *Ætolians*, headed by *Alexander the Trichonian*, fell on his rear, and put them in great confusion. This *Philip* had foreseen, and accordingly placed a detachment of *Illyrians* in ambush behind a rising ground. These, unexpectedly appearing, fell on the enemy who had charged beyond them, and having killed about a hundred of them, and taken as many prisoners, obliged the rest to save themselves by flight among the rocks and woods. He was again attacked near *Stratus*, but having repulsed the enemy with great courage and resolution, he arrived safe and unmolested at *Lemnæa*, where he had left his baggage and vessels. Here he sacrificed to the gods by way of thanksgiving for the success that had attended his arms in that expedition, and at the same time to express his joy gave his officers a royal entertainment. *Leontius* and *Megaleas* were present, but every one soon perceived by their behaviour, that they looked with an evil eye on the good fortune of their master. During the whole entertainment they could not help throwing out against *Aratus* the most injurious and shocking raileries. But words were not all; at the breaking up of the banquet, being heated with wine and fired with anger, they pursued him with stones till he got into his tent. This put the whole army in an uproar, not only the *Acheans*, but the *Macedonians* themselves, running from all quarters to his assistance. The noise soon reached the king's ears, who, after a strict enquiry into the whole affair, condemned *Megalas*, for *Leontius* absconded, in a fine of twenty talents and put him under arrest. The next day he sent for *Aratus*, and after expressing his sense of the violence that had been offered him, he gave him new assurances of his protection. *Leontius*, in the mean time, being informed how the king had proceeded with *Megalas*, came boldly with a crowd of soldiers to the royal tent, thinking thereby, as the prince was but young, to put him into some apprehension, and awe him into another resolution touching the offenders. Being come into the king's presence, *Who has been so bold*, says he, *as to lay hands on Megaleas? It was I*, replied the king with a majestic tone, *and whatever has been done is by my express command*. This resolution in the king so frightened *Leontius*, that he immediately retired from his presence. He no sooner withdrew, but the king called a council to examine into the affair, and hear what was alledged against

Leontius,

Leontius, *Megaleas*, and their accomplices. *Aratus* charged them with all those criminal practices we have already taken notice of, and discovered the whole conspiracy of *Apelles*. As he urged nothing against them but what was vouched by competent witnesses, they were all found guilty. The king, however, by an unseasonable clemency, pardoned them, and even set *Megaleas* at liberty, *Leontius* binding himself for the payment of the fine the king had laid on him^b.

DURING *Philip's* expedition into *Ætolia*, *Lycurgus* king of *Sparta* made an inroad into the territories of the *Messeni-ans*, but did nothing worth recording. *Dorimachus* likewise, who had led a considerable body of *Ætolians* into *Thessaly*, with a design to lay waste the country, and thereby oblige the king to raise the siege of *Paleis*, returned without compassing either, having found the *Thessalians* ready to give him a warm reception. He therefore kept on the mountains, till he heard that the *Macedonians* had invaded *Ætolia*, when he left *Thessaly* and hastened to the relief of his own country. But before he arrived the king was retired^c.

IN the mean time *Philip*, having embarked his troops at *Leucas* and plundered the coast of *Hyanthes* in his way, arrived at *Corinth*, where landing his forces and ordering the vessels to be carried over to *Lechæum*, he dispatched messengers to the confederate towns of *Peloponnesus*, appointing them to rendezvous their troops at *Tegæa*. He then marched from *Corinth*, and came the next day to *Tegæa*, whence he proceeded with such of the *Achæan* horse as were there ready, holding his rout over the mountains, with a design to fall by surprize on the *Lacedemonian* territories. After four days march through a desert country, he gained the top of those hills that command the city of *Sparta*, and thence advanced to *Amyclæ*, a town distant from *Sparta* about four miles. The *Spartans*, who had heard of the success he met with at *Thermæ*, were strangely alarmed, when they saw the young monarch appear so suddenly in their territories, and approaching to the very gates of their metropolis. Several skirmishes were fought, in which *Philip* was always victorious; but we shall omit the particulars, which would swell the history to an undue length, and only say, that this expedition proved no less glorious to the king's arms than that of *Ætolia*; for he laid waste the enemy's country far and near, took and destroyed several towns, beat *Lycurgus*, who with a body of two thousand *Lacedemonians* had attempted to cut

^b POLYB. ubi supra, p. 368, 376. PLUT. in Arat. p. 1049.

^c Idem, p. 372.

off his retreat, and returned with an immense booty to *Corinth*. Here he found ambassadors from *Rhodes* and *Chios*, who came to offer their mediation and incline both parties to a peace. The king, dissembling his real intention, told them, that he was willing to conclude a peace with the *Ætolians* on reasonable terms, and charged them on their return to dispose his enemies to it. The king at that time had formed a project of making a descent on the territories of the *Phocians*, and executing there an enterprize of great importance. Having therefore dismissed the ambassadors, he hastened to *Leortium*, proposing to embarque his troops there.

Leontius,
Megaleas,
and Pto-
lomy raise a
tumult a-
mong the
troops.

BUT he was scarce gone, when *Leontius*, *Megaleas*, and *Ptolomy*, who was also one of *Philip's* chief officers, began to employ the authority they had over the forces that remained at *Corinth*, to draw off their affections from their prince, and win them over to their own interest. They represented to them, chiefly to the light-armed troops and the king's guards, that they, who were the first in all hazards and secured the rest of the army from all danger, were not treated according to their merit, and that, instead of being distinguished by any particular reward for their service, they had been even deprived of the booty which they had taken, notwithstanding the constant custom in like cases to the contrary. The soldiers, especially the youth, were so inflamed by these seditious discourses, that assembling in parties they plundered the houses of the king's chief favourites, and carried their insolence to that height as to force the gates of the king's own palace. The king, receiving timely notice of the tumult, flew to *Corinth*, and assembling the *Macedonians* made them sensible of their fault, in a long harangue intermixed with gentleness and severity. The tumult being appeased, some advised the king to seize on the authors of the sedition and punish them with the utmost severity; others thought it more adviseable to gain them by gentle methods, the king being still young, and his authority not yet entirely fixed in the minds of the people. This advice he followed for the present, stifling his resentment and pretending to be very well satisfied, he returned to *Lechæum*, after exhorting his troops to union and concord. But it was now too late to undertake any thing against the *Phocians*, who had drawn together their forces, and were prepared to receive him.

IN the mean time, *Leontius*, being well apprised that the king, though he carried it very fair with him as to outward appearance, would not fail in due time to vent his just resentment upon him, had recourse to *Apelles*, giving him notice of the danger he was in, and pressing him to leave *Chalcis*
and

and hasten to court. *Philip* had been informed by *Aratus* of the whole conduct of *Apelles*, but had kept his thoughts so close, that no body could discover from his behaviour any change in him with respect to his prime minister, who continued to govern at *Chalcis* more like a sovereign prince than a subject (H). He therefore no sooner heard of the danger his client was in, but he left *Chalcis*, not doubting, but he should be received at court after the usual manner, and change the king's mind at his pleasure. As he drew near to *Corinth*, *Leontius*, *Megaleas*, and *Ptolomy*, who were the chief officers in the army, prevailed by their authority on the flower of the king's forces to meet him, and attend him by way of guard into the town; so that he made his entry with a pompous train, and went directly to wait on the king. But the officer, who was on duty at the gate of the royal palace, and had received orders to that effect, stopped him, and told him that he must wait, for the king was not then at leisure. *Apelles* was thunder-struck at so unexpected a reception, and after having waited some time in silence retired to his lodgings, attended only by his own domestics, all the rest having already deserted him (I). *Megaleas*, seeing the prime minister, on whose protection he relied, fallen into disgrace, made his escape to *Athens*, leaving *Leontius*, who was his surety for the sum of twenty talents, to shift for himself. Hereupon the king having sent the buckler-men, whose chief officer was *Leontius*, to *Triphalia* under the command of *Taurion*, pretending to have some extraordinary occasion for their service, caused *Leontius* to be arrested,

Apelles
how re-
ceived by
Philip.

Leontius
arrested.

(H) *Apelles*, during his residence at *Chalcis*, governed all things with an arbitrary sway, as if he, and not *Philip*, had been invested with the sovereign power. Wherefore the magistrates, and such as had charge of the affairs in *Macedon* and *Thessaly*, applied to him alone, and took his directions in all matters of importance. When any of the *Greek* towns had occasion to publish new laws or ordinances, or confer honours or preferments, there was scarce ever any mention made of the king, but of *Apelles* (5).

(I) Behold the uncertain state of mortal greatness, says our author; in one and the same moment men are raised to the highest preferments, and sunk to the lowest ebb of fortune; and this chiefly in the courts of princes, where, like counters, their value rises and falls according to the place they are set in; for those who follow the court are great and little at the pleasure of their master, who carries their fortune in his hands (6).

(5) *Idem*, lib. v. p. 350, & seq.

(6) *Idem*, *ibid.* p. 351.

giving out that it was for the payment of the twenty talents which he was bound for, but in reality to have him in his power, and to sound the disposition of the soldiery. The troops which he commanded no sooner received notice of his arrest, but they sent a petition to the king, importing, that if the commitment of *Leontius* was on any other account than that of his being surety for *Megaleas*, the king would be pleased not to determine any thing against him during their absence; and that they should interpret any sentence in his prejudice as an injury done to them, and resent it accordingly; but in case *Leontius* was under arrest to secure the payment of the money due on account of *Megaleas*, they would readily contribute towards satisfying the debt. But their affection shewn to *Leontius* proved unseasonable, and was taken by the king so ill, that it became the occasion of his death sooner than was expected *.

A thirty
days truce
granted to
the Æto-
lians.

DURING this interval, the ambassadors returned from *Ætolia*, bringing with them proposals for a truce of thirty days; they assured the king, that the *Ætolians* were inclined to peace, and that they had appointed a day for their general assembly to meet at *Rhium*, where they prayed the king to be present, promising all the advances possible on their part towards a general pacification. *Philip* accepted of the truce, and sent his dispatches to the confederates, requiring them to send their respective deputies to *Patræ*, to negotiate a peace with the *Ætolians*. He himself immediately set out from *Lechæum* in order to assist at it, and arrived the next day at *Patræ*. There letters were delivered to him directed by *Megaleas* to the *Ætolians*, encouraging them to pursue the war against *Philip* and the *Achæans*, since the king was in the utmost distress for want of money and provisions. They contained likewise most reproachful and injurious reflections on the king, which shewed his hatred to him, and convinced him, that the whole faction of *Apelles* sought his destruction. He therefore ordered him immediately to be taken into custody, together with his son and a youth his favourite, and so sent to *Corinth*. At the same time he enjoined the magistrates of *Thebes* to prosecute *Megaleas*, who had retired thither from *Athens*; but he prevented his trial by laying violent hands on himself. Not long after *Leontius* received sentence of death, and likewise *Apelles* with his son and favourite. History can scarce furnish us with a more remarkable example of the ascendant which a favourite may gain over the mind of his sovereign, in order to satiate with impunity his avarice and ambition. It was with

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the utmost difficulty, that *Aratus* roused the king from his irresolution and servitude, and prevailed upon him at last to exert himself, after he had been so long deaf to the repeated complaints of his subjects, and blind to all the faults of his favourite minister¹.

As to the *Ætolians*, they were sincerely disposed to peace, being grown weary of a war, in which all their projects had succeeded quite otherwise than they expected. They had flattered themselves, that they had to do with a young unexperienced prince, *Philip* not being yet arrived, as they imagined, at an age of conduct and experience; but they found him an able and enterprising leader, and well qualified both for counsel and execution. However, when they came to hear of the mutiny of the troops and the conspiracy of *Apelles*, hoping these troubles would beget distractions at court, they postponed their meeting at *Rhium*. *Philip* and the confederates, who had a hopeful prospect of the issue of the war, and wished for nothing more ardently than to break off all negotiations of peace, were glad of the opportunity which the enemy furnished them with, and accordingly animated each other

The confederates resolve to pursue the war.

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By this time *Eperatus*, who had been chosen prætor of the *Achæans* by the influence of *Apelles*, as we have related above, was become universally despised, as being no ways qualified for that trust, which is commonly the case in forced elections. No one would pay obedience to his orders, and the country being open and defenceless, great havock was made in it by *Pyrrhias*, at the head of three thousand *Eleans* and *Ætolians*. The *Achaean* troops, being in arrear of their pay, refused to obey the prætor's orders, when at any time they were commanded to march out to the relief of the country, and deserted in great numbers. All this was owing to the insufficiency of *Eperatus*; but, happily for the *Achæans*, his authority was almost expired, and early in the summer *Aratus* appointed to succeed him². The new prætor found the *Achaean* mercenaries corrupted by an universal decay of military discipline, and the cities no ways disposed to contribute towards the carrying on of the war. In the general assembly, after having warm-

¹ Idem, *ibid* p. 376.

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The confederates resolve to pursue the war.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 276.

² *Ibid.* p. 317.

ly exhorted their deputies to the prosecution of the war, he wrested from them a decree, empowering him to levy eight thousand mercenary foot and five hundred horse, besides three thousand foot and three hundred horse which were to be raised at home. By the same decree the *Megalopolitans* were to contribute three hundred foot and fifty horse, and the *Argians* the like number ^a.

WHILE the *Achæans* were thus preparing for the prosecution of the war, *Lycurgus* and *Pyrrhias*, prætor of the *Eleans*, taking the field, made an inroad into the territories of the *Messenians*, but were soon forced to retire by *Aratus*, who advanced with the mercenaries to cover the frontiers of *Messene*, *Megalopolis*, *Tegæa*, and *Argos*, which were most exposed to the insults of the *Lacedemonians*. Not long after *Lycus*, whom *Aratus* had appointed to command the troops while he assisted at the general assembly, gained a considerable victory over the *Eleans*, who, under the conduct of *Euripidas* their new prætor, had advanced as far as *Pharæa*, plundering and laying waste the whole country. The plunder which he got on this occasion produced a great sum of money; so that the troops took better heart in prospect of better pay, and the people conceived hopes that they should now be exempt from taxes and contributions towards the war.

Thebes of
Phthiotis
taken by
the confederates.
Year of
the flood,
2782.
Before
Christ,
217.

IN the mean time, *Philip*, having ordered such stores and provisions as he had provided during the winter to be brought from *Larissa*, set out on his march towards *Greece*, with a design to begin the campaign with the siege of *Thebes* called *Phthiotis* (L), whence the *Ætolians* used to make continual inroads into the territories of *Demetrias*, *Pharsalia*, and even *Larissa*. Accordingly, having divided his army into three bodies, he invested the town, and, with an hundred and fifty catapults and other engines for casting of stones, began to batter the walls night and day without intermission. The inhabitants at first made a vigorous resistance; but great numbers of them being killed, by the many darts and stones that had been cast into the town, and the rest quite tired out by incessant attacks, which kept them continually in action, their resolution began to fail, and the *Macedonians* advancing their mines, and

^a Idem, p 378.

(L) This city was situate near the sea about eight and thirty miles distance from *Larissa*; and was on the frontiers of *Magnesia* and *Thessaly*, its territory bordering on *Magnesia* towards *Demetrias*, and on *Thessaly* towards that tract which was inhabited by the *Pharjans* and *Pieræans*.

now preparing to give the assault, they thought fit to surrender at discretion. *Philip* plundered the town, sold the inhabitants, and, re-peopling it with a colony of *Macedonians*, changed the name of *Thebes* into that of *Philippopolis*.

NOT long after the town had surrendered, new ambassadors came to him from *Chios*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and from *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, to propose the concluding of a peace. The king replied as he had done before, that he was inclined to put an end to the war, and that they needed but apply to the *Ætolians*, to know whether they were willing to concur with him in restoring *Greece* to its former tranquility. *Philip* was in reality very far from being inclined to a peace; but, as he did not care to declare his true intentions, he only told the ambassadors, that in the mean time he was determined to pursue his enterprizes.

HE afterwards set out with his friends and favourites for *Argos*, to be present at the *Nemæan* games. While he was one day assisting at one of these public sports, he was interrupted by an express sent him from *Macedon*, with advice, that the *Romans* had lost a great battle in *Tuscany* near the lake *Thrasymenus*, and that *Hannibal* was master of all the open country. This news *Philip* imparted to none but *Demetrius* of *Pharus*, enjoining him all possible secrecy. *Demetrius*, glad of this opportunity, advised him to put a period to the *Ætolian* war with what expedition he could, in order to invade *Illyricum* (M), and afterwards cross over into *Italy*. He added, that such a design would gain him the affections of the whole *Greek* nation, that the *Achæans* would join him out of the affection they bore him, and the *Ætolians* through fear, after the calamities they had suffered in the present war; that such an expedition would be his first step to universal monarchy, which none had a better claim to than himself; and that the present distress of the *Romans* offered him a favourable opportunity of executing so mighty a project. Such council as this could not

(M) *Scerdilaidas*, a petty king of *Illyria*, whom we have mentioned above, thinking himself ill treated by *Philip*, who had not yet paid him the money that was due to him, according to the treaty agreed on by both parties, fitted out a squadron, with orders to take by reprisal what was due by agreement. This squadron being admitted into the port of *Leucas*, for *Scerdilaidas* was in alliance with the *Achæans*, seized there some *Macedonian* vessels, and sent them together with the *Macedonians* that were aboard into *Illyricum*. From thence they sailed to *Malca*, taking all the king's vessels they could meet with. A war with this prince *Demetrius* thought would prove very favourable to his present project.

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but charm a king, who was in the flower of his youth, successful in his exploits, bold, enterprising, and of a race which had always grasped at universal empire.

Philip inclined to conclude a peace.

HOWEVER, as no man could better conceal his real intentions, a very rare quality in so young a prince, he did not shew that strong inclination for peace which he had in reality conceived. He only dispatched letters to the confederates, exhorting them to send their deputies to the assembly to negotiate a peace; and in the mean time, the better to hide his inclinations, he advanced with his forces to *Losion*, and, after taking a small fortress which was built on the ruins of that place, he made as if he intended to possess himself of *Elea*. Both parties were grown so tired of the war, that his summons was received every where with great joy, and plenipotentiaries from all parts hastened to *Naupaëtus* which was the place appointed for the conferences. The king, to give a more expeditious issue to the affair, came at the head of his army, and encamping within less than a league of the place attended there the result of their conferences. The first article which the king caused to be proposed to the *Ætolians*, by the ambassadors of the confederate cities, was, that every one should continue in possession of his conquests; which article being agreed upon, the rest met with no difficulty, so that the treaty was soon concluded and ratified by *Philip* and the *Achæans* on one side, and the *Ætolians*, *Lacedemonians*, and *Eleans* on the other.

The speech of Agelas of Naupaëtus, at the opening of the assembly.

AT the first opening of the assembly, *Agelas* of *Naupaëtus* made a speech before the king and the confederates, which deserves a place here, since *Polybius* has thought it worthy of relating at length in his history. He told them, that the *Greeks* ought above all things to shun all occasions of war among themselves, and render thanks to the gods, that becoming now of one mind, and leading each other, as it were, by the hand, like those who ford a river, they had a prospect of uniting in a mutual defence of themselves and their cities against the barbarians, whose designs they had so much cause to apprehend. That, though they could not give perpetuity to the present union, it behoved them, at least in that juncture, to agree as one man in the preservation of their liberties, since none could be ignorant of the great power of the barbarians, and the mighty war they were like to have on their lands with that people. That it was evident to every one who was ever so little skilled in politics, that the conquerors, whether *Car-*

• POLYN. *ibid.* p. 435.

thaginians

thaginians or *Romans*, would not confine themselves to the empire of *Italy* or *Sicily*, but extend their conquest further, even to *Greece* itself. Wherefore he exhorted them, especially *Philip*, to keep a watchful eye on the danger that threatened them; saying, that this prince would be able to avert it, if, instead of impairing the strength of the *Greeks*, as he had hitherto done, and rendering them by that means an easier prey to their enemies, he would now take their affairs to heart, and act for the whole *Greek* nation as if *Greece* were his inheritance. That by this means he would win the affection of the *Greeks*, who would be inviolably attached to him, and concur in all his measures. That, if his mind was bent on great enterprizes and he thirsted after glory, he should extend his prospect towards the west, and keep an eye on the war which had set all *Italy* in a flame; that he should watch the event of it, improve it to his advantage, and generously aspire to the dominion of the world. That if he had any disputes with the *Greeks*, he should leave the decision of them to another season; for if he once suffered the storm, that was gathering in the west, to reach *Greece*, it might justly be feared, that it would then no longer be in their power to make war, conclude a peace, or manage their affairs as they pleased.

THIS speech, which was a clear prediction of what happened afterwards to *Greece*, inspired both the confederates and *Philip* with an eager desire of peace. And this is the first time that the affairs of *Italy* influenced those of *Greece*. For after this neither *Philip* nor the other powers of *Greece* regulated their conduct from the state of their respective neighbours, but kept their eyes fixed on *Italy*, as the only object of their attention. The *Asiatics* and the inhabitants of the islands did the same soon after, having no more recourse in their disputes to *Antiochus* or *Ptolemy*, to southern or eastern princes, but turning their eyes westward, and sending ambassadors, some to the *Carthaginians*, others to the *Romans*. In like manner the *Romans*, awakened by the growing power and enterprising genius of *Philip*, dispatched ambassadors into *Greece*, to obviate betimes the dangers that threatened them from that quarter, as will be seen in the sequel of this history^p.

As soon as the peace was ratified, the *Achaean*s raised *Timoxenus* to the prætorship, and then returned to their ancient manner and custom of life, after having re-edified the walls of their cities, rebuilt their temples and altars, established

^p Idem, ibid p 436, 437

their worship, and repaired the public and private damages, which they had sustained during the war.

Philip

changes his
conduct.

BUT this happy state of tranquility was soon disturbed by that very prince who had procured it. *Philip*, having concluded an alliance with *Hannibal*, began to change his conduct, and thinking it necessary to bring all *Greece* to an absolute subjection, before he made any attempts upon *Italy*, he began with the *Messenians*, who had been lately admitted into the *Achaean* confederacy. The city of *Messene* was at this time rent into two factions, the nobility striving to humble the people, and the people to lessen the power of the nobility. These contentions became so violent, that both factions agreed to call in *Philip*, and refer their differences to his arbitration. The ambitious prince was glad of this opportunity, and flew to *Messene*, with a design to make himself master of the city. On his arrival he found *Aratus* employing his best endeavours to compose their differences, in a manner that no ways suited his private ends. He therefore did not think fit to advise with him, but held private conferences with such of the *Messenians* as resorted to his palace. The nobility he encouraged to curb the insolence of the unruly rabble with the utmost severity of the laws; but used a quite different stile in talking with the heads of the popular faction, telling them, that they were to blame for suffering themselves, being so many, to be oppressed by a few, as if they had no hands to defend themselves against tyrants. Thus both parties, presuming on the king's assistance, thought it adviseable to exert themselves before he was gone, since he seemed so well disposed to countenance them. Accordingly the nobility gave orders for the apprehending of some orators, who stirred up, said they, the people to sedition; this alarmed the populace, who falling upon the nobility murdered in their rage above two hundred of them. This was what *Philip* had proposed from the very beginning, being well apprised, that if one party were destroyed, it would be no hard task for him to get the better of the other. Neither did *Aratus* the younger forbear reproaching him with it, in very bitter and offensive terms. But the king, who on such occasions had a marvellous command of his temper, smothered his resentment, and taking *Aratus* the elder by the hand, he asked him, whether he would not attend him up to the castle of *Ithome* where he intended to sacrifice. This castle commanded the city of *Messene*, and kept the further parts of *Peloponnesus* in awe, as *Acro-Corinth*, which he was already possessed of, did the hither. *Ithome* was held by some of the popular faction, who, looking upon *Philip* as their deliverer, admitted him without the least jealousy.

Disturban-
ces at
Messene.

While

While the sacrifice was performing, the entrails of the victim being, according to custom, put into his hands, he shewed them to *Aratus*, and with a smile asked him, whether they prognosticated, that, being now in possession of so important a place, he should tamely part with it, or rather keep it for his own use. *Aratus* made no reply, but *Demetrius Pharius*, though the king had not asked his advice, gave this officious answer: If you are a soothsayer you must quietly be gone from hence; but if you are a king you must not let slip so fair an opportunity, but hold the ox fast by both his horns; alluding thereby to *Ithome* and *Acro-Corinth*, which were called the two horns of *Peloponnesus*. The king, however, would have *Aratus* by all means to give his opinion, who told him, that if the place could be kept without breach of faith, he would do well to keep it; but if by seizing of *Ithome* he must lose the strongest castle he had, his credit, he thought it far more adviseable to deliver it up to its owners. This advice *Aratus* *re-*
Philip followed for the present, but ever after maintained a *times from* private grudge against *Aratus*, which he perceiving retired *Philip's*
 from court, and led a private life at *Sicyon*, where he had lea-
 sure to repent his ever calling the *Macedonians* into *Peloponne-*
sus. *Philip*, having now got rid of so troublesome a censor,
 marched his forces into *Epirus*, where he seized on the town
 of *Oricum*, and laid siege to *Apollonia*, which he was soon forc-
 ed to raise in a most shameful manner, his camp being sur-
 prized by the *Roman* prætor *Lævinus*, and he forced to make
 his escape half naked. After this disappointment he returned
 to *Peloponnesus*, not having yet laid aside the thoughts of
 subjecting the *Messenians*. But they, being now on their
 guard, refused to admit him into their city; whereupon cal-
 ling them his enemies, he laid waste the whole country, and
 retired without being able to reduce the city, the *Achaans*,
 who were his confederates, refusing to lend him any help for
 such an enterprize; for *Messene*, as we have observed above,
 was at that time a member of the *Achaean* body. This back-
 wardness of his confederates he ascribed to *Aratus*, and there-
 fore, as he did not now scruple to commit the most heinous
 crimes, he resolved to sacrifice both the father and son to
 his resentment. He dared not employ open force and violence, the
 in regard of their great reputation and the respect which was
 universally paid to their virtue, and therefore charged *Taurion*,
 one of his officers, to dispatch first the elder *Aratus* secretly
 during his absence. *Taurion* obeyed the wicked command,
 though not without some reluctance; he intimated himself
 into *Aratus's* friendship and once invited him to dinner, which
 gave him an opportunity of poisoning him with a poison,
 which

Philip
causes him
to be poi-
soned.

Year of

the Flood

2783

Before

Christ,

219.

which was sure, but slow in its operation. *Aratus* was not ignorant of the cause of the lingering distemper which he fell into; but, reflecting that complaints would only stir up the *Achæans* against him, and create new disturbances, he bore it patiently, as if it had been a common and natural disease. One day only happening to spit blood before one *Cephalion*, who was his bosom friend, and seemed somewhat surprized, he said, *Behold, my dear Cephalion, the effect of friendship with kings.* This brought him to his end in *Ægium*, being then in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and prætor of the *Achæans* the seventeenth time. The *Achæans* were for burying him in the place where he died; but the *Sicyonians* claimed this honour as due to the place where he was born. Accordingly changing their grief into mirth, they went, crowned with chaplets of flowers and clad in white robes, to bring the body of their deceased hero to *Sicyon*, dancing before it, and singing hymns and odes in commendation of his eminent virtues and exalted qualities. He was interred with the utmost pomp and solemnity in the highest part of the city, which was ever after called *Aratium*. The *Achæans* decreed, that divine honours should be paid him, and appointed a priest for that purpose. *Plutarch* tells us, that in his time two solemn sacrifices were still offered him annually; the first on the day that he freed the city from the yoke of tyranny, and this sacrifice was called *Soteria*, the other on his birth-day. During the sacrifice the young men and children walked round the altar, singing odes to the lyre in honour of their deliverer, and the senate crowned with garlands of flowers, followed the procession. To this they are said to have been encouraged by an oracle of *Apollo* ⁹.

Aratus was without all doubt one of the greatest men of his time, and may justly be styled one of the founders of the *Achæan* republic, he having brought it to that form and splendor by which it became one of the most powerful states of *Greece*. However his talent lay more in contriving a war-like stratagem, in forming and projecting extraordinary enterprizes, than in executing them. In his administration he was guilty of one very great error, which was the calling in the kings of *Macedon* to the assistance of the republic, an expedient which no well-wisher to his country could approve of, and was the more dishonourable in him, as he was prompted to it out of jealousy to *Cleomeles* king of *Sparta*. For that prince, after having reduced the *Achæans* to the last extremity, was willing to restore them their prisoners and all the places

⁹ *Polyæ.* lib. viii. p. 513, 515. P. v. in *Arato*.

he had taken, on condition they would create him prætor of *Achaia*. The *Acheans* were inclined to accept of a peace on these terms: But *Aratus*, thinking it would be very dishonourable for him, who had bore for many years the chief sway in the republic, to be thus supplanted by a young man, used his utmost efforts to dissuade the *Acheans* from yielding to the conditions proposed by *Cleomenes*; and because they could no longer hold out against that warlike prince with their own strength, he had recourse to *Antigonus* king of *Macedon*, put him into possession of *Acro-Corinth*, and thereby enabled him and his successors to manage the affairs of *Greece* at their pleasure^r. But for this he atoned, both with his own death and with that of his son, which was more deplorable; for *Philip*, growing completely wicked, as *Plutarch* expresses it, commanded a kind of poison to be given him, which deprived him of his understanding, and prompted him to commit such abominable actions, as would have reflected eternal ignominy on his name, had they been done deliberately, and while he was in his senses; insomuch, that, though he was then in the flower of his age, his death was looked upon not as a misfortune, but as the greatest blessing that could befall himself and his family^r.

THESE inhuman and tyrannical proceedings in *Philip* highly incensed the *Acheans* against him, as he afterwards found by experience, when they were more at liberty to act as they pleased. At present they were not in a condition to support themselves without him, the *Ætolians*, their irreconcilable enemies, having entered into an alliance with the *Romans* against the king and his confederates. The main article of this new alliance was, that the conquests should belong to the allies, but the booty and slaves to the *Romans*. Their calling in thus the *Barbarians*, for so the *Greeks* stiled all nations except their own, provoked them more against the *Ætolians*, than all the mischief *Philip* had done them. Wherefore they resolved in their general assembly to join the king against the *Ætolians* and their confederates. Thus a *New* new war was kindled in *Greece*, between *Philip* and the *Acheans* on one side, and the *Romans*, *Ætolians*, *Lacedæmonians*, *Eleans*, king *Attalus*, and *Scerdilaidas* on the other. The *Ætolians* immediately began hostilities, invading and laying waste the *Achean* territories. Whereupon the *Acheans* dispatched deputies to *Philip*, who was then in *Thrace*, imploring his assistance. *Philip* readily complied with their re-

troubles in
Greece.
Year of
the Flood
2788.
Year Be-
fore
Christ,
211.

^r PLUT. in Cleom. & Arat.^r PLUT. ibid.

The Ætolians defeated.

quest ; but the *Ætolians*, being joined by some *Romans* and the forces which *Attalus* had brought with him out of *Asia*, marched out to meet him before his conjunction with the *Acheans*. Both armies met near *Lamia* a city of *Thessaly*. The *Ætolians* were commanded by *Pyrrhus*, who had been that year appointed their general, in conjunction with king *Attalus*. *Philip* proffered him battle, and he, thinking it would be disreputable in him to decline it the very first year of his command, rashly engaged and was entirely defeated. However, to retrieve his reputation, he gathered together the scattered remains of his army, in hopes of performing some worthy action before the end of the campaign. But *Philip* attacked him the second time, cut most of his men in pieces, and obliged the rest to shut themselves up in *Lamia*. This double overthrow so disheartened the *Ætolians*, that they sent ambassadors to treat of a peace with *Philip* and the *Acheans* ; for the *Romans*, after having put the *Ætolians* in motion, were retired to *Corcyra*, fully persuaded, that the king had so much business upon his hands at home, that he could not have time to think of *Italy* or *Hannibal*. *Philip* put off the negotiations of peace till the next assembly of the *Acheans*, and in the mean time granted the *Ætolians* a truce of thirty days. When the assembly met, the *Ætolian* ambassadors being introduced made such unreasonable proposals, as took away all hopes of an accommodation. Whereupon *Philip* and the *Acheans*, being resolved to pursue the war at all events, began to make greater preparations than ever, having so many enemies to oppose at the same time. The king, leaving four thousand men with the *Acheans* to defend their country, went to assist at the *Nymæan* games in the city of *Argos*, and from thence returning into *Achaia* marched, in conjunction with *Cyclades* the *Achean* prætor, against the city of *Elis*, which had received an *Ætolian* garison. After they had plundered the territory, they advanced in battle-array to the very gates of the city, hoping thereby to draw the *Ætolians* to an engagement. Accordingly they sallied out, when *Philip* was greatly surprized to find, that the garison partly consisted of *Romans*. For *Sulpitius*, having left *Naupaëtus* with fifteen gallies, and landed four thousand men, had entered the city the night before the engagement. The fight was very bloody, and many fell on both sides. In the heat of the combat *Damophantes*, general of the *Elean* horse, spying

Philopœmen's gallant behaviour.

Philopœmen, who commanded that of the *Acheans*, advanced against him with great ardor and fury. The latter waited for him without stirring from his post, and having unhorsed him at the

the first encounter, fell upon the enemy's cavalry with such resolution, that they quickly betook themselves to flight. But the *Romans* charging the *Macedonians* with great vigour, the latter began to give way, which *Philip* observing spurred on his horse, and rushed headlong into the midst of the *Romans*, where his horse being wounded threw him. The *Macedonians* then returned with new vigour to the charge, each party signalizing themselves in a very extraordinary manner, the *Romans* with a view to take the king prisoner, and the *Macedonians* to save him. The king was carried off in spite of the utmost efforts of the *Romans*, and the *Macedonians* obliged to retire at a greater distance from the town. The next day *Philip* invested and took a strong hold of the *Eleans*, where he found a great booty consisting of twenty thousand head of cattle, besides four thousand *Eleans* whom he sold for slaves. This made amends for his disappointment at *Elis*: But in the mean time news was brought him, that the *Dardanians* had made an incursion into *Macedon*; whereupon he immediately set out to defend his own country, leaving with the *Acheans* a body of two thousand five hundred men. At the same time *Sulpitius* sailed back with his fleet to *Ægina*, where he joined king *Attalus*, and passed the winter. During the king's absence, the *Acheans* gained a considerable victory over the *Ætolians* and *Eleans* near the city of *Messene*.

EARLY in the spring *Sulpitius* and *Attalus*, quitting their winter quarters, sailed with their fleets to *Lemnos*, and thence advanced to *Oreum* a chief city of *Eubœa*, which was treacherously delivered up to them by *Plator* the *Macedonian* commander. *Attalus* laid siege to the city of *Opus* in *Achaia*, which *Philip* having notice of, advanced with incredible diligence to the relief of his allies, having marched upwards of sixty miles in one day. The city had surrendered a little before his arrival, but *Attalus* the instant he heard of his approach abandoned it, and retired with precipitation to his ships^u.

Oreum in Eubœa betrayed to the Romans.
Year of the Flood 2792.
Year before Christ, 207.

WHILE *Philip* was thus employed against *Attalus* and the *Romans*, *Machanidas*, who had succeeded *Lycurgus* tyrant of *Lacedemon*, advanced at the head of a powerful army to the borders of *Achaia*, with a design to lay waste the country, and by that means oblige *Philip* to leave the enemy and relieve his allies. He could not have chose a more improper season for

^u POLYB. lib. x. p. 612. & seq. Liv. lib. xxvii. n. 29. 33.
PLUT. in Philop. ^u Liv. ibid.

Philopœ-
men ap-
pointed
prætor of
the Ache-
ans.
His cha-
racter.

such an expedition; for *Philopœmen* had been that year appointed for the first time commander in chief of the *Achean* forces. As we shall often have occasion to mention this great warrior, it will not be improper to say something here of his extraordinary parts, which rendered him worthy of all those honours, that were afterwards heaped upon him by the *Achean* republic. He was born in *Megalopolis* a city of *Arcadia* in *Peloponnesus*, and from his very infancy discovered a strong inclination to the profession of arms. He was nobly educated by *Cassander* of *Mantineæ*, a man of great probity and uncommon abilities. He was no sooner able to bear arms, but he entered among the troops which the city of *Megalopolis* sent to make incursions into *Laconia*, and in these inroads never failed to give some remarkable instance of his prudence and valour. When there were no troops in the field, he used to employ his leisure in hunting, and such other manly exercises. Thus he spent his time till he attained the thirtieth year of his age, when *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta* attacked *Megalopolis*. We have seen what courage and greatness of soul he displayed on that occasion. He signalized himself no less sometime after in the battle of *Sellasia*, where *Antigonus* gained a complete victory over *Cleomenes*. *Antigonus*, who had been an eye-witness of his prudent and gallant behaviour, made him very advantageous offers to gain him over to his interest. But he rejected them with scorn, having an utter aversion to a court life, which he compared to that of a slave, saying, that a courtier was but a slave of a better condition. As he could not live idle and unactive, he went over to the isle of *Crete*, which was then engaged in war, and served there as a volunteer, till he acquired a complete knowledge of the military art; for the inhabitants of that island were in those days accounted excellent warriors, being scarce ever at peace among themselves. *Philopœmen*, having served some years among the troops of that island, returned home, and was upon his arrival appointed general of the horse, in which command he behaved so well, that the *Achean* horse, heretofore of no reputation, became in a short time famous all over *Greece*. He was soon after appointed general of all the *Achean* forces, when he applied himself in good earnest to the re-establishing of military discipline among the troops of the republic, which he found in a very poor condition, and universally despised by their neighbours. *Aratus* indeed was the first that raised the *Achean* state to that pitch of power and glory to which it arrived. But the success of his enterprizes was not so much owing to his courage and intrepidity, as to his prudence and politics. As he depended on the friendship of
foreign

foreign princes and their powerful succours, he neglected the military discipline at home. But the instant *Philopæmen* was created prætor or commander in chief, as he was a great captain, he roused the courage of his countrymen, in order to put them in a condition to defend themselves without the assistance of, or dependence on, foreign princes. With this view he made great improvements in the discipline, changing the manner of their exercise, and likewise their arms, which were both very defective. He had thus for the space of eight months exercised his troops every day, making them perform all the military motions and evolutions, and accustoming them to manage with dexterity their new arms, when news was brought him, that *Machanidas* was advancing at the head of a numerous army to invade *Achaia*. He was glad of this opportunity to try how the troops had profited by his discipline, and accordingly taking the field, met the enemy in the territories of *Mantineia*. *Machanidas* had brought into the field a vast quantity of military engines to gall the *Acheans* during the engagement, and disorder their ranks. To prevent this danger, *Philopæmen* ordered his light-armed troops to advance a great way before the rest of the army, which *Machanidas* observing, thought proper to send his light-armed foot to make head against them and observe their motions. Thus the battle began, and each general sending new supplies, the mercenary foot came to a close engagement, being so far advanced before the main bodies of their respective armies, that they could know only by the dust they raised which party advanced, and which gave ground. By this means the engines, which *Machanidas* chiefly relied upon, were hindered from doing execution by the interposition of his own men. The first onset was very furious, and the success a long time doubtful; but at last the mercenaries in the tyrant's army prevailed, their numbers and the skill they had acquired, by being so long inured to a military life, giving them the superiority. The *Illyrians* in *Philopæmen*'s army being but lately come, and not yet well exercised in the use of their arms, could not withstand so furious an onset, and were therefore intirely broke, and obliged to save themselves with the utmost precipitation under the walls of *Mantineia*, about a mile from the field of battle. *Philopæmen* was so far from being discouraged at the ill success of the first attack, that turning to those who were about him, *The flight of our mercenaries*, said he, *will give us a complete victory*. He observed, that *Machanidas*, instead of making use of this disadvantage, and falling that instant on the main body, suffered himself to be hurried away by the fire and impetuosity of his soldiers, in pursuit of those

He defeats Machanidas tyrant of Sparta.
Year of the Flood 2793.
Before Christ 206.



Philopæ-
men kills
Machani-
das.

who were flying. He was no sooner out of sight, but *Philopæmen* advanced against the *Lacedemonians* that were drawn up before him. The two armies were parted by a ditch, dry at that time, and therefore easily passable, especially by the foot. The *Lacedemonians*, elated with the success of their mercenaries, and despising the *Acheans*, ventured over the ditch to meet them; but as that put them into some disorder, *Philopæmen*, taking advantage of their confusion, charged them with such vigour, that they were drove into the ditch again; which so disordered their ranks, that not being able to make head against the *Acheans*, who pursued them close and in good order, they betook themselves to flight. *Philopæmen*, who knew better how to use his victory than *Machanidas* had done, suffered only part of his army to pursue the flying enemy; a strong body he kept with himself to guard a bridge that lay over the ditch, knowing that *Machanidas* must return that way. Accordingly on his return he made directly to the bridge, but was greatly dispirited when he found that the enemies were masters of it, and his own army driven out of the field. However, with a strong body of horse he attempted to make his way through, and join the rest of his army; but he met with so warm a reception from *Philopæmen*, that his horse were at the first onset put to the rout. *Machanidas* himself, attended only by two horsemen, rode along the ditch, looking for a convenient place to get over. He was easily known by his purple mantle and the costly trappings of his horse. *Philopæmen*, therefore, appointing another to command at the bridge in his room, followed *Machanidas* at a small distance, waiting till he should attempt to cross the ditch, which he no sooner did, than *Philopæmen* spurring on his horse attacked him in the ditch, and there slew him with his own hand. His head he struck off, and carried it from rank to rank to encourage his victorious *Acheans*, who continued the pursuit with great slaughter and incredible ardor to the city of *Tegæa*, which they entered together with the fugitives. The *Lacedemonians* lost on this occasion above eight thousand men, of which four thousand were killed on the spot, and as many taken prisoners. The loss of the *Acheans* was very inconsiderable, and those that fell were mostly mercenaries ^w.

THE *Acheans*, to perpetuate the memory of this victory, which was entirely owing to the conduct of their general, cast a brazen statue, representing *Philopæmen* in the same attitude

^w POLYB. l. xi. p. 629, 631. PLUTARCH. in Philop.

in which he killed the tyrant, and placed it in the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*.

THIS victory over the *Lacedemonians*, and the many advantages gained by *Philip* over the *Ætolians*, inclined the *Ætolian* faction to sue for a peace in good earnest. King *Attalus* was returned home to defend his own kingdom, against *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, who had invaded it. The *Romans* had so much business on their hands at home, *Aldrubal* being ready to enter *Italy* and join his brother, that they concerned themselves very little with the affairs of *Greece*, leaving their friends there to shift for themselves. The *Ætolians* therefore, finding themselves thus deserted by their most powerful allies, concluded a peace with *Philip* and the *Acheans* upon very disadvantageous conditions. Scarce was the peace agreed on when *P. Sempronius* the proconsul arrived with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirty five galleys, to succour the *Ætolians*. When he heard how affairs went in *Greece*, he was very much offended at the *Ætolians*, for concluding a peace without the consent of the *Roman* senate, contrary to the express words of the treaty. However, he was easily prevailed upon to come into their measures, and in the name of his republic strike up a peace with *Philip* and his allies. For the year following it was agreed, by the mediation of the *Epirots* and *Acarnerians*, that the *Romans* and *Philip* should be included in the treaty, and thenceforth live in amity. *Philip* caused the king of *Bithynia*, the *Acheans*, the *Bæotians*, the *Thessalians*, *Acarnerians*, and *Epirots*, to be included in the treaty; the *Romans* on their side named king *Attalus*, *Pleuratus* a petty prince of *Illyricum*, *Nabis* tyrant of *Sparta*, the people of *Elis*, the *Messenians*, and the *Athenians*. This peace was very acceptable to both parties; to *Philip*, that he might have leisure to settle the affairs of his own kingdom; to the *Romans*, that they might carry on the war against the *Carthaginians* with more vigour *.

THE peace thus concluded was not of long continuance. *Philip* having settled his affairs at home, and finding that the fortune of the *Carthaginians* his friends in the west declined apace, began to study how he might enlarge his dominions in the east. Accordingly he invaded at the same time the *Rhodians*, the *Athenians*, and king *Attalus*, contrary to the late treaty of peace. Whereupon war was declared against him by the *Romans*, and *Sulpitius* the consul appointed to carry it on. The *Acheans* and *Lacedemonians* joined with *Philip*;

A general peace concluded.

Year of the Flood

2795.

Before Christ

204.



* LIV. l. xxix. n. 12.

The Acheans join Philip against the Romans.

The Ache-
ans soli-
cited by
Quinctius
to declare
for the
Romans.

the former he gained over to his interest by restoring to them the cities of *Orchomenus*, *Heræa*, and *Triphylia*, which he had formerly appropriated to himself. He likewise put the *Megalopolitans* in possession of the city of *Aliphera*, to which they laid claim, and by these means kept them for some time in his alliance^y. The *Romans* watched all opportunities of engaging so powerful a people in their interest, and at last found a very favourable one. When the *Roman* consul *Sulpitius* arrived first in *Greece*, one *Cycliades* was prætor of the *Acheans*, a man entirely devoted to the *Macedonian* party, being supported in his tyrannical government by the protection of *Philip*. The *Acheans*, suspecting that he aimed at an absolute power, and was concerting measures with the *Macedonians* to bring their republic under subjection, as *Nabis* had lately done at *Sparta*, expelled him, and put the government into the hands of *Aristenes*, who, on all occasions, had given signal proofs of his affection to the *Romans*. This opportunity the consul laid hold of to bring *Achaia* into an alliance with *Rome*, but left the execution of the design to his brother *Quinctius*, who immediately sent a deputation to the *Acheans*, offering to put them in possession of *Corinth* which had formerly belonged to them, if they joined with the *Romans*. This was a powerful attractive. However, as *Philip* had done them many important services, they were unwilling to disoblige him. Besides, they were under no small apprehension of *Nabis* tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, who had openly declared for *Philip*. At the same time they were afraid of the *Romans*, who seemed to be an over-match for the *Macedonians*. These were the dispositions of the *Acheans*, when they assembled at *Sicyon* to hear the *Roman* ambassadors, who came attended with deputies from king *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, and the *Athenians*, on purpose to dispel their fears, and make the strongest impressions on the minds of so wary a people. *Philip* likewise sent an ambassador to the assembly, named *Cleomedon*, whose intrigues the *Romans* had reason to fear, he being a man of great interest in *Achaia*. The ambassadors being introduced, *L. Calpurnius*, who spoke for the *Romans*, was first heard; after him the deputies from *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*; and then *Cleomedon*. What the latter said was heard with great attention; but the *Athenians*, who spoke the last, effaced in a great measure the prejudices which *Cleomedon* had raised. All these different speeches divided the *Acheans* more than ever; insomuch, that they broke up the session, which had lasted the whole day, without coming to any resolution.

^y Liv. l. xxxii. n. 5.

THE next day the assembly met again, the deputies only of the *Achcan* cities being admitted to give their opinions, and come to some final resolution. An herald, as was the custom, invited those to speak who had a right of voting ; but they all continued in a deep silence, gazing at one another, and not daring to pronounce in so perplexed an affair. At last *Aristenes*, president of the assembly, broke silence, and addressed the deputies in this manner : 'What is become of that warmth and vigour, with which you used to dispute at your banquets, sometimes contending for *Philip* against the *Romans*, and sometimes for the *Romans* against *Philip*? You were then decisive, and now in an assembly summoned for no other purpose, after hearing the speeches and reasons on both sides, you are mute. If the love of your country cannot extort a word from you, will not your inclination for one or the other party loose your tongues? especially as you know that it will be too late to speak after the resolution shall be once taken².

THESE reproaches, however reasonable and judicious, could not prevail with any of the members to give their opinion. There was an universal silence in the assembly, till *Aristenes* resumed the discourse, and in a long harangue represented to them the situation of their affairs, urging the necessity of their joining the *Romans*, who, he said, were in a condition to force them to the compliance which they had condescended to request. But his discourse did not bring the *Acheans* to an agreement among themselves. The disputes grew warm, some applauding what *Aristenes* had said, and others opposing it with great violence. Even the demiurgi or heads of the deputies were not unanimous. Five of the ten were for decreeing an alliance with the *Romans*. The other five protested against it, declaring, that it was against law to decree any thing in the assembly with relation to their alliance with *Philip*. And indeed that prince had caused a clause to be inserted in his treaty with the *Acheans* to this effect, that the affair of his alliance should no more be canvassed in the general assembly. The assembly was to sit but one day longer, and even this short time was spent in warm disputes, the father disagreeing with the son, and the deputies of one and the same city being ready to fall upon one another. *Mennon* of *Pelone* was steady for *Philip*; and his father, whose name was *Rhiosius*, no less sanguine for *Rome*. The father conjured

² Liv. l. xxxii. n. 22.

him a long time not to oppose the welfare of his country ; but finding that his prayers did not avail, he openly protested, that he would treat him as an enemy, and put him to death in case he did not yield to his opinion. Such menaces, uttered by a father, made so deep an impression in the mind of *Memnon*, that he immediately came over to the party of *Rome*. At last the majority were for the *Romans* ; but before the decree was passed, the deputies of *Dymæ*, and *Megalopolis*, and some of the *Argians* withdrew from the assembly ; which no one took offence at, because they had particular obligations to *Philip*. The deputies of the other cities followed the most prudent advice, and immediately concluded an alliance with *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, but deferred the entire conclusion of that with the *Romans*, till the return of the ambassadors they sent to *Rome* to obtain the ratification from the senate ^a.

After long
debates the
Acheans
conclude
an alliance
with the
Romans.

But in the mean time the *Acheans* lent assistance to the *Romans* to reduce *Corinth*. The city was attacked on the side of *Cenchrea* by *Quintius*, at the gate *Sicyon* by the *Acheans*, and on the side of the port *Lechaum* by *Attalus*. They at first carried on the attack but very faintly, hoping that a quarrel would soon arise between the garison and the inhabitants. But *Androsthenes*, who commanded in the place for *Philip*, had gained the affection of the *Corinthians*, and being supplied with a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men, and a great many *Roman* deserters, who expected no quarter if the city should be taken, he obliged the besiegers to drop the enterprize ^b.

Corinth
besieged by
the Ro-
mans and
Achaens.

The siege
raised.

The Ma-
cedonians
possess
themselves
of Argos.
Year of
the Flood
2802.
Before
Christ,
107.



THEY were no sooner retired than *Philocles*, one of king *Philip's* generals, marched his troops into the heart of *Achaia*, which had so lately joined the *Romans*, and drew near the city of *Argos*. He was not ignorant that the citizens still retained an affection for the *Macedonian* party ; for they had very lately given a signal proof of it. It had long been a custom among the *Argians* to invoke *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Hercules*, on the first day of their assembly, and add to the names of these gods that of the king of *Macedon*. But after the *Achaens* had entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, the herald, who pronounced the form, thought it his duty to omit *Philip's* name. This omission displeased the *Argians*, who loudly demanded that the king's name should be joined to those of the tutelary gods of their country. *Philocles* therefore, depending on this affection for his master, ad-

^a Liv. ibid. ^b Liv. ibid. n. 25.

vanced his troops near *Argos*, and in the night posted them on an eminence which overlooked the city. But the city was defended by a strong garison, which the *Achæans* had placed there under the command of one *Ænesidemus*, who was greatly attached to the *Roman* interest. To him therefore *Philocles* sent a messenger, summoning him to deliver up the city, which he could not defend against the *Macedonians* without, and the citizens within the walls, who were all of the same mind, and determined to shake off the *Roman* yoke. This summons did not move the brave commander, who thought himself in a condition to withstand the menaces of the *Macedonian*, though his garison consisted only of five hundred men. But he was not a little surprised, when he saw all the citizens take up arms, and in a tumultuous manner command him to march out of the city. *Ænesidemus* well knew it was a rash and fruitless attempt to oppose the multitude with such an handful of men; he had also compassion for the brave youth under his command; and therefore having agreed that they should march out unmolested, continued himself in the city with a small number of his friends and clients. *Philocles*, surprised to see the commander remain in his post after the soldiers were gone, sent to ask him, *Why he continued in the city, and what he intended to do?* To which the brave *Achæan* answered, *To die in the place committed to my care*; whereupon *Philocles* ordered his *Thracians* to discharge their arrows at him, which they did accordingly, and he fell dead upon his buckler. Thus, notwithstanding the alliance which the *Achæans* had concluded with the *Romans*, *Philip* still possessed two of their strongest cities, *Corinth* and *Argos*.*

It was of the utmost importance for *Philip* to preserve the *Argos* &c. city of *Argos*; but the difficulty was how to continue master &c. of a place in the heart of *Achaia*, and at so great a distance &c. to *Nabis*, from his hereditary dominions. He therefore delivered it up to the famous *Nabis*, who had usurped the sovereignty of *Lacedemon*, and was in a condition to defend it; the conditions upon which he delivered it were, that he should possess it as his own, if *Philip* lost his life in the war, but restore it, if he were alive at the concluding of a peace. The tyrant willingly complied with these conditions, having nothing in view but to plunder the place, and enrich himself with the spoils of the unfortunate *Argians*, who, foreseeing what must befall them, refused to admit the *Lacedemonians* within their

* LIV. l. xxxii. c. 2.

walls. But *Nabis*, by the help of *Philocles*, was brought into the city in the night, and before the inhabitants were aware, had possessed himself of all the advantageous posts, and caused the gates to be shut. Some of the chief magistrates made their escape in the tumult, and this the tyrant made use of as a pretence to begin his depredations. He confiscated the estates of those that had fled; and then, knowing that no body was able to oppose him, set no bounds to his oppressions. He commanded the inhabitants to bring him all their gold, silver, and jewels, putting to the rack, and treating like slaves, such as he suspected to conceal any part of their riches. He assembled the magistrates, and at their first meeting notified to them two decrees, which he obliged them to pass; by the first, he cancelled all old debts; and by the second ordered a new division to be made of the lands, whereof every citizen should have an equal share. Thus he set the rich against the poor, and put the whole city in a flame^d.

Nabis
joins the
Romans.

Nabis was sensible he could not keep *Argos* without a powerful protection, and therefore forgetting on what conditions he held it, ambassadors were sent to *Flaminius* and *Attalus* inviting them to an interview. The proconsul and *Attalus* accepted of the invitation, without examining over-nicely into the injustice and treachery of the tyrant, and a place near *Argos* was appointed for their conferences. In the interview *Flaminius* insisted upon two conditions; first, that *Nabis* should put an end to the war in *Achaia*; and secondly, that he should furnish the confederates with his contingent of troops to act against *Philip*. The tyrant agreed to the second article, but would allow only a four months truce with the *Acheans*. The treaty, however, was concluded, and *Nabis*, who was so infamous for his cruelty and injustice, joined in confederacy with the *Romans*, which reflected no small dishonour on their general^e.

THE *Acheans* continued steady in the *Roman* interest during the whole course of this war, and their prætor *Nicostratus* signalized himself on the following occasion. *Philip* had left one *Androsthenes* with a body of six thousand men in *Corinth*, to protect that city and its districts from the insults of the *Acheans*, and other *Greeks* of the *Roman* faction. *Androsthenes*, thinking it beneath him to be thus confined within the narrow bounds of the *Corinthian* territory, marched out at the head of his little army, and over-run great part of *Achaia*. *Nicostratus* the *Achean* prætor had but two thousand

^d Liv. lib. c. 28.

^e Liv. ubi supra. Por. y. b. l. xiii. sal. p. 100. Plut. in Flamin.

men under his command, and these were too few to oppose the superior forces of the *Macedonian*, who advanced to the very walls of *Sicyon*, to insult the prætor there in garison. As *Androsthene*s was under no apprehension of being attacked by so contemptible a foe, his troops were often dispersed in small bodies, and his army scarce ever in one place. This gave *Nicostratus* hopes of being able to surprize him. And accordingly he sent orders to the garisons of the neighbouring cities to appear at a general rendezvous, on a day appointed, at a little city called *Apclaurum* in *Argolis*. His orders were obeyed, and the prætor set out from thence at the head of five thousand seven hundred foot, and three hundred horse. The horse he detached to observe the enemies motions, and by them received advice, that they were encamped on the river *Nemea* (N), between *Corinth* and *Sicyon*, and that the *Macedonian*, having divided his army into three bodies, had detached one into the territory of *Sicyon*, another into that of *Pellene* (O), and the third towards *Phlius* (P). Upon this advice *Nicostratus* placed his mercenaries in a forest, through which the *Macedonians* were to pass in their return to *Corinth*; while he led the rest in two bodies to attack *Androsthene*s in his camp. The *Macedonians* were greatly surprized when they saw the *Acheans* making directly to their camp. *Androsthene*s, ordering the trumpets to give the signal for assembling the troops that were straggling about in the villages, drew up the small body he had with him on the banks of the river. But, the parties that were out not returning soon enough to join him, he was easily defeated. This advantage encouraged *Nicostratus* to fall upon the *Macedonians* that were laying waste the territory of *Sicyon*; there few of them escaped, being surrounded on all sides before they knew that the enemy had taken the field. As for those who were ravaging the country about *Pellene* and *Phlius*, they were ei-

(N) The river *Nemea* watered part of *Peloponnesus*, and discharged itself into the gulph of *Corinth*. It is now called the *Largia*.

(O) *Pellene*, called by *Stephanus* *Pellina*, was a city of *Achaia Propria*, and bordered upon the territory of *Sicyon*. *Geometius* calls it *Cercoba*, and *Le Noir* gives it the name of *Zarobis*. The natives now call it *Diaopton*. It is about sixty furlong distant from the gulph of *Corinth*.

(P) This city *Lise* calls *Phlasus* (?). We must take care not to confound it with another bearing the same name in *Argolis*. The *Phlius* here spoke of was in *Achaia*.

ther murdered by the inhabitants, or cut in pieces by the mercenaries, who lay concealed in the forest. This action freed *Achaia* from all fear of the *Macedonians*, and doubled *Philip's* concern, who heard of it a few days after the great overthrow which he received in the plain of *Cynocephalæ*¹.

A peace
concluded
with Phi-
lip. Year
of the
Flood
2803.
Before
Christ 196.



THESE repeated losses obliged *Philip* at length to accept of a peace, on such conditions as *Rome* and her allies were pleased to impose. The main article relating to *Greece* was, that *Philip* should evacuate all the places he possessed in *Greece*, and withdraw his garisons before the celebration of the *Isthmian* games (Q). Pursuant to this article ten commissioners were sent from *Rome*, to settle the affairs of *Greece*, and restore each city to the full enjoyment of its former rights and privileges. All *Greece* received the news of this peace with the greatest transports of joy. The *Ætolians* alone were discontented, and inveighed bitterly against the *Romans*, because among the cities that were to be set at liberty, no mention was made of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, *Oreos*, *Eretria*, and *Demetrias*, which were all in the hands of the *Romans*. The *Ætolians* suspected, that *Rome* designed to appropriate them to herself, in which case *Greece*, said they, would indeed change its masters, but not its condition. The suspicion of the *Ætolians* was not ill grounded; for the ten commissioners, pursuant to the instruction of the senate, had omitted the names of these cities with a design to keep them, as they were the keys of *Greece*, and thereby prevent *Antiochus* from entering that country. But the proconsul prevailed with them to extend the decree to all the cities in *Greece*, not one excepted. By this means the *Acheans* were put in possession of *Corinth*. Nevertheless, it was resolved in the council of the ten commissioners, that the citadel of *Corinth*, and the two cities of *Demetrias* and *Chalcis*, should be held by the *Romans*, as long as they were under any apprehensions of a war with *Antiochus*².

AND now, the time of the *Isthmian* games drawing near, the expectation of what was to be transacted there kept eve-

¹ Liv. *ibid.* ² Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 30, 35. Polyb. *excerp.* Legat. p. 735. See. Plut. in Flam.

(Q) On the *Isthmus* of *Corinth* some games were annually celebrated, and thence called *Isthmian*. They are said to have been instituted by *Thesias* in honour of *Neptune*. The most skilful athletes in *Greece* came thither to dispute the prize in running, leaping, wrestling, &c. This was one of the most numerous assemblies of *Greece*.

ry body in suspense. The decree of the *Roman* commissioners was not yet divulged, and the future fate of *Greece* was the topic of all conversations. Some, but very few, hoped well; most of that numerous assembly could not be persuaded, that the *Romans* would part with the cities they had taken. The multitude were in this uncertainty, when the appointed day came for beginning the games. The proconsul *Flaminius*, attended by the ten commissioners, took his place; silence was proclaimed by sound of trumpet; and the herald advanced into the middle of the arena, as it were to pronounce the usual form of words; but the *Greeks*, to their great surprize, heard him pronounce the following words: *The senate and people of Rome, and Quinctius Flaminius proconsul, after having overcome Philip, and quieted Macedon, declare the Corinthians, the Phocians, the Locri, all the Eubœans in the island, the Magnesians, the Thessalians, the Perrhœbi, the Achæans, and Phthiotes, free from all kind of servitude. All these nations shall live in an independent state, and be governed only by their own laws.* In this vast assembly all had not heard equally the voice of the herald, by reason of the noise and confusion which immediately arose. Such as were at a greater distance left their places to ask those who were nearer what they had heard. At last there was an universal outcry from all corners of the stadium, demanding that the herald should repeat the proclamation. Then the trumpet sounded again, and the herald, with a more distinct and loud voice, proclaimed liberty to all the *Greeks* without exception. He was heard with the most profound silence, and not a single word of the decree was lost. And now, being fully assured of their happiness, they expressed their satisfaction with such transports of joy as are not to be conceived or imagined (R). They all crowded round *Flaminius*, calling him *the deliverer of Greece*, and pressing to kiss his hand. The croud was so great, and they threw so many crowns and garlands upon him, that he would have run the hazard of being stifled, had not the vigour of his age, being then in his thirty third year, and that joy which so glorious a day raised in his breast, enabled him to undergo so great a fatigue. At length the games began, but the spectators could look at no-

*The
Greeks
declared
free by the
Romans.*

(R) *Plutarch* tells us, that the air was put into such a violent agitation by the acclamations and shouts of so numerous a body of people, that some crows which were accidentally flying over the assembly, fell down in the arena (2).

thing but the protector and restorer of their liberties, admiring the disinterestedness of the *Romans* in general, and the conduct of the proconsul in particular ^h. But after all, *Rome* found her account in these acts of generosity; for they gained her the hearts of the *Greek* nation, and by that means increased her power without enlarging her dominions.

Demetri-
as, Chal-
cis, and
Acro-Co-
rinth eva-
cuated by
the Ro-
mans.

AFTER this the proconsul, to complete the work, convened a general assembly at *Corinth*, and there declared, that he would evacuate *Demetrius*, *Chalcis*, and *Acro-Corinth*, which he did accordingly, and then began to prepare for his journey to *Rome*. The *Greeks*, with tears in their eyes, assured him, that they should ever retain a grateful remembrance of so gracious a protector; and to give him before his departure some pledge of their affection, they sought for all the *Romans* that were reduced to slavery on the coasts of *Greece*, and delivered them up to him. They amounted to twelve thousand in number, the greatest part of them having been taken by *Hannibal* in *Italy*, and sold to the *Greeks*. The *Acheans* alone bore the charge of their redemption, which came to a hundred talents. With this attendance the proconsul, after having withdrawn the *Roman* forces from *Acro-Corinth*, *Demetrius*, and *Chalcis*, embarked at *Oricum* on his return to *Italy*, leaving *Greece* to enjoy the happiness which he had procured itⁱ.

Nabis left
in possession
of Sparta.

THE only thing that reflected some dishonour on *Flaminius*, and stained his reputation was, his leaving the usurper *Nabis* in possession of *Lacedemon*, without ever once mentioning in the treaty of peace the unhappy *Agisipolis*, who was the lawful heir, and had fought during the war under the *Roman* standards. *Plutarch* accounts for this strange proceeding, and tells us, that *Flaminius* proposed only such conditions as he hoped the tyrant would not reject, being impatient to return to *Rome*, because the reputation of *Philopœmen* began to eclipse his. They were both in the same camp and in the same confederacy, and the soldiers in their discourses often compared them together, always preferring the *Greek* general to the *Roman*. They imputed the proconsul's successes to the bravery and intrepidity of his legions; but unanimously agreed, that *Philopœmen's* victories were entirely owing to himself. And truly, says our author, no one understood better than *Philopœmen* how to lay up an army, seize advantageous posts, suit the disposition of his troops to the ground, order evolutions at a proper time, make an attack seasonably,

^h Plutarch in Flaminio. ⁱ Plutarch in Philopœmen. c. 4. PLUTARCH.

Libani.

or judge of the critical time for a retreat *. *Flaminius* on the other side, though inferior to the *Achæan* in the art of commanding armies, yet far surpassed him in all other virtues and qualifications. Nevertheless he was very uneasy to see himself surpassed by a *Greek*, in that character which most dazzles the eyes of the multitude; and this made him so zealous for putting an end to the war, contrary to the opinion of the most judicious among the *Greeks*, who were for pursuing *Nabis* to the last extremities, knowing that *Greece* would never enjoy a lasting peace, so long as *Nabis* enjoyed the crown of *Lacedemon*.

WHAT they foresaw was soon brought to pass: For, not long after the departure of the *Romans*, *Nabis* began to raise insurrections in the maritime cities, which he had been obliged to give up by the treaty of peace. As they were garisoned by the *Achæans*, he attempted to drive them out, and even laid siege to *Gythium*, an important maritime city, which *Flaminius* had taken from him. These hostilities obliged the *Achæans* to have recourse to the *Romans*, who sent the great *Flaminius* again into *Greece* to enquire into the state of affairs on the spot. At his arrival he found *Nabis* yet engaged in the siege of *Gythium*, and the *Achæans* assembled at their general diet which was held at *Sicyon*: They had immediately recourse to him and desired his advice. The assembly were for taking up arms immediately and invading the *Lacedemonian* territories; but *Flaminius* advised them to wait till the *Roman* fleet arrived, which the prætor *Bæbius* was ordered to bring to their assistance. Nevertheless the assembly was still in suspense what part to act, and the leading men were divided among themselves; some were for following the advice of *Flaminius*, others for falling on the *Lacedemonians* without loss of time; they only waited for the decision of *Philopæmen*, who was then prætor and presided in the assembly. But that prudent general was not in haste to give his opinion: *It is a wise institution of ours*, said he, *that our prætors shall not deliver their opinions when the assemblies are deliberating about war. It is your business to determine what to do, and mine to execute your orders; and I will take all possible care that you shall not repent of your choice, whether it be for war or peace.* These words inclined the assembly more powerfully to a war, than if he had openly declared for it; and a decree was issued, ordering troops to be levied without delay, and leaving the whole management of the war to *Philopæmen* †.

The Achæans declare war against *Nabis* tyrant of Sparta. Year of the Flood 2808. Before Christ 191.

* PLUT. in *Flamin.* & *Philopæm.*

LIV. lib. xxxv. c. 15.

VOL. VI.

† PLUT. in *Philop.*

Philopæ-
men de-
feated by
sea.

THE brave *Achæan*, being invested with this power, was at first in doubt what to do; on one hand he thought it would be of great advantage to wait till the arrival of the *Roman* fleet, according to the advice of *Flaminius*; on the other side he judged it might be dangerous to suffer *Nabis* to pursue the siege of *Gythium*, and expose the *Achæan* garison to the rage of the tyrant. He therefore took a middle way, which was to get ready the *Achæan* ships with a design to give the besieged some relief, and suspend the attacks of the enemy, at least towards the sea. But this design required a man of some experience in maritime affairs; whereas *Philopæmen*, tho' not inferior to any land-officer whatsoever, had never been on board a ship, but in order to go over to *Crete* as a passenger. However, he took upon him the command of the *Achæan* fleet, imagining that he should be as successful by sea as he had been by land. But he found to his cost, how useful experience is on all occasions; for *Nabis*, who had fitted out a few ships filled with rowers and soldiers used to sea-fights, fell upon him, and at the very first onset dispersed his fleet, took some of his ships, and sunk others. *Philopæmen* himself was very near being taken, but, as he had the caution to go on board a light vessel before the engagement, he made his escape, and, though pursued close by the enemy, got safe into the port of *Patræ* ^m.

He gains a
complete
victory o-
ver *Nabis*
by land.

THE shame of this ill-concerted expedition did not discourage the brave *Philopæmen*, but only made him act with greater caution and prudence for the future. *Nabis*, elated with this advantage, thought that no more attempts would be made to throw any succours into *Gythium*, and therefore turning the siege into a blockade, left only the third part of his forces before the place, and with the rest guarded the passes through which succours might be brought to the besieged city, especially a port called *Pleiaë*. In this camp *Philopæmen* resolved to attack the *Lacedemonians*; and accordingly having gathered together some boats, and manned them with *Achæans*, he ordered them to advance towards *Pleiaë*, while he himself marched along the shore to the same place. Both the boats and *Philopæmen* with his army arrived at *Pleiaë* in the dead of the night, and found the enemy fast asleep without any watch, as thinking themselves in a secure place. Upon the first signal firebrands and burning matter were thrown from the boats, and the *Achæan* general at the same time surrounded the camp to fall on those who made their escape. As the *Lacedemonians* were not furnished with tents, they had made barracks of branches

^m PLUT. & LIV. *ibid*.

of trees, which taking fire obliged them to fly in great confusion. But such as escaped the flames were cut in pieces by the *Achæans*, who had seized on all the passes; so that very few got safe to the camp before *Gythium*. *Philopæmen* having thus retrieved his reputation, which had been somewhat lessened by his maritime expedition, assembled the *Achæans*, in order to consult with them about the measures he should take for the relief of *Gythium*. It was resolved in the assembly, that he should advance to *Lacedemon*, as if he designed to lay siege to that city. This, they thought, would be the only means to make a powerful diversion, and force *Nabis* to raise the siege. But, in the mean time, the attacks being carried on with great vigour, the place was taken the very day that the *Achæan* army appeared before *Lacedemon*. *Nabis* therefore, without loss of time, hastened to *Lacedemon*, and found the *Achæans* marching through a narrow pass, their several bodies being at a considerable distance from each other. *Philopæmen* was not a little surprised at the sudden appearance of the enemy, and the narrowness of the place doubled his concern. However, without shewing any uneasiness, he drew up his men in the most artful manner possible. He posted his *Achæans* in the first line, and behind them the *Cretan* auxiliaries. His cavalry he drew up by the side of a brook for the convenience of watering their horses. He placed his baggage on the top of a rock with a detachment to guard it. In this disposition he waited till the enemy came up, without fearing the consequences of an engagement. In the mean time night drew on, and both armies remained in the same posture. *Philopæmen* in the night-time posted a strong body of his best troops in a valley, ordering his horse to retire till they drew the enemy into the ambuscade he had laid for them. Early next morning the action began, and the horse engaged first; the *Achæan* cavalry was commanded by *Lycortas*, the father of *Polybius* the historian. At first the dispute was warm, and the advantage equal. But *Lycortas*, according to the orders he had received, in the heat of the engagement began to give ground, and, retiring in good order, drew the enemy into the ambuscade; and then facing about attacked them in front, while the troops that lay concealed flanked them with incredible fury. The victory was then no more doubtful; the *Lacedemonian* cavalry betook themselves to a precipitous flight, and most of them would have been cut in pieces, had not the *Achæan* general, who was more afraid of the narrow roads than of the enemy, sounded a retreat. *Nabis*, suspecting that *Philopæmen* designed to seize the passes leading to *Lacedemon*, and thereby cut off his retreat, marched off with part of

his troops to prevent him. This report *Philopæmen* had caused to be spread in the *Lacedemonian* camp, by one of his own men who fled thither as a deserter; and accordingly took his advantage of it. For *Nabis* was no sooner gone, but he attacked his son-in-law *Pythagoras*, who was left to guard the camp, and forcing the trenches possessed himself of the baggage and warlike engines. He left a detachment in the enemies camp, and with the rest of the army pursued the fugitives with great slaughter. The *Lacedemonians* being now entirely dispersed, he divided his army into a great many small bodies, ordering them to lie concealed on the roads that led to the gates of *Lacedemon*, being well apprised, that by the favour of the night such as were rambling in the woods would attempt to enter the city. His design succeeded, and the *Lacedemonians* were either cut in pieces or taken prisoners, as they were in the dead of the night making towards the city. Thus the tyrant lost the flower of his troops, and *Philopæmen*, after having laid waste great part of *Laconia*, returned home loaded with spoils and glory ⁿ.

Sparta
joined to
the Achæ-
an league.
Year of
the Flood
2808.
Before
Christ,
191.

A great in-
stance of
Philopæ-
men's dis-
interested-
ness.

BUT what most of all raised the fame and reputation of *Philopæmen* was, his joining the powerful city of *Lacedemon* to the *Achæan* commonwealth, by which means the *Achæans* came to eclipse all the other states of *Greece*. This memorable event we have related at length in the foregoing chapter, and therefore shall only add here one circumstance, which in our opinion reflects greater lustre on *Philopæmen* than all his warlike exploits. The *Lacedemonians*, overjoyed to see themselves delivered from the oppressions they had long groaned under, ordered the palace and furniture of *Nabis* to be sold, and the sum accruing from thence, to the amount of a hundred and twenty talents, to be presented to *Philopæmen* as a token of their gratitude. Deputies therefore were to be appointed, who should carry the money, and desire *Philopæmen* in the name of the senate to accept of the present. And on this occasion it was, says *Plutarch*, that the virtue of the generous *Achæan* appeared in its greatest lustre; for so great was the opinion which the *Spartans* had of his probity and disinterestedness, that no one could be found who would take upon him to offer the present. Struck with veneration and fear of disobliging him, they all begged to be excused. At last they obliged by a public decree one *Timolaus*, who had formerly been his guest, to go to *Megalopolis*, where *Philopæmen* lived, and offer him the present. *Timolaus* with great reluctance set out for *Megalopolis*, where he was kindly re-

ⁿ PLUT. *ibid.* LIV. I. xxxv. c. 28.

ceived and entertained by *Philopæmen*. Here he had an opportunity of observing the severity of his whole conduct, the greatness of his mind, the frugality of his life, and the regularity of his manners, which struck him with such awe, that he did not dare once to mention the present he was come to offer him; insomuch, that, giving some other pretence to his journey, he returned home with the present. The *Lacedæmonians* sent him again, but he could no more prevail upon himself now, than the first time, to mention the true cause of his journey. At last going a third time, he ventured with the utmost reluctance to acquaint *Philopæmen* with the offer he had to make to him in the name of the *Lacedæmonians*. *Philopæmen* heard him with great calmness; but the instant he had done speaking he set out with him to *Sparta*, where, after expressing the greatest obligations to the *Spartans*, he advised them to lay out their money in corrupting and purchasing the wicked, and such as divided the citizens, and set them at variance with their seditious discourses, to the end that, being paid for their silence, they might not occasion so many distractions in the government. For it is much more adviseable, said he, to stop an enemy's mouth than a friend's; as for me, I shall always be your friend, and you shall reap the benefit of my friendship without expence °. Such was the disinterestedness of this brave *Achæan*.

THE *Achæan* republic was now become formidable; the addition of *Lacedæmon* had greatly increased its power; but, at the same time divisions arising among the confederate cities, the *Romans* began to let them know, that the republic of *Achaia* was in some degree subject to that of *Rome*. *Messene* and *Elis*, two cities of *Achaia*, had sided with *Antiochus*, and refused to come to the *Achæan* diet. Whereupon *Diophanes* *Messene* at that time prætor raised some troops, and advanced at the and *Elis* head of them into the territories of the two rebellious cities, *revolt* laying waste the country, in order to bring them to their duty. *from the* The inhabitants had recourse to *Flaminius*, who then resided *Achæans*. at *Chalcis*, protesting, that they had rather surrender themselves up to the *Romans*, than live subject to the *Achæans*. *Flaminius* immediately left *Chalcis*, and hastening to *Megalopolis* sent orders from thence to *Diophanes*, enjoining him to desist from hostilities and meet him at *Megalopolis*. The prætor obeyed, and *Flaminius*, after having gently reproved him for disturbing the peace, advised him to disband his troops, assuring him at the same time, that he would settle the affair of the *Messenians* and *Eleans* to the satisfaction of the *Achæans*. Ac-

• P. L. V. T. in *Philop.*

cordingly he subjected them to the diet, and obliged them to deliver up the *Achæan* exiles they kept in their cities. This proceeding of *Flaminius* was greatly applauded by the *Achæans*, for the *Messenians* earnestly entreated him to put a *Roman* garison into the city, protesting that they had rather be subject to *Rome* than to *Achaia*. But *Flaminius* in so doing had another point in view, which was to persuade the *Achæans* to deliver up to him the island of *Zacynthus* (S) which they had lately purchased. *Diophanes* could not by any means be prevailed upon to part with it; whereupon *Flaminius* ordered the assembly to be called, and there gave a signal proof of his abilities, convincing the *Achæans*, that the parting with an island which they had lately purchased would prove very advantageous to their republic. The speech he made on this occasion is intirely accomodated to the genius of the *Greeks*. “ I look on *Achaia*, said he, as a sort of tortoise which nature hath guarded with its shell. If it thrusts out its head or feet ever so little beyond its armour, it is in danger of being trod upon and hurt. The frontier cities, which surround you, *Achæans*, are your shell and your natural defence. But as to any acquisitions beyond the continent, those are parts of your state which are exposed to insults, and which you cannot secure without being at a greater charge than they are worth”. This speech, which was founded on good sense, convinced the *Achæans*, that their new purchase would prove rather prejudicial than useful to their republic, and therefore they all unanimously voted that it should be delivered up to the *Romans* ⁹.

New disputes
among the
Achæans.

It was not long, ere new disputes arose among the *Achæans*, which gave the *Romans* a fair opportunity of exerting their authority even over their allies, and those very nations which they had declared free. The general assembly of the *Achæans* had been held time out of mind at *Ægium*; but *Philopæmen*, who was then prætor, thought fit to divide the honour and advantages, which those assemblies brought to the places where they were held, among all the cities of the *Achæan* league,

⁹ Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 32.

(S) *Zacynthus*, now *Zante*, is a pretty considerable island in the *Ionian* sea. It is said to be twentyfive miles in length, twenty in breadth, and sixty in circuit. It had for a long time belonged to *Philip* of *Macedon*, who had given it up to *Amynder* king of the *Athamanes*. This prince made the famous *Philip* of *Megalopolis* governor of it, and he transferred it to *Hierocles* of *Sicily*, who after the defeat of *Antiochus* at *Thermopylæ* sold it to the *Achæans*.

and had named *Argos* for the place of the next diet. But the inhabitants of *Ægium* opposed this regulation, and had recourse to *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who, after having reduced the *Ætolians* and made himself master of *Cephalenia*, resided in that island to decide, as he said, such disputes as should arise between any of the *Greek* cities or republics. Thus, under the character of a peace-maker, he was in reality the sovereign of *Greece*, and gave laws to the whole country. The island of *Cephalenia* being now in the hands of the *Romans*, a way was open for the legions into *Peloponnesus*, which was only divided from it by a small arm of the sea about twenty-four miles over. *Fulvius* therefore, upon the first notice of this dispute, crossed over into *Peloponnesus*, and the whole matter was referred to his determination. His inclination indeed led him to favour the inhabitants of *Ægium*; but seeing that the other party was far more numerous, he withdrew from the assembly without declaring his opinion. It was enough for him that the dispute had been brought to his tribunal^r.

THE quarrel that arose between the *Lacedemonians* and *The Lacedæmons* was of more consequence. *Flaminius* had given all the places on the coast of *Laconia* to the *Achæans*, who kept garisons in them, even after *Lacedemon* had acceded to the *Achæan* league. This some of the leading men among the *Lacedemonians* could not brook, and therefore, to deliver themselves from this slavery, they attacked in the night a small city on the coast called *Las* (T), but were repulsed by the inhabitants and the *Lacedemonian* exiles, who there enjoyed quiet under the protection of *Achaia*. This attempt alarmed the exiles, who brought their complaints to the council of the *Achæans*. *Philopæmen*, who was an avowed friend and protector of the exiles, for they had been driven out for opposing the tyrant, was then prætor. He represented to the assembly the attempt upon *Las* as an insult offered to all *Achaia*, and caused a decree to be enacted, commanding the *Lacedæmonians* to deliver up the authors of that enterprize on pain of being treated as enemies. Ambassadors were sent to *Lacedemon* to give them notice of this decree; but this served only to exasperate the minds of a proud people. They immediately put to death thirty of those who were known to be in the

tempt to
withdraw
themselves
from the
Achæan
league.
Year of
the Flood
2810.
Before
Christ,
189.

^r LIV. l. xxxviii. c. 28—30.

(T) *Las* was situated on the *Laconic* gulph south of *Sparta*, on a stony soil, and in a country full of rocks, whence it borrowed its name; the word *Δᾶς* signifying in *Greek* a stone.

Achæan

Achæan interest, dissolved their alliance with *Achaia*, and sent ambassadors to *Fulvius* the proconsul, entreating him to come and take possession of their city. But these proceedings, and the powerful protection which they were imploring, did not deter *Philopæmen* from declaring war against *Lacedemon*. However, as the season was far advanced, the *Achæans* contented themselves with plundering part of the *Lacedemonian* territory, and harassing the inhabitants with frequent incursions.

AT the return of the spring, both parties made preparations for war, and hostilities were carried so far, that they forced *Fulvius* to leave *Cephalenia* and come into *Peloponnesus*. On his arrival he ordered an assembly to be convened at *Elis*, to discuss the pretensions of *Achaia* over *Lacedemon*. But, after hearing both parties, he was so perplexed that he could come to no determination. He did all that lay in his power to reconcile the contending parties, but they were too untractable to come to an accomodation. He therefore advised them to send ambassadors to *Rome*, and while the cause was trying there to suspend all hostilities. They followed his advice, and deputies were immediately dispatched to *Rome*. The *Achæans* appointed two great men to plead their cause, who were of a very different character. These were *Diophanes*, a man of moderation and of a tractable disposition, and *Lycortas* the father of *Polybius*, a man entirely addicted to *Philopæmen*. *Diophanes* referred the decision of the cause to the arbitration of the senate. *Lycortas* maintained the decree of *Philopæmen*, and urged, that it could not be reversed without making void the regulations of *Flaminius*, who had committed the care of the coast to the *Achæans*. The senate was unwilling to disgust the *Achæans*, but at the same time thought the *Lacedemonians* worthy of compassion. They returned therefore a dark and ambiguous answer, which each party interpreted in their own favour. The *Achæans* pretended, that it gave them full power to inflict on the *Lacedemonians* the punishment they deserved. Whereupon *Philopæmen*, who was continued in his prætorship, taking the field, marched to the very walls of *Lacedemon*, and there summoned the city to deliver up the authors of the attempt upon *Las*, promising that they should not be condemned without a fair trial. Upon this promise all those, whom *Philopæmen* demanded by name, set out for the *Achæan* camp, attended by the chief citizens of *Lacedemon*, who looked upon their cause as their own. Being arrived at the camp their malecontent countrymen crowded round them, and with an insulting air began to vent the most injurious expressions against them.

Nay from words they came to blows, and the *Achæan* officers had occasion to exert all their authority to appease the tumult. As the *Lacedemonian* exiles continued complaining of their hard treatment, they engaged the *Achæan* soldiers in their quarrel, and all on a sudden fell upon the *Lacedemonians* with such fury, that seventeen of them were killed upon the spot. Seventy three were with the greatest difficulty rescued out of the hands of the enraged multitude. *Philopæmen* did not intend to pardon them, but was unwilling it should be said that they had not been condemned without a trial. They were therefore the next morning produced before the multitude, who, without scarce suffering them to answer for themselves, condemned and executed them all. This severe proceeding struck all the *Lacedemonians* with such terror, that they surrendered at discretion; and *Philopæmen*, whose main point in view was to humble the *Lacedemonians*, treated them as if their city had been taken by storm. He commanded them to demolish their walls, disband all their mercenaries, drive out of their city all the slaves whom the tyrants had set at liberty, receive the exiles, and lastly renounce the laws of *Philopæ. Lycurgus*, and for the future govern themselves only by those men. of *Achaia*^c.

THE *Lacedemonians* readily demolished their walls; for *Lacedemon* had long subsisted without any other defence but the bravery of its citizens. The recalling of the exiles was what they were most averse to; but *Philopæmen* and the *Achæans* were inexorable, and would by all means have the exiles re-instated in their antient honours, from which they had been driven by the tyrants. But the most fatal blow was the abolition of the laws of the wise *Lycurgus*, which, severe as they were, the *Lacedemonians* had observed for the space of seven hundred years^d. Such was the fate of one of the most illustrious cities of *Greece* (U).

^c LIV. l. xxxviii. c. 30—34.

^d LIV. *ibid*.

(U) This cruel treatment of so renowned a city as *Sparta* reflects no great honour on *Philopæmen*. *Plutarch*, who justly ranks him among the greatest commanders of *Greece*, seems in a certain manner to palliate this action, since he could not justify it. His insisting upon the re-establishment of the exiles was no way blameable; for most of them had been banished by *Alcibiades*, *Lycurgus*, and *Nabis*, for attempting to place on the throne *Agis*, to whom the kingdom of *Sparta* of right belonged. But all the other steps *Philopæmen* took on this occasion betrayed a great deal of passion, and a revengeful temper, which could not be satisfied but by the utter destruction of his enemies.

The Lace-
demoni-
ans carry
their com-
plaints to
Rome.

THE *Lacedemonians* sent ambassadors to *Rome* to complain of this cruel treatment; and *Lepidus*, who was then consul, writ a letter to the *Achæan* confederacy, acquainting them, that the senate did not at all approve of such inhuman proceedings. Hereupon the *Achæans* immediately dispatched *Nicodemus* of *Elis* to *Rome* to justify their conduct. Upon his return he acquainted his republic, that *Rome* was not pleased with the subversion of the government of *Sparta*, with the demolition of the walls, and the putting to death so many of the inhabitants; but at the same time did not annul the decrees which the assembly had enacted. *Rome* had then affairs of greater importance on her hands, and therefore put off the discussion of this point to a more proper season^u.

The friend-
ship of the
Achæans
courted by
the princes
of Asia.

THE *Achæan* league was at this time in great repute all over the east, and the friendship of so powerful a state courted by all the princes of *Asia*. *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* sent ambassadors to renew his antient alliance with the *Achæans*, and to offer the republic six thousand shields and two hundred talents. His offer was accepted, and *Lycortas* with two others deputed to thank him for the present, and renew the alliance. King *Eumenes* also sent an embassy for the same purpose, offering a hundred and twenty talents, the interest of which should be settled on the members of the public council. Ambassadors came likewise from *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, offering the republic in the name of their sovereign ten ships of war completely equipped, and desiring to have the antient treaty of alliance confirmed by the assembly. All these ambassadors were heard in the diet, and the alliance with *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* renewed; but it was not judged expedient to accept at that juncture of the ships which the latter offered. As for *Eumenes*, *Apollonius* of *Sicyon* exhorted in a long speech the *Achæans*, not only to reject the present that was offered by his ambassadors, but to look upon him as an enemy, since he attempted to buy the members of that venerable assembly; which he would not have done, if he had not something in view prejudicial to their true interest. His speech was heard with great applause, and the renewing of the alliance postponed till a farther opportunity^v.

The Ro-
mans
assist
their power

THE *Romans*, having now got the better of all their enemies in the east, resumed the cause of the *Lacedemonians*, with a design to humble the *Achæans*, whose great power began to raise no small jealousy at *Rome*. Three commissioners were therefore named, of which *Q. Ciceronius* was the chief,

^u Polyb. in legit. c. 41. p. 858. 859.

^v Polyb. ibid.
to

to go first into *Macedonia*, and from thence into *Achaia*, to examine matters on the spot. These having settled the affairs of *Macedon*, pursuant to their commission, hastened to *Peloponnesus*. *Aristenes*, who was then prætor, hearing of their arrival, assembled all the chiefs of the republic at *Argos*, and invited *Cæcilius* with his colleagues thither. *Cæcilius*, being introduced to the council, began his speech by commending the zeal of the *Achæans* for the welfare of their country, and extolling the wisdom of their governors. He then added, that he could not forbear telling them, that their behaviour towards the *Lacedæmonians* had been very much censured at *Rome*; and therefore he exhorted them to atone some way or other for their imprudent conduct on that occasion. *Aristenes*, who acted under-hand in concert with *Cæcilius*, did not make any reply. *Diophanes* of *Megalopolis*, who was a professed enemy to *Philopæmen*, made other complaints against him; but took no notice of his proceedings at *Lacedæmon*. Upon this *Philopæmen*, *Lycortas*, and *Archon* spoke in their turns, and their speeches in defence of the late proceedings at *Sparta* made such an impression on the council, that when *Cæcilius* withdrew they came to a resolution, that nothing should be altered in the decrees that had been enacted, and that this answer should be given to the *Roman* commissioners. When *Cæcilius* heard it, he desired that the general assembly might be convened. But they replied, that he must first produce a letter from the senate of *Rome*, whereby the *Achæans* should be desired to meet. As *Cæcilius* had no such letter, they told him plainly that they would not assemble. This exasperated the *Roman* to such a degree, that he left *Achaia* without making any further inquiries*.

On his return to *Rome*, he acquainted the senate with what he had transacted in *Peloponnesus*. Whereupon *Apollonidas*, whom the *Achæans* had sent to plead their cause before the senate, was introduced. He endeavoured to justify the conduct of *Philopæmen* and his countrymen, with respect to the *Lacedæmonians*, and told them for what reason they had refused to call, at the instance of *Cæcilius*, a general assembly. After the *Achæan* ambassador, those from *Sparta* were admitted. *Philopæmen*, as we have observed above, restored the *Spartan* exile; and these very exiles were the men, who since their return had most zealously contended for the recovery of the ancient splendor and liberty of their native country. Two of these, *Areus* and *Alcibiades*, were, on this occasion, appointed by the *Lacedæmonians* to implore the justice of the

* POLYB. in legat. c. 11. p. 857. 858.
 344

* POLYB. ibid. c. 42.
 Roman

Roman senate. They represented, with great eloquence and in a very moving manner, the miserable condition to which *Sparta*, once mistress of *Greece*, was reduced ; how its walls were demolished, and the citizens dragged into *Achaia*, and there sold for slaves (W) ; how the sacred laws of *Lycurgus*, to which *Sparta* owed her grandeur and glory, were entirely abolished, &c.

THE senate, after hearing and weighing the reasons on both sides, ordered *Appius Claudius* and two others, who were soon to set out for *Macedon*, to put an end to this dispute, and referred the contending parties to the judgment which they should give on the spot in the assembly of the *Achæans*. In the mean time they required the *Achæans* to convene their general assembly whenever the *Roman* ambassadors should desire it ; since the *Roman* senate admitted them as often as they required an audience^y.

SOMETIME before the arrival of the *Roman* commissioners in *Peloponnesus*, *Lycortas*, at that time prætor, summoned the general assembly to examine the affair of the *Lacedemonians*, that he might be ready to answer the questions which the commissioners should ask him, and at the same time know how his countrymen stood affected. He represented to them such things as they might fear from the *Romans*, who seemed to favour the interest of *Lacedemon* more than that of *Achaia* ; he expatiated chiefly on the ingratitude of *Areus* and *Alcibiades*, who, though they owed their return into their own country to the *Achæans*, had yet been so base as to speak in the senate against them, as if they had drove them from their country. He ended his speech with these words : “ But after all they are our subjects, and it is rebellion in them to bring a process against their masters. What punishment then have they deserved ” ? At these words loud cries were heard from all parts of the assembly, desiring the prætor to put the affair to the vote, and, nothing being listened to but passion, a decree passed, condemning *Areus*, *Alcibiades*, and all who attended them in their embassy, to be put to death. But in the mean time the *Roman* commissioners arrived, and the scene was changed. The assembly of the *Achæans* was then sitting at *Clitor*, a little city of *Arcadia*, and as soon as

The Romans oppose the cause of the Lacedemonians.

^y POLYB. *ibid.* c. 42. LIV. l. xxxix. c. 33.

(W) *Philopæmen* ordered those slaves, who had been set free by the tyrants, to be sought out and sold ; and with the money arising from the sale he rebuilt a portico, which the *Lacedemonians* had destroyed at *Megalopolis* his native city.

Appius

Appius appeared there he took the highest place, and acted rather as a judge than a private deputy. The harangue with which he began discovered his intentions, and made the *Achæans* fear the worst. He told them, that the senate had been strongly affected with the complaints of the *Lacedemonians*, and could not but disapprove of all the steps that had been taken on that occasion. He inveighed against the perfidiousness and cruelty of those who had massacred the envoys from *Lacedemon*, a city venerable for its antiquity, and exclaimed against the abolition of the laws of *Lycurgus*, which had been so much admired by all the nations of the world. *Lycortas* the prætor, who was a friend to *Philoparmen* on whom the accusation fell, undertook to defend the common cause of the republic, and the conduct of a great man whom he loved. His speech, for which we refer our readers to *Livy* ², was very apposite, and well becoming the head of a nation. But *Appius* was little affected with it; without descending to particulars, or taking any notice of the arguments *Lycortas* had produced to justify their conduct, he desired them to restore *Lacedemon* her antient rights and privileges voluntarily, lest *Rome* should force them to it. These words drew sighs from the whole assembly; but fear had got the better of their resentment. They desired the commissioners to do what they thought fit, but not oblige the *Achæans* to break their oath, by annulling themselves the decree which they had sworn to observe. This submission appeased the anger of *Appius*, who contented himself at present with only repealing the sentence that was just before pronounced against *Arcus* and *Alcibiades*. With this act of power and authority they put an end to the sessions, and leaving *Greece* returned to *Italy* ³.

THE commissioners having made their report in the senate, it was decreed, that those persons who had been condemned by the *Achæans*, should be recalled and restored; that all sentences pronounced in the assembly of *Achaia* against *Lacedemon* should be repealed; and lastly, that for the future the *Lacedemonians* should be deemed members of the *Achæan* body, and treated accordingly. *Pausanias* adds an article that is not mentioned by *Livy*, viz. that the walls which had been demolished should be rebuilt ^b. *Q. Marcius* was appointed to go into *Greece*, and see this sentence executed; which he did accordingly, obliging both parties to accept and sign the decree.

² *Livy* l. xxxix. c. 35—37.
³ *AN.* in *Achaic*. p. 414.

¹ *Livy*. *ibid*.

^b *PAU-*

The city of
Messene
with-
draws it-
self from
the Achæ-
an league.

Philopœ-
men
marches a-
gainst the
rebels.

But is de-
feated.

BUT this storm was scarce appeased, when a new one arose. The city of *Messene* had been a member of the *Achæan* body ever since the war of the confederates, as we have related above. But one *Dinocrates*, who had a particular enmity to *Philopœmen*, drew it off from the league, and was arming the *Messenians*, his countrymen, in order to defend the city against *Philopœmen*, who was then prætor the eighth time. The brave *Achæan* no sooner heard of the revolt, but he made what haste he could to seize the city of *Corone* (X), before the rebel had made himself master of it. But as he was sick and actually kept his bed with a fever when the first news was brought him of the disturbances at *Messene*, *Dinocrates* got to *Corone* before him. Then the *Achæan* general assembling the *Megalopolitan* youth, who had offered to follow him as volunteers, and making a counter-march, advanced towards *Messene*, with a design to fall upon the revolters, while *Dinocrates* was busy at *Corone*. But on his march he met with *Dinocrates*, attacked him, and put him to flight at the first onset. *Philopœmen* on this occasion forgot his sickness, and the fatigues of the day before; for he had marched from *Argos* to *Megalopolis*, which was above sixty miles, in twelve hours. While the *Megalopolitans* were pursuing the rebels, a body of above five hundred men, whom *Dinocrates* had had the precaution to leave in the open country about *Messene* to defend it, came and joined him. The *Messenians*, being encouraged by this reinforcement, faced about and renewed the action. The *Megalopolitans*, though led on by *Philopœmen* and *Lycortas*, were too weak to make head against such a body of fresh men; *Philopœmen* therefore made it his chief business to retire in good order, which branch of the military art he understood better than any general of his age. To this end he marched into rough and narrow ways, whither the enemy could not without danger follow him; he placed *Lycortas* and the *Megalopolitans* in the van, and brought up the rear himself, facing about from time to time, and keeping the enemy at some distance. As his troops retreated with too great precipitation, he was left quite alone in a defile, and surrounded by the enemy. However, they durst not even then attack him, but keeping at a distance drove him with

(X) *Coron* or *Corone* was a city of *Messenia*, and is still in being in the province of *Belvedere*, and known by the same name. *Plutarch* (1) instead of *Corone* puts *Colenis* or *Colone*, which was also a city in the territory of *Messene*, as appears from *Ptolemy*.

(1) *Plutarch* in *P. A. G.*

showers of arrows into a narrow place, where he could not turn his horse. Yet still he supported himself, though quite worn out with sickness, the fatigues of his march, and old age, being then in his seventieth year. He spurred on his horse cross the rocks, and was very near rejoining the main body of his small army, when his horse stumbled and threw him. By the fall he received a deep wound on the head, and lay senseless, till the enemies thinking him dead began to strip him. He then opened his eyes and seemed to revive, when *Dinocrates*, who never before had dared to look him in the face, ordered his hands to be tied behind his back, and in that condition carried him to *Messene*. When the *Messenians* received the news of this victory, and heard that *Philopœmen* was taken prisoner, they all ran to the gates of the city to see what they could no otherwise believe. Great was the joy of the rebel city, when the news was confirmed by the relation of those very *Messenians* who had taken him. But upon the sight of the hero of *Greece* reduced to captivity, more by an accident than any want of valour, most of the spectators were so much touched with compassion, that they could not refrain from tears; they remembered the exploits of this great man, under whom many of them had fought; they remembered the favours they had received at his hands, and how they had been by his means delivered from the oppressions of the tyrant *Nabis*. As many had not been able to see him by reason of the croud, they desired he might be carried to the theatre, and there shewn to the multitude. But the magistrates, fearing lest the esteem and love which the *Messenians* had formerly shewn him should revive, did not suffer the illustrious prisoner to be long exhibited in this manner. They hurried him away on a sudden to a vault called the *treasury*, without doubt, because the public money had been formerly kept there. This was a subterraneous place, whither neither light nor air entered from without, and was stopped by a large stone raised up and let down by a crane. In this cavern *Philopœmen* wounded, sick, and fatigued, spent a miserable night. Early in the morning the senate and people met. The latter were for getting favourable terms in exchange for their prisoner, and sending him back to his own country. But the senators, who had been the authors of the revolt, and consequently were afraid they should find in him an implacable enemy, agreed to put him to death. And accordingly without delay sent the executioner into the vault, with orders to force the prisoner to drink a dose of poison. The moment the illustrious *Megalopolitan* saw him carrying a cup in

Philopœmen taken prisoner.

Philopœ- in his hand, he guessed what he was bringing him, and rais-
 men put to ing himself up with great difficulty, for he was very weak, he
 death by asked the executioner with great tranquility, *Whether Lycor-*
 the Messe- tas and the Megalopolitan youth had got into a place of safety.
 nians. *Not one of them is killed,* answered the executioner, *they have*
 Year of *all made their escape. That is enough,* replied Philopœmen,
 the Flood, *I die content.* He then took the cup of poison with great
 2816. chearfulness, and drank the fatal potion with joy. Thus died
 Before one of the greatest heroes that Greece or any other country
 Christ, ever produced. He was no ways inferior in valour, military
 183. knowledge, and virtue, to any of the boasted heroes of Rome.
 Had Achaia been nearer to an equality with Rome, he would
 have preserved his country from the yoke which the Roman
 republic forced it to bear. Both the Greek and Roman wri-
 ters put him upon the level with Hannibal and Scipio, who
 were his contemporaries, and happened to die the same year.
 They all allow him to have been not only one of the greatest
 commanders, but one of the greatest statesmen, of his age.
 To his valour and prudence Achaia owed all her glory, which
 upon his death began to decline, there being none after him
 in that republic able to oppose her enemies, with the like
 steadiness and prudence; whence Philopœmen was called the
 last of the Greeks, as Brutus was afterwards stiled the last of
 the Romans^c.

Messene
 surrenders
 to the
 Achæans.

WHEN the news of his death was spread among the cities
 of the Achæan league, the rage of the people against his assass-
 ins was as great as their grief for the loss of so great a man.
 The general assembly was immediately convened at Megalo-
 polis, and Lycortas, at that time the most famous general in
 Achaia, put in the room of the deceased. The new general
 without loss of time entered the Messenian territory at the
 head of an army which was soon raised, all the young men,
 that were fit to bear arms, shewing a great eagerness to re-
 venge the death of a man to whom their country owed all its
 splendor. Lycortas had been his particular friend, and there-
 fore was determined at all events to bring the authors of his
 death to condign punishment. Thus both the general and
 soldiery breathing nothing but revenge, they advanced to the
 very walls of Messene, after having laid waste the whole ter-
 ritory, and summoned the rebellious city to surrender. The
 people, in spite of the prætor and senate, opened the gates to the
 Achæan troops, and put them in possession both of the city and

^c LIV. l. xxxix. c. 48. PLUT. in Philop. p. 366, 368. POLYB. in legat. c. 52, 53.

castle. This submissive behaviour allwaged the wrath of *Lycortas*, who did not think it adviseable to treat the rebels as their furious revolt seemed to deserve. He only insisted upon their delivering up the ring-leaders of the rebellion, and such as were any ways concerned in the death of *Philopæmen*. They readily complied with his request, and the assassins loaded with irons were brought before him; but *Dinocrates*, to prevent a more cruel death, laid violent hands on himself; the rest were afterwards carried to *Megalopolis*, in order to be sacrificed at the tomb of the deceased hero^d.

AND now nothing remained, but to pay the funeral ho- Philopæ-
nours to the body of *Philopæmen*, which had been left un- men's
buried in the bottom of a dungeon. It was taken from ashes car-
thence with great pomp, burnt according to custom on a fu- ried in
neral pile, and his ashes deposited in an urn adorned with fest- great pomp
oons and fillets. *Lycortas*, being now to leave the conquer- to Mega-
ed city, did not disband his troops and send them to their lopolis.
respective homes as usual. They all marched out of the city
in good order, as it were in funeral triumph. The infantry
marched first crowned with laurel to shew their victory, but
shedding floods of tears for the deceased hero. Next came the
urn carried by *Polybius the Historian*, son of *Lycortas*, sur-
rounded by the prime nobility of *Achaia*, and the *Messenian*
prisoners bound in chains. The urn was followed by the
cavalry in their richest apparel and caparisons. All the inha-
bitants of the neighbouring towns and villages flocked to meet
the solemn procession; but it was visible in every one's coun-
tenance, that their joy for the victory was damped with real
grief on this mournful occasion. In this manner they advanc-
ed towards *Megalopolis*, *Philopæmen*'s native city, and arriv-
ing there paid him the last honours, with the utmost pomp
and magnificence. The *Messenian* captives were stoned at
his tomb, and each city of *Achaia* gave some signal proof of
the esteem they had for him while alive, and of the real grief
they felt for the loss of so great a hero. Statues were erected
to his memory in most cities of *Greece* with noble inscriptions.
The magistrates of *Megalopolis* passed a decree, ordering a
bull to be yearly sacrificed at his tomb; during which sacrifice
a panegyric was pronounced, and a company of young chil-
dren sung hymns in his praise^e (Y).

WHEN

^d LIV. PLUT. POLYB. ubi supra.

^e Idem, ibid.

(Y) Several years after when *Corinth* was taken and destroyed
by *Mummius*, a Roman brought articles of impeachment against

WHEN news was brought to *Rome*, that the *Achæans* had restored the city of *Messene* to the league, their ambassadors there were addressed in quite different terms from those which had been used before. The senate told them, that they had been careful not to suffer either arms or provisions to be carried from *Italy* to *Messene*. This plainly shews the insincerity of the *Romans*, and the little regard they had to truth in their transactions with other nations. For when the *Achæans* demanded the succours which they were obliged to furnish them according to the treaty, and desired, at least, that they would not suffer arms or provisions to be transported out of *Italy* to *Messene*, it was answered, that when any city broke off from the *Achæan* league, the senate did not think themselves obliged to enter into those disputes, nor concern themselves with the claims and pretensions which each city might have. This was giving, as it were, the signal to all the cities engaged in the *Achæan* league to take up arms, and separate as they pleased from the alliance. But now they endeavour to persuade the *Achæans* that they had prohibited the subjects of the republic from lending any kind of assistance to the *Messenian* rebels, and make a merit with them of what they had not done. The *Achæans* at this time were masters of all *Peloponnesus*, *Philip* king of *Macedon* was preparing a-new for war, the *Ætolians* were disgusted with *Rome*, and *Antiochus* ready to pass over into *Greece*. No wonder then, that *Rome* was very cautious of giving any umbrage to the league in so critical a juncture.

WE have observed above, that the *Roman* senate had decreed, among many other articles, that *Sparta* should be admitted into the *Achæan* league, and that *Marcus* had been sent into *Greece* to see this decree put in execution. However, the *Achæan* ambassadors on their return from *Rome* acquainted the assembly, that the *Lacedemonian* exiles, who had behaved with great ingratitude towards them, were not included in that decree, and consequently might be driven a-new from the city without disobliging the senate. Upon their report the exiles were again ordered to depart the city, notwithstanding the strong opposition made by *Diophanes*, who undertook to defend their cause. Being thus reduced to

Philopæmen, in order to have the statues and monuments, erected all over *Greece* to the memory of this great man, thrown down and abolished. He accused him of having been an enemy to the *Romans*, and shewn on all occasions his hatred to the republic. The cause was heard in council before *Mummius*, and the charge refuted with great eloquence and solidity by *Polybius*.

their

their former state of misery, they sent ambassadors to *Rome*, imploring the protection of the senate. The senators were touched with their complaints, and wrote letters to the council of *Achaia*, desiring them to give the *Lacedemonian* exiles leave to settle again in their native country. These letters were delivered to the exiles, and by them on their return to the council of *Achaia*, which returned no other answer, than that the matter should be considered after the arrival of the *Achæan* ambassadors from *Rome*. Not long after the ambassadors returned, and declared before the council, that the senate had wrote in favour of the exiles, not out of any regard to them, but to redeem themselves from their importunities †.

AFTER the ambassadors had been heard, *Lycortas* was of opinion, that no notice should be taken of the letters which the senate had wrote ; but *Hyperbates*, who was then prætor, and *Callicrates*, were of a different opinion. *Lycortas*, however, carried it, and it was resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to acquaint the *Roman* senate with the reasons which had moved them to adhere to their former resolutions, notwithstanding their recommendation. *Callicrates*, *Lysiades*, and *Aratus*, were appointed ambassadors, and instructions given them agreeable to the deliberations that had been made. When they arrived at *Rome*, *Callicrates* acted in direct opposition to his orders ; for being introduced to the senate, he exhorted them to exert their authority over his stubborn countrymen, telling them, that if the *Greeks* paid no regard either to their letters or decrees, they ought to blame themselves for it, such a neglect being entirely owing to their lenity and indolence. “ In our commonwealth, said he, there are two parties, one of which maintains, that an implicit obedience should be paid to all your orders ; the other party pretends that the laws of the country should prevail over your will ; and this suits best with the genius of the *Achæans*, and has a great influence over the populace. Hence such as blindly comply with your ordinances are hated by the people, while those who oppose them are honoured and applauded. We see at this present time the first employments of our republic filled by men, whose only merit consists in a pretended zeal for the laws of their country, in contradiction to the express orders of this august assembly. If you continue to shew such an indifference on this head, all the chief men will certainly oppose

Callicrates betrays his country, to ingratiate himself with the Romans.

† POLYB. in Legat. c. 54.

“ you, this being a sure way to preferment. But if you
 “ shew favour to those only who espouse your interest, the
 “ leading men in all the republics of *Greece* will declare for
 “ you, and the populace soon follow their example. What
 “ I have said is plainly confirmed by the present conduct of
 “ my countrymen. How long is it since you desired them
 “ to recal the *Lacedemonian* exiles? Nevertheless they are
 “ so far from complying with your request, that they have
 “ bound themselves by oath never to restore them^u. Thus
 the *Greeks* began to forge their own chains, and ambitious
 men prostitute to their private interest that liberty which
 their ancestors had purchased and maintained at the expence
 of their lives. *Callicrates* was so transported with ambi-
 tion, that he chose rather to betray and ruin his country,
 than suffer any other to have more authority in it than him-
 self.

A speech so well calculated to favour the interest of *Rome*
 could not but be very agreeable to the senate. As *Callicra-
 tes* had treacherously pointed out the methods by which they
 might easily weaken and crush the *Greek* republics, it was
 concluded, that they should exert themselves in heaping fa-
 vours upon such as maintained the authority of *Rome*, and
 humbling those who presumed to oppose it. Our historian
 observes, that this was the first time the fatal resolution was
 taken of depreciating those, who in their respective countries
 had the most noble way of thinking, and raising such as de-
 clared right or wrong for the *Romans*; a resolution which in
 all countries lessened the number of the true friends of liber-
 ty. Henceforth it was a constant maxim of the *Roman* po-
 licy, to increase the power and authority of such as favoured
 their ambitious views, in defiance of the laws and constitu-
 tions of their respective countries, and oppress by all possible
 methods those who were sincere friends to the liberty which
 they had received from their ancestors. This single maxim
 is sufficient to give us a true idea of the pretended equity
 and moderation which the *Romans* discovered on some oc-
 casions.

The Achæ-
 ans com-
 manded to
 restore the
 Lacede-
 monian
 exiles.

FROM this period *Rome* began to treat the *Achæans* in a
 quite different manner from what she had done in former
 times. Peremptory orders were sent them to restore the
Lacedemonian exiles, and pay a blind obedience to the decrees
 of the senate. Letters were at the same time directed to the
Attolians, *Bæotians*, *Acarmanians*, and other free states of

^u POLYB. in Legat. c. 58.

Greece, enjoining them to see the orders of the senate put in execution, and exhorting them to employ in their respective commonwealths men only of such noble sentiments as *Callicrates*. Thus the *Romans* requited the eminent services which the *Achaians* had done them in their wars with *Philip* and *Antiochus*, and the inviolable fidelity with which they had adhered to them, when they were despised by the other states of Greece (Z). *Callicrates*, on his return to *Peloponnesus*, spread so artfully the terror of the *Roman* name, and intimidated the people to such a degree, that he was elected prætor; in which employment he restored the *Lacedemonian* and *Messenian* exiles, and omitted nothing that could any ways oblige his patrons the *Romans*.

By these violent methods *Rome* got numbers of flatterers, but lost many of her best friends; and on the other side *Perfes*, who had succeeded *Philip* in the kingdom of *Macedon*, spared no pains to win over to his party such as were dissatisfied with the *Romans*. That prince, being determined to shake off the yoke which the *Romans* had laid on him, made it his whole business to draw off the *Greek* cities and nations from their alliance with *Rome*. To this end, thinking his presence necessary among nations, who would perhaps sooner hearken to a neighbouring king than a distant republic, he advanced towards *Delphos* under pretence of discharging a vow, but in reality to make alliances in *Greece*. With this view he crossed mount *Oeta*, and surprized the *Greeks* with his sudden appearance among them. The terror spread into *Asia*, and alarmed *Eumenes* in *Pergamus*. But *Perfes* after consulting the oracle returned into his own kingdom, passing through *Phthiotis* and *Theffaly*, without committing any hostilities in his march. His father had formerly been guilty of great cruelties in all those countries, and therefore the son not only took care to commit no violence on his march, but sent deputies to all the free states, or circular letters, remonstrat-

(Z) *Polybius* ascribes this violent proceeding of the *Romans* to the compassion which the *Spartan* exiles raised in the breasts of the senators. The *Romans*, says he, are easily moved to pity by the complaints of the miserable, and think it their duty to relieve all who fly to them for protection. And this it was that inclined them to espouse the cause of the *Lacedemonian* exiles. But we must remember, that this (in other respects impartial) historian wrote this in *Rome*, and under the eyes of the *Romans*, after they were absolute lords of *Greece* (10).

(10) *Polyb. Legat.* : 58.

ing, that they ought not to continue the hatred they might have conceived against the father, to the son who courted their friendship ^b.

Perfes en- THE *Macedonian's* chief attention was to gain over the
deavours to *Achæan* republic, which had carried its hatred so far against
gain over the *Macedonians*, that they were not suffered upon any pre-
the Achæ- tence to enter *Achaia*. It was not only hatred, but policy,
ans. that had induced them to make such a decree. For though *Philip*
 Year of had greatly disoblged them, especially by putting the two
 the Flood, *Aratus's* to death, yet he had proved in many other respects
 2821. very beneficent to them; whence they were with much ado
 Before prevailed upon to forsake him; and even after they had enter-
 Christ, ed into an alliance with the *Romans*, some of their leading
 178. men still favoured their antient ally. Wherefore it was
 ~~~~~ thought necessary, for the preservation of concord among  
 themselves, to use great circumspection, lest by his agents he  
 should foment divisions in the state. Besides, by hearkening  
 to his messages they might give jealousy to their new allies.  
 On these considerations the general assembly of *Achaia* had  
 enacted a decree, forbidding any *Macedonian*, on what pre-  
 tence soever, to enter into *Achaia*, on pain of being treated  
 as an enemy to the state. This decree cut off all intercourse  
 and means of reconciliation with the *Macedonians*, and there-  
 by quashed at once the *Macedonian* faction. But at the same  
 time it proved very prejudicial both to the *Achæans* and *Ma-*  
*cedonians*; for the slaves on both sides used to fly to the ene-  
 mies of their masters, where they found a sure asylum,  
 knowing they should not be followed or claimed after that ge-  
 neral prohibition. However, *Perfes* made the first step to-  
 wards a reconciliation, by sending back to the *Achæans* such  
 of their slaves as had taken sanctuary in his dominions. With  
 this acceptable present he sent an obliging letter, exhorting  
 them to take effectual methods for preventing their slaves  
 from finding for the future refuge in his dominions. This  
 was courting their friendship, and tacitly demanding the re-  
 establisment of their antient commerce. One *Xenarchus*,  
 who was then prætor of *Achaia*, read the king's letter in a  
 full assembly; it was heard with great applause, especially  
 by those who had received their slaves, and most of the lead-  
 ing men were for annulling the decree forbidding all commerce  
 with *Macedon*. But *Callicrates* represented to them the bad  
 consequences of repealing the decree in so critical a juncture;  
 he told them, that the *Romans* designed to make war upon

<sup>b</sup> LIV. l. xli. c. 12.



*Perfes*, that *Perfes* had nothing else in view by sending back their slaves than to involve them and all *Greece* in this war, and that to enter into the least engagement with *Perfes* was to renounce their alliance with *Rome*, and draw all the west upon them. He therefore exhorted them, as they tendered the welfare of their country, to refuse the dangerous presents, live as utter strangers to *Macedon*, and confirm the decree forbidding all manner of commerce with her.

*Arcon Xenarchus's* brother spoke after *Callicrates*, and endeavoured to prove, that the fear of an imminent war was without foundation, since *Perfes* had renewed his alliance with the *Romans*, was honoured by them with the title of friend and ally, and had lately entertained their ambassadors with great demonstrations of kindness; why then might not the *Achæans*, as well as the *Epirots*, *Ætolians*, *Theſſalians*, and the other nations of *Greece*, reap the advantage of his neighbourhood? Why might not the *Achæans*, like the other free states, cease to be enemies to *Perfes*, without ceasing to be friends to *Rome*? He concluded, that it would be time enough to declare against the *Macedonians* when they were come to an open rupture with *Rome*; but till then they had no reason to be more zealous for their friends, than their friends were for themselves<sup>1</sup>.

*Arcon's* discourse would have determined the assembly to comply with the request of *Perfes*, had not *Callicrates* observed, that the king had not vouchsafed to treat with them otherwise than by a short letter. This want of respect, as *Callicrates* stiled it, being artfully represented, made the assembly postpone the determination, and refuse for the present the king's offer. As soon as *Perfes* was acquainted with what had passed at the diet, he sent ambassadors to make the same offers. But the advocates of *Rome* found means to render all their negotiations fruitless<sup>2</sup>.

SOME years after, a war breaking out between the *Romans* and *Perfes*, great divisions arose in all the cities and free states of *Greece*, some favouring the *Macedonians*, and others adhering to the *Romans*. The assembly of *Achaia* was not exempt from these disturbances; but *Arcon* wisely prevented the ill consequences that might attend them, by engaging all the chiefs of *Achaia* to espouse the cause of the *Romans*. *Arcon* was not, as we have seen above, greatly inclined to the *Romans*, but rather favoured in his heart the *Macedonian* faction; however, as he foresaw that *Rome* would at last prevail, he

*The Achæans declare for the Romans.*  
Year of the Flood  
2830.  
Before Christ  
169.



<sup>1</sup> LIV. ubi supra. c. 27.

<sup>2</sup> LIV. ibid. c. 28.



was no sooner chosen prætor, but he got the diet to pass a decree, empowering him to raise what forces he pleased, and march with them to join the *Romans*. In the same assembly it was resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to *Marcus* the *Roman* consul, who had already penetrated into *Thessaly*, to acquaint him with the resolution of the republic, and to know when, and where, the *Achaean* army should join him. *Polybius* the historian being named for this embassy, he immediately set out for the *Roman* camp, in order to suppress the reports that were spread, as if *Achaia* intended to assist the *Macedonians*. When he arrived he was received by the consul with great demonstrations of kindness. The will of so powerful a nation, at a time when so many others were wavering in their fidelity, could not but be acceptable to him. He therefore thanked them in the kindest terms, and told them, that they might spare themselves the trouble and expence of marching their troops to join him, since in the present posture of affairs he did not want any foreign succours. With this answer *Polybius* sent back his colleagues, but remained himself in the *Roman* camp. In the mean time the *Achaean*s acquainted *Polybius*, that *Appius*, who commanded the *Roman* troops in *Epirus*, had demanded of their republic five thousand men, which body they were ready to send into *Epirus*, if the consul approved of it. But *Marcus* was so far from consenting that any succours should be sent to *Appius*, that he immediately dispatched *Polybius* home with orders not to suffer any troops to be sent to *Appius*, nor his republic to be put to such useless expences. It is difficult, says our historian, to discover the real motives that induced *Marcus* to act in this manner. Was he for saving the *Achaean*s the trouble and charges of so long a march? or did he intend to put it out of *Appius*'s power to undertake any thing, since he had not been able to undertake any thing himself? Whatever was his motive, *Polybius* readily complied with the inclinations of the consul, and returned home. But when the matter was debated in the council of *Achaia*, difficulties were started by *Polybius*'s friends and those of his party. For as he was sure to incur the displeasure of the consul, if he did not act agreeable to his charge; so on the other hand orders given him by word of mouth, and in private, did not seem sufficient to warrant the conduct of the council in refusing succours to *Appius*, who really wanted them. In this case therefore they had recourse to a decree which had been lately published, in all the cities of *Greece*, by two commissioners sent for that purpose from *Rome*. The purport of this decree was, to forbid the *Roman* generals to exact any thing of the nations in



confederacy with *Rome* without an exprefs order from the ſenate, and prohibiting the allies to ſubmit to any exaction or even demands of the conſuls, prætors, tribunes, &c. without ſuch an order. The tyranny, which the commanders of the *Roman* fleets and armies exerciſed over their moſt faithful allies, gave occaſion to this decree. For want of an order from the ſenate, the meſſenger ſent by *Appius* was diſmiſſed without the ſuccours he demanded. Thus *Polybius* made his court to the conſul, and at the ſame time conſulted the intereſt of his country<sup>1</sup>.

THE enſuing year *Paulus Æmilius*, who, ſucceeded *Marcus* in the command of the army in *Macedon*, being informed, that *Perſes* was drawing together a mighty army with a deſign to come to a deciſive battle, ſent to ſolicit ſuccours from the allies, eſpecially the *Achæans*, who upon the firſt ſummons ſent him what troops he wanted, under the conduct of the moſt experienced commanders they had. Theſe diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very particular manner at the famous battle of *Pydna*, which put an end to the *Macedonian* war, *Perſes* being entirely defeated, and ſoon after reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that he was obliged to deliver up himſelf and all his children to the conquerors. And now the *Romans*, having by this vic-  
tory triumphed over their enemies in the eaſt, began to treat  
their friends in a quite different manner from what they had  
uſed while they ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance. Ten com-  
miſſioners were appointed to ſettle the affairs of *Macedon* and  
inſpect thoſe of *Greece*, that is to proſecute and puniſh, without  
any regard to juſtice and equity, all thoſe who during the war  
had betrayed any inclination to the *Macedonians*. Theſe  
haughty judges ſummoned all the heads of the *Greek* nations  
to appear before their tribunal at *Amphipolis*, in order to com-  
poſe their differences, as they gave out, and reſtore *Greece* to  
its antient tranquility. The *Ætolians* appeared firſt, in mourn-  
ing habits and making great lamentations. The ſubject of  
their complaints was, that two members of their aſſembly,  
*Lyſiſtus* and *Tiſippus*, whom the protection of the *Romans*,  
to whoſe intereſt they were devoted, rendered very powerful  
in *Ætolia*, had ſurrounded the ſenate with ſoldiers lent them  
by *Bæbius*, who commanded in the country for the *Romans*,  
and put to death five hundred and fifty of their ſenators for no  
other crime, but becauſe they were thought to favour *Perſes*.  
The commiſſioners after hearing their complaints confined  
their enquiries to this point alone, whether thoſe who had been  
thus maſſacred were for the *Romans* or *Perſes*, and having


*The haugh-  
ty behavi-  
our of the  
Romans  
after the  
defeat of  
Perſes.*

<sup>1</sup> Livy ibid. Polyb. legat. c. 22.



found that they had spoke in the senate for *Perfes*, the council passed a decree, by which the muderers were acquitted, and those who had been put to death declared to have suffered justly. *Bæbius* alone was blamed, for employing the *Roman* soldiers in an execution which had no relation to military affairs<sup>m</sup>.

Year of  
the Flood  
2832.  
Before  
Christ,  
167.



THIS sentence spread great terror among those who had shewn any affection for *Perfes*, and increased beyond measure the pride and insolence of the partisans of *Rome*. In each city the leading men were divided into three factions. The first, and without doubt the most numerous, adhered to the *Macedonians*; the second was devoted to the *Romans*, and the third in opposition to the other two were neither for the *Macedonians* nor the *Romans*. The latter, whose party was least numerous, as it consisted only of prudent men, were afraid, that, whatever party should prevail, their liberties might be in danger, and their concern was to preserve their country both from the *Macedonian* and *Roman* tyranny. These were in great esteem and beloved in their respective cities, and had acted prudently in all the measures they had taken. But this was not sufficient, as we shall see, to screen them from the vengeance of the *Romans*. The commissioners first wreaked their anger on those who had favoured *Perfes*, for the emissaries of *Rome* flocked to *Amphipolis* from all the countries of *Greece* to accuse them before the council. These treacherous men informed the commissioners, that, besides those who had openly espoused the cause of *Perfes*, there were many others, who were no less averse from the *Romans* in their hearts; adding, that they would never have their authority quietly settled in *Greece*, till they had utterly destroyed both the favourers of *Perfes* and those who had affected to stand neuter, and not to fall in with either party. The ten commissioners entirely approved what the informers advanced, and made it the rule of their conduct to quash in all the *Greek* cities not only the *Macedonian*, but the neutral, party, and confer honours on those only who preferred the interest of *Rome* to all other regards whatsoever. What justice could be expected from an assembly that was determined to treat all those as criminals who were not of the *Roman* party, and confer employments on such only as declared themselves their accusers and enemies? We leave the reader to judge from hence of the so much boasted equity of the *Romans*. They were just and honest when they found their account in justice and honesty,

<sup>m</sup> LIV. l. xlv. c. 28, 32.



but ever ready to sacrifice both to their boundless ambition.

THE most sanguine of these informers were *Callicrates* and *Andronidas*, both *Achæans*, and greatly attached to the *Roman* party. They laid claim to the chief employments of their republic, or were willing to maintain themselves in them with the assistance of the *Romans*. With this view they informed against all those among their countrymen who were in a condition to dispute the highest posts with them ; and their accusations turned upon this, that their rivals had been friends and partisans of *Perfes* before his overthrow. Besides the *Achæans*, *Callicrates* accused a great many others, and gave in a long list of such as had either declared for the *Macedonian*, or stood up for the defence of their own rights and privileges in *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Bæotia*. All these were ordered by *Paulus Æmilius* to follow him to *Rome*, and there give an account of their conduct. But as to the *Achæans*, the commissioners thought it adviseable to judge them in their own country, and to send two of the chief members of the council into *Achaia* to try them there ; and accordingly *C. Claudius* and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus* were named and set out for *Achaia*. Three reasons induced them to act in this manner : the first was, because they apprehended, that the *Achæans*, who were very powerful and no less jealous of their liberty, would not obey their orders, should they be commanded to justify themselves at *Rome* ; the second, because they had not found any of their letters among *Perfes*'s papers ; and the third, because it was necessary to protect *Callicrates* and the other informers against the insults of their countrymen <sup>n</sup>.

ONE of the two commissioners sent into *Achaia*, *Pausanias Unwar-* does not say which, a man of a most vile character, complain- rantable  
ned in the assembly of the *Achæans*, that many of the chief proceedings  
men of the league had assisted *Perfes* against the *Romans*, and of the Ro-  
therefore desired that all those might be condemned to die, mans.  
whom he should name after sentence given. After sentence  
given, cried out the whole assembly, *What justice is that ?*  
*Name them first, and let them answer for themselves ; which if*  
*they cannot do, we engage to condemn them.* Since you promise to  
condemn them, replied the haughty *Roman* with an assuming  
air, *all your prætors, all who have bore any office in your republic,*  
*or commanded your armies, are guilty of this crime.* At these  
words *Xenon*, a person of great credit, and highly respected  
by the whole league, spoke to this effect: *I have commanded*  
*the army, and have had the honour to be the chief ma-*

<sup>n</sup> JUSTIN. l. xxxiv. c. 1. PAUSAN. in Achaic. p. 416



gistrate of the league; I protest I have never done any thing contrary to the interest of Rome; and if any one can charge me with that crime, as it is now styled, let him appear; I am ready *At thousand* to clear myself, either in the assembly of the Achæans, or before the Achæans for the Roman senate. The Roman took hold of this ex-  
*to appear* *before the* *Roman se-*  
*nate.* commanded preffion, and said, that since *Xenon* had named the senate, he and the rest could not appeal to a more impartial judge; then he began to name all those who had been accused by *Callicrates*, as more in the *Macedonian* than the *Roman* interest, ordering them to appear and plead their cause before the senate. They were above a thousand, all men of distinguished merit, and who had nothing so much at heart as the welfare of their country; and this was the only crime that could be laid to their charge. This sentence was a mortal wound to the liberty of *Achaia*. That unhappy republic was deprived at once of all those who had shewn any zeal for the preservation of her liberty. Such tyrannical proceedings had been unknown there even under *Philip* and his son *Alexander*; for neither of these princes ever thought of causing those who opposed them to be sent into *Macedon*, but referred their trials to the council of the *Amphictyons* their natural judges. Upon the arrival of these unhappy men at *Rome*, they were banished into different towns of *Italy*, and kept there close prisoners, as if they had been already tried and condemned by the assembly of the *Achæans*. When news of these tyrannical proceedings was brought into *Achaia*, the assembly sent embassy after embassy to acquaint the senate, that their banished countrymen had not been tried at home, but referred for their trial to the *Roman* senate; they begged, that they would give them a hearing, condemn such as they should find guilty, and allow the others to return home. But the republic was inexorable; she obstinately insisted upon their having been found guilty in *Achaia*, and sent to *Rome* only to hear what punishment she was pleased to inflict upon them. Hereupon the *Achæans* sent a solemn embassy to the senate, to protest that the pretended guilty persons had never been tried, or even heard, by their assembly. *Ematus*, who was at the head of this embassy, being introduced to the senate, declared the orders he had received, earnestly entreating the senate in the name of his republic, that they would but once hear the persons accused, and not suffer them to perish without being condemned. “It were to be wished, said he, that the  
 “ *Roman* senate, that august and venerable assembly which has  
 “ never been known to swerve in its decisions from the strictest  
 “ rules of equity, would take the cause of these unhappy  
 “ men into their own hands; but if affairs of greater impor-  
 “ tance do not allow them leisure to examine the matter  
 “ themselves,



“ themselves, let them refer it to the assembly of the *Achæ-*  
 “ *ans*, who are ready to punish with the utmost rigour such  
 “ as they shall find guilty of any crime that may be laid to  
 “ their charge”. As this demand was very equitable, the  
 senate was greatly puzzled what to answer. They did not  
 think it adviseable to try the cause, as knowing that the accu-  
 sation was groundless. On the other hand, to dismiss the ex-  
 ilers; and suffer them to return to their own country, was to dis-  
 oblige their partisans in *Greece*, who placed all the hopes of  
 their preferment in the ruin of those who had a better title to  
 favour than themselves. After several consultations, the se-  
 nate for want of a better answer returned this, “ that they  
 “ did not think it expedient for the welfare of *Achaia*, that  
 “ these men should return home”. Such tyrannical proceed-  
 ings caused an universal consternation in *Achaia*, all the inha-  
 bitants appeared in mourning habits, and lamented the loss  
 of their countrymen no otherwise than if they had been their  
 dearest relations. *Callicrates* and *Andronidas* became more  
 than ever the objects of the public hatred. They were never  
 mentioned in the assemblies but with horror and detestation.  
 Even the children fell upon them in the public streets, calling  
 them traitors and enemies to their country. Nay the *Achæans*  
 carried their rage so far, that when the two informers had one  
 day gone into a public bath at *Sicyon*, no body would wash  
 with them, or even after them, till the water was let out and  
 the place purified. This general uneasiness made *Achaia* still  
 the more suspected by the *Roman* senate, who kept the priso-  
 ners more closely confined than ever. These were the first  
 seeds of a war, which we shall soon see break out between  
*Rome* and *Achaia*; the first sparks of that fire which consum-  
 ed *Corinth*°.

THE *Achæans*, however, did not give over soliciting the  
 senate for the release of the exiles. They sent new deputies  
 to beg their return as a favour, lest in taking upon them their  
 defence they should seem to oppose the will of the senate.  
 The deputies appeared at *Rome* in the attire of suppliants, and  
 took care not to say any thing, in the harangue they made  
 before the senate, that could give offence. Their speech was  
 modest and extremely reserved; but the consular fathers con-  
 tinued inexorable, declaring, that they would not upon any  
 account whatsoever alter the measures they had taken. The  
*Achæans* on the other hand would not give over soliciting and  
 importuning the senate in behalf of their countrymen.

° Liv. l. xlv c. 31. *Procurator Achaiae* p. 117. *Perseus* legit  
 105.



They sent several embassies at different times, and made what interest they could among their friends at *Rome* and elsewhere, to get their petition backed by persons who were better received than themselves. But all was to no effect; they could not be prevailed upon even to suffer *Polybius*, who was one of the exiles, and kept under close confinement at *Rome*, to appear before the senate and plead the common cause. This is the so much vaunted equity of the *Romans*; these the civilizers of barbarous nations, the asserters of the rights and liberties of mankind.

SEVENTEEN years were already past, and the far greater part of the unfortunate exiles dead in their confinement, when the senate at last was prevailed upon to suffer those few who were still alive to return home. *Polybius*, as we have hinted above, was one of these unhappy *Achæans*; but had been kept at *Rome*, whither his reputation had reached before him, and procured him that distinction. During his confinement in that city, his merit, wisdom, and learning, gained him the love and esteem of the greatest men in the senate. He was particularly dear to the two sons of *Paulus Æmilius*; the eldest of these had been adopted into the family of the *Fabii*, and the youngest into that of the *Scipios*. The latter, who afterwards destroyed *Carthage* and *Numantia*, at the request of his friend solicited *Cato* the censor to speak in the senate in favour of the *Achæans*, knowing that his opinion would be of great weight with the members of that assembly. *Cato*, out of complaisance to young *Scipio*, promised to back the petition of the new deputies that were then come from *Achaia* to intercede for the exiles. When they were admitted to au-

The Achæ-  
ans after  
seventeen  
years con-  
finement  
are sent  
home.

dience, warm debates arose, as usual, among the senators, some few being for sending them home, and the others opposing it, when *Cato* rose up, and with great gravity said, “ that to see  
“ the *Roman* senate dispute with great warmth, whether some  
“ poor old *Greeks* should be buried in *Italy* or in their own  
“ country, would make one think that they had nothing at  
“ all to do. This pleantry, coming from so grave a man as *Cato*, made the senators ashamed of so long a contest, and determined them at last to send back the exiles into *Pelopon-  
nus*. *Polybius* was for supplicating the senate, that they might be reinstated in all the honours and dignities they had enjoyed before their banishment; but before he presented that request to the senate, he thought proper to hear *Cato*’s opinion, who told him smiling: “ *Polybius*, you do not imitate the wisdom  
“ of *Ulysses*. You are for returning into the cave of the *Cy-  
clops* for some poor tatters you have left there”. According-  
ly the exiles returned to their own country, but their number

was



was much diminished ; for of the thousand and upwards that came from *Achaia*, no more than three hundred returned thither. The rest had perished in *Italy* with hunger and grief, and some had suffered like criminals for attempting to make their escape<sup>p</sup>. Such inhuman proceedings deserve no other name but that of the most wanton and oppressive tyranny: The republic of *Achaia* was not subject to, but upon a level with, that of *Rome*. Those brave *Achæans*, who were thus barbarously treated, had most of them served under the *Roman* standards, and greatly contributed to that very victory, which rendered the conquerors thus haughty and over-bearing.

As for *Polybius*, he made no use of this permission, but remained in *Rome*, where that very virtue which had brought him into distress was not only the means of his relief, but of his exaltation to greater dignities than those he lost. He attended *Scipio Æmilianus* in all his military expeditions, and signalized himself no less in the service of *Rome*, than he had formerly done in that of *Achaia*.

THE exiles on their return found *Achaia* rent into different factions, and the minds of the common people entirely estranged from the *Romans*. They only wanted an opportunity to make *Rome* repent of the rigorous treatment she had shewn to the *Achæan* prisoners. This aversion was artfully fomented by their chief magistrates and the leading men in the republic, who were for the most part professed enemies to the *Romans*. Such an universal hatred could not be long kept within the bounds of moderation ; it soon broke out into an open war, which ended in the entire reduction of *Achaia* and the dissolution of the *Achæan* league.

To trace this war back to its first origin ; a certain dispute arising between the *Athenians* and the inhabitants of *Oropus* (A), the latter had recourse to the *Achæans*. *Menalcidas*, by birth a *Lacedemonian*, was then prætor of *Achaia* ; to him the *Oropians* applied, agreeing to give him ten talents if he prevailed on the diet, in which he presided, to espouse their cause and assist them with troops. The *Lacedemonian*, who

\* PAUSAN. in *Achaiac*. PLUT. in *Cat. censure*. POLYB. in *legat.* 129, 130.

(A) The antient geographers mention three cities bearing this name ; one, called by *Aristotle Græca*, stood in the island of *Eubœa* ; another, the native city of *Selucus Nicator*, belonged to *Macedon* ; the third, which is the city we are now speaking of, stood in *Bœotia*, near the borders of *Attica*, forty four miles north of *Athens*. It is now a village called by the natives *Ropp*.

preferre!



New troubles in Peloponnesus.

preferred his own private advantage to the good of the public, accepted the proposal, and, in order to gain his point, promised to divide the money with *Callicrates*, if he could by his interest extort from the general assembly their consent to send troops to the defence of *Oropus*. *Callicrates*, allured with this bait, prevailed on the assembly to take the city of *Oropus* under their protection; and accordingly *Menalcidas* was immediately dispatched, with a strong body of chosen troops, to make head against the *Athenians* who had already taken the field. But *Menalcidas* came too late, the *Athenians* had already plundered *Oropus*, and retired with an immense booty; however, the avaritious prætor demanded the ten talents, as if his assistance had been effectual; but could not prevail on himself to divide them with *Callicrates*; he first put him off with fair promises, and at last told him in plain words, that he would keep the whole sum to himself. *Callicrates*, who was as revengeful as the other was deceitful, accused him, as soon as he was out of his office, of having used his utmost endeavours with the *Roman* senate to withdraw his country from the *Achæan* league. The process was carried on with such rigour, that *Menalcidas* would have been sentenced to death, if he had not by a present of three talents prevailed upon *Diæus*, who succeeded him in the prætorship, to acquit him in spite of all the evidences that were produced against him. This drew on *Diæus* the hatred of all the nation, as if he likewise were inclined to the *Lacedemonians*. This was a great stain on his reputation, which he endeavoured to wipe off by this bold step. He maintained in the general assembly, that the *Lacedemonians* were subject to the *Achæan* league even in criminal cases. *Rome* had decreed the contrary; but this screened him from the hatred he had incurred by favouring *Menalcidas* the *Lacedemonian*. When news was brought to *Lacedemon*, that *Diæus* was endeavouring to get this new law approved by the general assembly, the whole city was in an uproar, for the *Roman* senate had in express terms allowed them to judge their criminals in their own private assemblies; they were for sending deputies to *Rome*, but *Diæus* pretended, that only the general assembly of the whole nation had a right of sending ambassadors thither<sup>a</sup>.

THESE arbitrary proceedings greatly exasperated the *Lacedemonians*; but, as they were no ways in a condition to make head against the whole strength of *Achaia*, they humbled themselves so far as to send deputies to *Diæus*, who was advancing at the head of a considerable army, intreating him

<sup>a</sup> PAUSAN. in Achaic.



not to use force till other means of a reconciliation proved fruitless. The prætor answered the deputies, that he had no quarrel with the *Lacedemonians* in general, but only with a few disturbers of the public peace, whom he named to the number of twenty four. Upon the return of the deputies the council of *Lacedemon* assembled, when *Agessithenes*, a man of great authority, moved, that those who had been named by *Diæus* should of their own accord abandon their country, as if they had been banished, and carry their complaints to *Rome*. The motion was applauded by the whole assembly, and the persons that had been named withdrew without delay from their native country. When the council of *Lacedæmon* heard that they were got out of *Laconia*, sentence of death was pronounced against them in a full assembly, which asswaged the anger of *Diæus* and his *Achæans*. But when they heard that the exiles, together with *Menalcidas*, were embarked for *Italy* to lay their complaints before the senate, *Diæus* and *Callicrates* made what haste they could after them to plead the cause of the *Achæans* against the *Lacedemonians*. But they did not both reach *Rome*; *Callicrates*, who had great interest in that city, died at *Rhodes*, whither his affairs had called him. *Diæus* therefore and *Menalcidas* only appeared before the senate, and by their *Greek* eloquence disguised the truth with such artifice, that the senators could not come to any determination. Commissioners were therefore appointed to determine the dispute on the spot. But, as they were too dilatory in setting out, *Menalcidas* and *Diæus*, arriving in *Peloponnesus* long before them, put all the country in a flame, which they on their arrival could not extinguish. *Diæus* assured the *Achæan* assembly, that every thing would be determined by the commissioners in their favour. On the other hand, *Menalcidas* brought the *Lacedemonians* word, that in a short time their city and territory would be separated from the *Achæan* league, and declared an independent state. The *Achæans* hearing this resolved to take up arms, and force the *Lacedemonians* to change their language<sup>r</sup>.

*Metellus*, who was then busy in settling the affairs of *Macedon*, being informed of the troubles in *Peloponnesus*, desired the ambassadors, which *Rome* was sending into *Asia*, to take *Corinth* and *Lacedemon* in their way, in order to persuade the *Achæans* to suspend all hostilities till the arrival of the

*Metella.*  
endeavour  
to comp<sup>r</sup>  
them

<sup>r</sup> PAUSAN. ubi supra. p. 421, 428. POLYB. legat. 143. 144  
Id. in excerpt. de virt. & vit. JUSTIN. lib. xxxiv. c. 1. FLOR  
i. ii. c. 16.



commissioners, who had been nominated to compose their differences in an amicable manner. These ambassadors arriving in *Achaia* found *Democritus*, who had succeeded *Dicaeus* in the office of prætor, in full march with a design to fall upon the *Lacedemonians*. They exhorted him to disband his men, and return home; but the prætor, despising their advice, advanced to the very walls of *Lacedemon*, and there gained a considerable advantage over the *Lacedemonians*, who, having lost a thousand of their men, retired with such precipitation into the city, that if *Democritus* had warmly pursued them, he might have entered *Lacedemon* with the fugitives. But he was over-hasty in sounding a retreat, contenting himself with the advantage he had gained; which so displeased the general assembly, that they fined him in fifty talents, which sum he not being able to raise, he was obliged to lay down his office, and save himself by flight out of the *Achæan* territories. Then *Dicaeus*, who had been the author of all the troubles, and was a declared enemy to *Lacedemon*, was again elected prætor. *Metellus* no sooner heard of his promotion, but he sent a deputation to him, intreating him to forbear hostilities till the arrival of the commissioners. *Dicaeus* complied with his request, but was not in the mean time idle; for he gained over to the *Achæans*, by secret negotiations, all the cities that bordered upon *Laconia*, and having fortified them, kept that country and its capital in a manner blocked up. In this distress the *Lacedemonians* thinking no man so proper to extricate them out of these difficulties as *Menalcidas*, who had governed the whole *Achæan* republic, appointed him commander in chief of their troops. *Menalcidas* was a man of great valour, but betrayed want of prudence in the very first step he took. For, to give some reputation to his arms, he immediately took the field, and surprising the city *Jasos*, which was within the borders of *Laconia*, but subject to the *Achæans*, plundered it, and divided the booty among his soldiers. This was breaking the truce which had been granted by the *Achæans* at the instance of *Metellus*, and drawing upon himself the resentment of the *Romans*. The *Lacedemonians* themselves were well apprised, that such unwarrantable proceedings might give a bad turn to their cause, and therefore would have punished their general with the utmost severity, had he not prevented them by laying violent hands on himself<sup>c</sup>.

Not long after the death of *Menalcidas*, the *Roman* commissioners arrived in *Peloponnesus*. As they were sent to

<sup>c</sup> PAUSAN. POLYB. &c. *ibid.*



put an end to a civil war which was kindled in the heart of *Commis-*  
*Achaia*, they landed at *Corinth*, which was looked upon as *sioners sent*  
the capital of the *Achæan* league. There they summoned the *from*  
assembly, which *Aurelius Orestes*, who was at the head of the *Rome into*  
commissioners, opened with a speech calculated rather to *Achaia*.  
create than compose divisions. *Polybius* is of opinion, that  
he exceeded the instructions he had brought from *Rome*, and  
changed the menaces of the senate into absolute orders<sup>†</sup>; for  
he told them, that *Rome* had been long endeavouring to esta-  
blish a happy union among the free cities of *Greece*, but was  
at last convinced, that such an union could never be effected  
so long as their present form of government subsisted. “*Fla-*  
“ *minius*, said he, set your cities at liberty, a blessing which  
“ they might have enjoyed separately; but you chose to  
“ form a league among yourselves, a league which should  
“ depend on a general assembly, and be governed by a præ-  
“ tor chosen by a plurality of voices. In this you endea-  
“ voured to secure your common safety; but your precau-  
“ tion has only produced troubles and divisions. Your  
“ deputies do not agree among themselves; your assemblies  
“ make laws which every particular city will not observe.  
“ This obliges you to have recourse to arms; and hence  
“ these eternal divisions, hence these hostilities, which make  
“ it necessary for you to be always under arms, and to look  
“ upon your confederates as enemies. *Rome* is concerned to  
“ see so many intestine wars kindled among you, knows the  
“ cause of these evils, and is resolved to put a stop to them.  
“ When you are less united you will be more happy, and  
“ will never be completely so till you make the necessary  
“ separations. Attend then to the orders of the senate,  
“ which I am going to declare, and put them in execution  
“ with readiness. It is the will and pleasure of the *Roman*  
“ senate and people, that all the cities which were not for-  
“ merly of the *Achæan* league, that is *Corinth*, *Lacedemon*,  
“ *Argos*, *Heraclea* (B), and *Orchomenus* (C), be separated  
“ from the general alliance, and governed by their own laws  
“ independently of the confederacy “.”

† POLYN. legat. 143.

“ Idem, ibid.

(B) This city of *Heraclea* stood in *Phthiotis*, a province of *Thes-*  
*saly*, near the pass of *Thermopylæ*. It was called *Heraclea Trachi-*  
*nea*, to distinguish it from several other cities bearing the same  
name.

(C) *Orchomenus* was one of the largest cities of *Bæotia*, and fa-  
mous for a temple dedicated to the three graces, which was one of  
the most antient and wealthy of *Greece*.



The commissioners  
ill used  
and insulted.

Year  
of the  
Flood,  
2852.  
Before  
Christ,  
147.



No sooner had *Aurelius* pronounced these words, but the *Achaean* deputies, without giving him time to end his speech, left the assembly, and calling together the people of *Corinth* in the market-place, acquainted them with the decree which the commissioners had brought from *Rome*. The whole city was in an uproar, and the multitude, being enraged to the highest degree, fell upon all the *Lacedaemonians* they could find in the city, and either stript them or put them to death. Even those who fled to the house of the commissioners for refuge were dragged from thence, and treated like the rest. *Aurelius* and his colleagues in vain cried out, that their republic would revenge the injuries done to the *Lacedaemonians*; the incensed multitude was deaf to their remonstrances; nay, they would have treated the commissioners themselves in the same manner, had they not saved themselves by a timely flight <sup>w</sup>.

New commissioners  
sent to  
Achaia.

THE commissioners on their return to *Rome* not only set the insults they had received at *Corinth* in the strongest light, but are said to have exaggerated them beyond measure; they represented the tumult, not as a sudden commotion, but as a premeditated plot. The senate was highly incensed at such proceedings, but thought it adviseable to use moderation: *Carthage* was not yet taken, nor the two pretended sons of *Perses* entirely subdued; they thought it therefore necessary to be very cautious in treating with so powerful a republic, as that of *Achaia*, in so critical a juncture. Hence they voted only for sending three new commissioners into *Achaia*, instructing them to complain in a very gentle manner, and only to exhort the *Achaean*s not to give ear to bad counsel, lest by their imprudence they should draw upon themselves a war, which it was in their power to avoid, by punishing those who had exposed them to it. The commissioners embarked without delay, and after their arrival in *Peloponnesus* met a deputy sent by the *Achaean*s to acquaint the senate with their proceedings against *Orestes*; but the commissioners carried him back with them to *Aegium*, where the diet of the nation had been summoned to assemble. *Sextus Julius*, a man of great prudence and moderation, was at the head of this new deputation; when he was introduced to the assembly, he spoke with that air of mildness which was natural to him, seasoning his reproaches with the most tender expressions. “We can excuse, said he, the first com-  
“ motions of a multitude led astray by a mistaken zeal for  
“ their country; we are sensible that the magistrates cannot

<sup>w</sup> Idem, ibid.

“ govern



“ govern them on such occasions. If our ambassadors have  
 “ suffered any ill treatment in those blind transports, the  
 “ fault may be easily repaired. The *Romans* will be appeas-  
 “ ed with the least signs of repentance. All the satisfaction  
 “ *Rome* requires of you is, that you leave *Lacedemon* in peace,  
 “ and restore tranquility to *Peloponnesus* \* ”.

THESE moderate remonstrances, in which *Julius* desigh- Critolaus  
 edly omitted saying one word of separating any cities from the and *Diæus*  
*Achæan* league, were received with great applause by the ma- stir up the  
 jor part of the assembly. But *Critolaus* and *Diæus* endeavour- people a-  
 ed to efface the impressions, which *Julius*’s speech had made gainst the  
 on the minds of the assembly, by insinuating, that it was dan- Romans.  
 gerous to trust the seeming moderation of the *Romans*; that  
*Rome* only suspended her revenge till *Carthage* was destroyed;  
 that they would soon see her legions laying waste *Peloponne-*  
*sus*, as they had done *Africa*, and consequently, that it was  
 necessary to prevent such hostilities, by raising up enemies  
 against the *Romans*, and utterly destroying their friends. Such  
 were the discourses of *Critolaus* and *Diæus* in their private  
 conventicles among men of their own stamp, and devoted to  
 their faction. But in public they spoke a very different lan-  
 guage, and treated the commissioners with great civility. *Cri-*  
*tolaus*, who was then prætor, invited them to *Tegæa* to meet  
 an extraordinary assembly, in which the affairs of *Lacedemon*  
 should be amicably adjusted to the satisfaction of both parties.  
 Accordingly *Julius* and his colleagues went with the *Lacedemo-*  
*nians* to the place appointed, where they waited a long time  
 for the arrival of the deputies: but no *Achæan* appeared.  
 While the *Romans* were thus attending in a corner of the pro-  
 vince, *Critolaus* was sending expresses from city to city, for-  
 bidding them to send their deputies to the congress. *Julius*  
 began to be impatient and express his uneasiness, when *Crito-*  
*laus* came all alone to *Tegæa*, and to the great surprise of the  
*Romans* told them, that the dispute between the *Achæans* and  
*Lacedemonians* was of too great importance to be decided in a  
 private assembly; that it was necessary to refer it to the ge-  
 neral diet, which could not be assembled according to law in  
 less than six months.

*Julius* was highly affronted at such deceitful proceedings;  
 he dismissed the *Lacedemonians*, and returning to *Rome* com-  
 plained, that the republic had been insulted, and her ambassa-  
 dors personally ill used and derided. On the other hand, the  
 prætor gloried in having mortified *Rome* in her envoys, and  
 took no one step to appease her wrath. He was out of hatred

\* Idem, Legat. 144.



to the *Romans* desirous of war, but would not commit hostilities the first, for fear of being censured by his own nation. He therefore treated the ambassadors in the manner we have related, being well apprised, that contempt would as effectually exasperate that haughty people as open hostilities.

**Metellus**  
*endeavours*  
*in vain to*  
*bring Cri-*  
*tolaus to*  
*reason.*

HOWEVER, *Rome* was not in haste to come to an open rupture; notwithstanding the loud complaints of *Julius* and his colleagues, the senate would not resolve on a war, but contented themselves with referring the affair to *Metellus*, who was settling the province of *Macedon*, after having conquered the two false pretenders to that crown. The orders sent him were to treat with *Critolaus*, as of himself, in order to bring him to reason. *Metellus* immediately dispatched four *Romans* of distinguished birth, viz. *Cn. Papirius*, *Ælius Lamia*, *A. Gabinius*, and *Q. Fannius* into *Peloponnesus*, enjoining them to lay before the assembly of *Achaia* the evils which *Critolaus* and his partisans were by their rash behaviour drawing upon them.

IN the mean time *Critolaus* ran from city to city, summoning assemblies under colour of communicating to them what had passed in the conferences at *Tegææ*; but in fact to vent invectives against the *Romans*, and put an odious construction upon all they had done. In order to encrease his party, he published an edict, forbidding all judges to prosecute or imprison any *Achæan* for debt, till the dispute between the assembly and *Lacedemon* was at an end. By this means he disposed the multitude to receive willingly what orders he thought fit to give them; incapable of making suitable reflections on the future, they fell in with the passions of a madman, who neither foresaw his own misfortunes nor those of his nation.

*His deputies*  
*insulted*  
*and abused.*

DURING these transactions the four deputies sent by *Metellus* landed at *Corinth*, where the general assembly was then sitting. This new embassy ought to have been received with respect, as it came from a victorious general, whose army was encamped in *Macedon* within reach of *Greece*. But *Critolaus* treated them worse than those who had been sent from *Rome*. He would not suffer them to appear before the assembly, but commanded them to declare their business to the populace assembled in the market-place. To this factious assembly, consisting of artificers and the refuse of the people of *Corinth*, *Cn. Papirius* spoke, with, at least, as much moderation as *Julius* had done before the heads of the nation. His discourse tended to shew, that it was the interest of *Achaia* to keep up a good correspondence with *Rome*; he took care not to mention the separation of *Lacedemon* and the other cities from the  
*Achæan*



*Achæan* league. This was interpreted by *Critolaus* as a proof of their fear; and upon this prejudice a great croud of artificers fell upon the ambassadors, loaded them with reproaches, and drove them with all manner of affronts out of the market-place<sup>y</sup>. All the cities of *Achaia* were at that time seized, we may say, with a kind of madness, but *Corinth* was more furious than the rest. They were persuaded, that *Rome* intended to enslave them and absolutely destroy the *Achæan* league, which persuasion made them deaf to all the remonstrances of those who disapproved the wild measures of *Critolaus*.

THE turbulent prætor, finding all things succeed to his wish, harangued the multitude, in order to inflame them against such of the nobility as refused to enter into his views. He even named two men of unblameable characters, accusing them of informing the *Roman* ambassadors of all that passed in the national assemblies. One of these by name *Strategius* immediately gave the prætor the lie, and steadily insisted on his innocence. But the multitude was for the prætor, and *Strategius* condemned, notwithstanding he called the gods to witness that he had never discovered any thing transacted in the assemblies. This notorious piece of injustice convinced *Critolaus* that he had gained an absolute ascendent over the people; whereupon, carrying his fury to the utmost extremity, in the same assembly he caused war to be declared with *Lacedemon*, and consequently with the *Romans*<sup>z</sup>.

UPON the declaration of war the ambassadors parted; *Papirius* repaired to *Lacedemon* to watch the enemies motions; *Ælius* set out for *Naupactus*, and the other two for the camp in *Macedon*, to excite *Metellus* not to delay revenging the affronts offered to *Rome* in her ambassadors. Accordingly *Metellus*, without waiting for the orders of the senate, put himself at the head of his army, and began his march towards *Achaia*, with a design to enter it by *Thessaly*.

THE cities of *Thebes* in *Bæotia* and *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, having been disobliged by *Metellus* since his abode in *Macedon*, joined the *Achæans*. The inhabitants of *Thebes* had been condemned by *Metellus* to make the *Phocians* satisfaction for the losses the latter had suffered by their frequent incursions, and moreover to deliver up to the inhabitants of *Amphissa* in *Locris*

<sup>y</sup> FLOR. in Epit. FLOR. l. 2. c. 16. PAUSAN. ubi supra. OROSIUS, &c.

<sup>z</sup> POLYB. Legat. 144. PAUSAN. in Achaic.

War declared with the Lacedemonians and Romans.



*cris* (D) the third part of their harvest, for having reaped the corn of their neighbours as if it had been their own. The inhabitants of *Chalcis* had ravaged part of *Eubæa*, and *Metellus* had obliged them to make restitution. Upon these motives the two cities entered into the rash measures of *Critolaus*, and joined him with their troops. With such feeble aids the *Achaean* prætor believed himself able to cope with the most powerful state in the world ; so far had his rage and hatred against the *Romans* got the better of his reason. Both *Critolaus* and *Diæus* had been of the number of those exiles, whom the *Romans* had kept so long in *Italy* in a kind of slavery, and were therefore determined to revenge themselves even at the expence of their country.

Heraclea  
besieged by  
the Achæ-  
ans.

*Critolaus*, being joined by the troops of *Thebes* and *Chalcis*, took the field, and marched against *Heraclea*, a city of the *Achaean* league, which refused to send its contingent to the prætor. While he was besieging this town, news was brought him that *Metellus* was drawing near, which struck him with such terror that he immediately broke up the siege, and withdrew into *Achaia*. He might easily have seized the pass of *Thermopylæ*, and there stopped at least, if not defeated, the *Roman* army. But his courage failed him all at once, and his retreat had all the appearance of a flight. *Metellus* pursued him close, and at last came up with him, and routed him. Historians have not told us the particulars of this battle, but we may well conclude that it cost the *Achæans* dear, for their army was entirely defeated, and above a thousand of them taken prisoners. *Critolaus* himself lost his life on this occasion ; for he never appeared afterwards, neither was his body found in the field of battle : some say, he poisoned himself in some remote corner of *Greece*, others, that he threw himself down from mount *Oeta* into a marsh and was drowned<sup>a</sup>.

Diæus suc-  
ceeds Cri-  
tolæus, and  
makes great  
preparati-  
ons for the  
war.

It was an established law among the *Achæans*, that when their prætor died during his office, his immediate predecessor should succeed him, and govern the republic, till the next general assembly, which met at a stated time. By this law *Diæus* took upon him the government of the republic, and the command of the scattered army. But scarce was he invest-  
ed

<sup>a</sup> POLYB. PAUSAN. *ibid.*

(D) *Amphissa* stood on the banks of a little river bearing the same name, and was one of the greatest cities in *Locris*. Some think it stood where *Solona* now stands ; but *Niger* thinks, its anti-ent situation agrees better with that of a little village now called *Lambino*.



ed with this dignity, when news was brought him, that a body of above a thousand *Arcadians*, who had joined the *Achaean* and after the battle retired to *Elatea* in *Phocis*, had been all to a man cut in pieces by *Metellus*. This was a melancholy piece of news; however, as he had been the chief author of the war, it behoved him to maintain it; he therefore sent deputies to all the cities of *Achaia*, enjoining them to raise new troops with all possible expedition, and caused an edict to be published, in all the places that were subject to the *Achaean* league, to this purport; That no less than twelve thousand slaves, who had been born in the country, should be enlisted; and that, if it was necessary, some of the slaves that had been brought from foreign countries, should be taken into the service to complete that number; that all those who were fit to bear arms, whether in *Achaia* or *Arcadia*, should repair to *Corinth*, and there take the military oaths; that all persons of substance, whether men or women, should bring all their gold or silver into the public treasury. This convinced all *Achaia* of the danger that threatened them; but, as they were embarked in a war with an enemy whom they had so highly provoked, they blindly pursued the mad scheme. The cities of *Elca*, *Messene*, and *Patrae*, were so terrified, when they heard that a consular army was coming from *Rome*, and that a consul with new legions was to take place of the prætor *Metellus*, that the inhabitants gave themselves up to despair, and either abandoned their country, or laid violent hands on themselves, through fear of falling under the conqueror's power. These cities were exposed to the first attacks of the enemy after their landing, and expected the most severe treatment. Some had recourse to the clemency of *Metellus*, flying to his camp for refuge. There they informed against the most factious among their countrymen, though no inquiry was yet made after them <sup>b</sup>.

IN the mean time the *Roman* prætor entered *Arcadia*, and *Thebes* drew near *Thebes*, which had openly declared for the *Achaean* taken by league. *Pythias*, the chief magistrate of that city, had stirred up all the inhabitants against the *Romans*, and treated with great severity such as were unwilling to enter into his measures. It was chiefly with a view to seize him that *Metellus* turned his arms against *Thebes*; but *Pythias* had retired from his native country with his wife and children before the arrival of the army. Most of the citizens had followed his ex-

<sup>b</sup> POLYB. & PAUSAN. *ibid*.



Megara  
submits.

ample and abandoned the city, which *Metellus* entered without opposition. The few citizens that remained he treated with great clemency, and saved the temples and houses from being plundered, but set a price on *Pythias*'s head. This mixture of mildness and severity was very pleasing to the people, but struck the magistrates with new terror. From *Thebes* the *Roman* general marched to *Megara*, which important post was guarded by one *Alcarnenes*, with a detachment of four thousand men. But the cowardly governor at the approach of the prætorian army left the place, and retired to *Corinth* where he joined *Diæus*. The inhabitants of *Megara* opened their gates to the *Romans*, and put them in possession of the most fruitful territory of *Achaia*.

Metellus  
sends new  
deputies to  
treat of a  
peace.

AND now *Metellus*, seeing most of the *Achæans* struck with terror, and inclined to peace, thought that such a favourable opportunity of gaining *Diæus* and his faction was not to be neglected. He had been informed, that the consul *Mummius* was charged with the war in *Achaia*, and had already set out from *Rome*, with orders from the senate to settle affairs in *Greece* by the destruction of *Corinth*. To deprive therefore *Mummius* of this glory, and at the same time save that noble city, he sent new deputies to treat of a peace. For this embassy he did not chuse *Romans*, but three *Achæans* of great distinction and credit in their own country, who had taken sanctuary in the *Roman* camp. These were *Andronidas*, *Logius*, and *Archippus*, men well affected to the *Romans*, but strongly touched with the misfortunes which threatened their country. Upon their arrival at *Corinth* they found the people in general inclined to peace, but the prætor and his faction more than ever bent upon a war. They were by his order thrown into prison, after he had produced them before the assembly of the people and declared them traitors and enemies to their country. Neither could he be prevailed upon to alter his measures, either by the remonstrances of *Philo*, an *Achæan* of great authority who came on purpose from *Thessaly*, or by the entreaties of *Stratius*, a man of distinguished merit and his particular friend. In spite of all their efforts the mad prætor sentenced the three deputies to die, and prevailed upon the chief members of the council, who were devoted to his faction, to confirm the unjust sentence; nay, they joined with them in the same condemnation one *Soficrates*, a venerable senator, whose only crime was his having voted for treating of a peace with the *Romans*. *Soficrates* was executed a few days after, and no kind of torture spared to extort from him such a confession as *Diæus* wanted; but he maintained to the last, that peace was preferable to war, and

They are  
treated as  
enemies.



this inflexible constancy made no small impression on the minds of the people. As for *Andronidas* and his colleagues, the avaricious prætor sold them their deliverance at a great price. A few days before, *Diæus* had caused one *Phillius* and his children to be put to death, only because they were suspected of corresponding with *Menalcidas* at *Lacedemon*, and inclining to favour the *Roman* faction. Thus were the unfortunate *Achæans* governed by magistrates, who had no other rule of conduct but their passions, and no other talent for war, but a savage fierceness, and a blind desire of revenge.

AN account of the many advantages gained by *Metellus* being transmitted to *Rome* by one *Posthumius*, without the general's knowledge, the consul *Mummius* hastened his departure for *Achaia*, which had fallen to his lot. Why the senate would not suffer *Metellus* to finish a war, which he had prosecuted so far, is what we find no where recorded. When the consul landed the numerous army he brought with him, *Metellus* was advancing to *Corinth*, with a design to use his utmost efforts, in order to bring *Diæus* to accept of a peace before the arrival of the consular army, and thereby deprive *Mummius* of the glory of finishing the war. But the obstinate prætor would hearken to no conditions how advantageous soever, which gave *Metellus* great concern, and made him lose all hopes of settling *Achaia* in peace before the arrival of the consul.

THIS was the posture of affairs in *Achaia*, when *Mummius* appeared before *Corinth* with a consular army, consisting of three thousand five hundred horse, and twenty three thousand foot, besides a body of *Cretan* archers, and the *Pergean* troops sent by *Attalus* the son of *Eumenes*. His first care was to send back *Metellus* and his forces into *Macedon*, lest he should share with him the glory of concluding the war. He then drew near the city, and encamped on the isthmus of *Corinth*, posting advanced-guards round the town. But as no enemy appeared, the *Achæan* army being shut up in the city, the *Romans* straggled about the fields, and neglected their posts; which the *Corinthians* observing made a vigorous sally, fell upon the legionaries, and pursued them with great slaughter to their camp. This small advantage encouraged the *Achæans*, and inspired *Diæus* with hopes of conquering the consul, who on his side did all that lay in his power to confirm him in his foolish persuasion; he kept his legions close in the camp, and pretended not to be able to bear the sight of the enemy. *Diæus*, now becoming auda-

The consul  
Mummius  
arrives in  
Greece.  
Year of  
the Flood  
2853.  
Before  
Christ,  
146.



c Idem ibid.

Y y 2

clous



cious and sure of victory, assembled all those who were able to bear arms and formed them into a phalanx, which with the auxiliaries from *Chalcis* made up an army equal, if not superior, in number to that of the *Romans*. They wanted experience and discipline ; but *Diæus* thought that despair and the importance of their cause would supply that want. He therefore advanced with his troops and offered the consular battle, which he declined, in order to draw the *Achæans* into a valley called *Leucopetra*, at the extremity of the isthmus which joined *Attica* to *Peloponnesus*. Accordingly the prætor fell into the snare, and repaired thither long before the consul. *Diæus* was so sure of victory, that he had invited the women and children of *Corinth* to be spectators from the neighbouring hills of the slaughter he was going to make of the enemy ; he had also ordered a great number of waggons to follow the army, which were to be loaded with the spoils of the *Romans* <sup>d</sup>.

The A-  
chæans  
defeated by  
Mummius

NEVER was there a more rash and ill-grounded confidence. The faction of *Diæus* had removed from the service and from the public councils all those who were capable of commanding the troops or directing affairs, and had substituted in their room others who had no experience in civil or military concerns : the soldiers had never before seen the face of an enemy, and were quite unacquainted with military discipline ; and nevertheless the rash prætor promised himself victory, over a consular army inured to the greatest dangers. While the *Achæans* were thus triumphing in the plains of *Leucopetra*, and only solicitous lest the consul should find means to make his escape, he unexpectedly appeared with his army drawn up in battalia. He had the day before placed in an ambuscade a strong body of horse, with orders to fall out in the heat of the action, and attack the *Achæan* phalanx in flank. The *Achæans* advanced furiously, but their cavalry was soon put to the rout. The phalanx made a vigorous resistance ; but at length, being attacked in front by the legionaries and by the cavalry in flank, it was broke and dispersed. The slaughter then was dreadful ; we are told that the two seas, which were divided by the isthmus of *Corinth*, were dyed with blood. If *Diæus* had retired into *Corinth*, he might have held it a long time, notwithstanding the loss of the battle, and obtained an honourable capitulation from *Mummius* ; for *Corinth* was at that time one of the strongest places in the world, and the consul's sole

<sup>d</sup> PAUSAN. ubi supra. Auth. de vir. illustr.



aim was to deserve a triumph by putting a speedy end to the war. But *Diaëus* abandoning himself to despair rode full speed to *Megalopolis* his native country, and entering his house set fire to it, threw his wife into the flames lest she should fall into the enemy's hands, and put an end to his unhappy life by poison<sup>e</sup>.

AFTER this defeat all things were in the utmost confusion at *Corinth*. The inhabitants, finding themselves without council, leaders, or courage, fled to other places for safety, leaving the city deserted. The gates were open and no body appeared on the walls to defend them. The consul hearing this could scarcely believe it, and fearing some ambuscade restrained the ardour of his soldiers, who were very eager to enter *Corinth*, and enrich themselves with the plunder of so wealthy a city. *Mummius* was thus in suspense for the space of three days, at the end of which, after having taken all proper precautions, and narrowly observed all places, both within and without the city, he entered it at the head of his troops, and gave it up to the rage and avarice of his soldiers. The men, who had not been able to prevail upon themselves to forsake their native country, were all put to the sword, and the women and children sold for slaves to the best bidder. Then the town was ransacked by the greedy soldiers; and who can reckon up the immense treasures they found? There were more vessels of all sorts of metals, more fine pictures, and statues of the greatest masters in *Corinth*, than in any city in the world. All the princes of *Europe* and *Asia*, who had any taste in painting and sculpture, furnished themselves here with their richest moveables; here were cast the finest statues for temples and palaces, and all the liberal arts brought to their greatest perfection. Many inestimable pieces of the most famous painters and statuaries fell into the hands of soldiers, who not knowing their value either destroyed them, or parted with them for a few drachmas. *Polybius* was an eye-witness of the want of taste in the *Romans* of those days. This brave *Achæan*, upon the first news that his countrymen had taken up arms against *Rome*, left *Africa*, where he was attending *Scipio* at the siege of *Carthage*, and hastened to *Achaia* to do his country what service he could. He was in the *Roman* army when *Corinth* was plundered, and had the mortification to see the *Roman* soldiers playing at dice on a picture of *Aristides* (E), which

<sup>e</sup> PAUSAN. in *Achaic*. ZONARAS l. 9. c. 31.

(E) *Aristides*, who was contemporary with *Socrates*, flourished at Athens.



which was accounted one of the wonders of the world. They set no value on that master-piece, and therefore willingly parted with it for a more convenient table to play upon. But when the spoils of *Corinth* were put up to sale, *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* offered for it six hundred thousand sesterces, that is near five thousand pounds of our money. The consul, surprized that the price of a picture should be carried so high, thought there was some magical virtue in it, and therefore interposing his authority retained it, notwithstanding the complaints of *Attalus*. He was not actuated in so doing by his private interest, for he did not appropriate it to himself, but placed it in the temple of *Ceres*, where *Strabo* had the pleasure of seeing it before it was consumed in the fire which reduced that temple to ashes <sup>f</sup>. *Mummius* was a great warrior, but seems to have had no taste for painting or sculpture; for when he put the pictures and statues he had taken in *Corinth* on board the transports, he told the masters of the vessels very seriously, that if any of them were either lost or spoiled, he would oblige them to find others at their own cost. As if any other pieces could have supplied the loss of those inestimable originals, done by the most celebrated masters in *Greece* <sup>g</sup>. Were it not to be wished, says the historian who has transmitted this fact to posterity, that this happy ignorance still subsisted? would it not be far preferable to that delicacy of taste for such rarities which prevails in the present age <sup>h</sup>? He spoke at a time when the governors of the provinces used all manner of frauds and extortions, to enrich themselves and their families with such valuable moveables.

Corinth  
reduced to  
ashes.

*Corinth* being thus pillaged, nothing remained but to reduce it to ashes, pursuant to the decree of the senate, which the consul was obliged to put in execution. Fire was set to all the corners of the city at the same time, and the flames growing more violent as they drew near the centre, at last united there, and made one general conflagration, which is

<sup>f</sup> STRAB. l. 8. p. 381. PLIN. l. 35. c. 4. & 10. CIC. de Ofic. l. 1. c. 76, 77. <sup>g</sup> VEL. PAT. l. 1. c. 13. <sup>h</sup> Idem ibid.

*Thebes* about the 122d Olympiad. He is said to have been the first that attempted to represent the passions of the soul in colours. The piece here spoke of was a *Bacchus*, so exquisitely done, that it was proverbially said of any extraordinary performance; *It is as well as the Bacchus of Aristides* (11).

(11) Plin. l. 35. c. 4 & 10.



said to have produced that famous mixture which art could never imitate. The gold, silver, and brass, which the *Corinthians* had concealed, were melted and ran down the streets in streams. Some of the greedy soldiers in attempting to save part of those metals perished in the flames. When the fire was extinguished, a new metal was found composed of several different ones (F), and greatly esteemed in the following ages. The walls of the city were demolished and razed to the very foundations. Thus was *Corinth* destroyed the same year that *Carthage* was laid in ashes. By the destruction of two such cities the *Romans* intended to strike terror into the rest of the world, and keep all nations steady in their obedience to *Rome*. *Corinth* was destroyed nine hundred and fifty two years after its foundation by *Aletes* the son of *Hippotes*, sixth in descent from *Hercules*. *Cicero*, who approved of the destruction of *Carthage* and *Numantia*, wished that *Corinth*, where the arts of painting and sculpture seemed to have taken up their habitation, had been spared<sup>1</sup>.

It does not appear, that the *Achæans* had any thoughts of raising new troops for the defence of their country, or summoned any assembly to deliberate on the measures it was necessary to take. No one took upon him to propose any remedy for the public calamities, or endeavoured to appease the *Romans* by sending deputies to implore their clemency. One would have thought, that the *Achæan* league had been buried under the ruins of *Corinth*; so much had the dreadful destruction of this city alarmed and universally dismayed the whole confederacy.

It was now necessary to determine the fate of the *Achæans* in general. As to the *Corinthians* and such slaves as had taken up arms against *Rome*, they were all condemned to slavery, and carefully sought out in all the places whither they had fled. After this the whole nation was ordered to assemble in the open fields, where they were surrounded by the *Roman* legions; and because they were all afraid of being involved in one common misfortune, proclamation was made, that only the na-

<sup>1</sup> *Cic. de Offic. l. 1. c. 35.*

(F) *Pliny* tells us, that there were three sorts of *Corinthian* brass, viz the red, the white, and that which was of the colour of money, according to the different proportions of gold, silver, and copper, that were in it (12).

(12) *Plin. l. 7. c. 38*



The A-  
chæan  
league dis-  
solved, and  
Achaia  
reduced to  
a Roman  
province.

tives of *Corinth*, and such slaves as had served in the troops, should be made captives, and be sold. The consul granted the rest of the inhabitants of *Achaia* their liberty, and sold the lands of the citizens of *Corinth*, which were in great part purchased by the *Sicyonians*. *Thebes*, *Chalcis*, and some other cities, that had joined the *Achæans*, were by the consul's orders dismantled. *Achaia* was condemned to pay the *Lacedæmonians* two hundred talents for the damages they had suffered during the war. Soon after ten commissioners arrived from *Rome* to regulate the affairs of *Greece* in general, and of *Achaia* in particular, in conjunction with the consul. These, abolished popular government in all the cities, and established magistrates, who were to govern each city according to their respective laws under the superintendency of a *Roman* prætor. Thus the *Achæan* league was dissolved, and *Greece* reduced to a *Roman* province, called the province of *Achaia*, because at the taking of *Corinth* the *Achæans* were the most powerful people of *Greece*. The whole nation paid an annual tribute to *Rome*, and the prætor, who was sent thither every year, was charged with the care of collecting it.

WE have observed above, that *Polybius* on his return into *Peloponnesus* had the mortification to see the city of *Corinth* reduced to ashes, and his country become a *Roman* province. If any thing was capable of mitigating his affliction on so mournful an occasion, it was the opportunity he had of defending the memory of *Philopæmen*, his master, in the science of war. A *Roman* out of some private grudge to that great hero accused him before *Mummius*, as if he had been still alive, of having been an enemy to the *Romans*, and always opposing their designs to the utmost of his power. What the accuser proposed by this new prosecution was, that all the statues and monuments erected to the memory of *Philopæmen* in most cities of the *Achæan* league should be destroyed, and his glorious feats buried in oblivion. The accusation was not without foundation; for as that brave *Achæan* was a true friend to his country, so he was an enemy in his heart to the *Romans*, being well apprised, that nothing but the absolute subjection of *Greece* could satisfy their pride and ambition. However, *Polybius* boldly took upon him his defence, and represented him as the greatest man *Greece* had produced in latter times; he owned, that he might perhaps have carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too far; but that he had rendered the people of *Rome* considerable services on various occasions. The ten commissioners, at whose tribunal he pleaded so noble a cause, moved with his reasons, but more with the gratitude he shewed in defending his master, decreed, that



that the statues of *Philopæmen* should not be touched, and that his monuments should remain till they were over-turned by the destroyer of all things. *Polybius*, taking the advantage of *Mummius*'s good disposition, begged of him the statues of *Aratus* and *Achæus* the founder of the nation, which were granted him, though they had been already transported out of *Peloponnesus* into *Acarnania*. At the same time he gave a signal proof of his disinterestedness, which gained him as much esteem among his countrymen, as his defending the memory of *Philopæmen*. After the destruction of *Corinth*, the effects of those who had been the authors of the insults offered to the *Roman* ambassadors were sold by auction. When those of *Dicæus* were put up, the commissioners ordered the quæstor who sold them, to let *Polybius* have out of them whatever he pleased, without taking any thing from him on that account. But *Polybius* refused the offer, saying, that he looked upon it as a very dishonourable thing to enrich himself with the spoils of his fellow-citizens<sup>k</sup>.

THIS action gave the commissioners such an idea of his virtue and probity, that, upon their leaving *Peloponnesus*, they appointed him to visit all the cities of *Greece*, and every-where settle the new form of government. A very honourable commission, which he discharged both to the satisfaction of the senate of *Rome*, and the people of *Achaia*, who erected many statues in honour of their benefactor, and among others one with this inscription: *To the memory of Polybius, whose counsels would have saved Achaia, if they had been followed; and who comforted her in her distress*<sup>l</sup>.

*Mummius* on his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph, which was embellished with all the finest paintings and sculptures that *Greece* had ever produced; and as he had made an absolute conquest of *Achaia*, he ever after bore the surname of *Achaicus*. Thus the *Romans* destroyed every thing that gave them umbrage, and plundered other nations to enrich themselves; which was making war, notwithstanding their boasted politeness, after the manner of *Barbarians*. From this time *Achaia* was governed, like the other *Roman* provinces, by a prætor sent thither annually from *Rome*, till the reign of *Nero*, who restored all *Greece* to the enjoyment of its antient liberties, reducing at the same time *Sardinia* to a *Roman* province, and laying on that wealthy island the tribute which *Achaia* had paid<sup>m</sup>. By this means he favoured the *Greeks* with-

<sup>k</sup> POLYB. in excerpt. p. 190. 192.

<sup>l</sup> PAUSAN. in Achaic.

<sup>m</sup> SÜET. in Nero. PAUSAN. in Achaic PLIN. l. 4. c. 6. EUTROP. c. 4.



out impairing the revenues of the empire. But they did not long enjoy the effects of his kindness, being soon after reduced by *Vespasian* to their former state of subjection. This misfortune they brought anew upon themselves by their domestic broils and discord, which could no otherwise be composed, but by depriving them of that liberty, which they no longer knew how to enjoy <sup>a</sup>. Under *Nerva* some shadow at least of their liberty was restored to them; but they were still governed by a *Roman* prætor, and also in *Trajan's* time, as appears from a letter of *Pliny* the younger to *Maximus*, who was sent to govern *Achaia*, wherein, after having exhorted him to use his power with moderation, he concludes, that it would be barbarous and inhuman to deprive the *Achæans* of that faint image, that shadow which remained of their antient liberty <sup>o</sup>. In this condition they remained with little alteration till the reign of *Constantine* the great, who in his new partition of the *Roman* provinces subjected *Achaia* to the *Præfectus prætorio* for *Illyricum*. Upon the division of the empire, *Achaia* with the rest of *Greece* fell to the emperors of the east. Under *Arcadius* and *Honorius* all those provinces suffered greatly by the incursions of the *Goths*, who under their king *Alaric* laid waste the whole country, reducing the stately and magnificent structures, that were then remaining, to heaps of ruins <sup>p</sup>. From that time we find no account of any thing that passed among them till the reign of the emperor *Emanuel* or *Manuel*, who, in the twelfth century parcelling *Peloponnesus* out into seven principalities, divided it among his seven sons, styling them *despotes*, or lords of *Morea*. Its resemblance to the leaf of a mulberry-tree, called in *Greek* *Morea*, and in *Latin* *Morus*, gave occasion to this appellation. In process of time these dynasties were not only bestowed on the emperors children and the princes of the blood, but also on such others as had distinguished themselves in the service of their country. In the thirteenth century, when *Constantinople* was taken by the western princes, the maritime cities of *Peloponnesus*, with most of the islands, were allotted to the *Venetians*. In the fifteenth century *Constantine Dracoses*, despot of *Morea*, being raised to the imperial throne, divided that province between his two brothers, *Demetrius* and *Thomas*, bestowing *Sparta* on the former, and *Corinth* on the latter. These princes falling out and making war upon each other, *Mohammed II.* took advantage of their divisions, and under pretence of assisting the one against the other, stripped them both of their

<sup>a</sup> PAUSAN. *ibid.*      <sup>o</sup> PLIN. l. 8. epist. 24.  
<sup>p</sup> SYNESIUS epist. 235. CLAUDIAN. in *Ruffin.* l. 2.

dominions.



dominions. *Thomas* fled to *Rome*; but *Demetrius*, who had implored the assistance of the *Barbarians* against his brother, was carried captive to *Adrianople*. The *Mohammedans*, having thus got footing in *Morea*, soon drove the *Venetians* from the cities they possessed on the coast, and made themselves absolute masters of that fruitful province, holding it till they were in their turn driven out by the *Venetians*, under the conduct of general *Morosini* in 1687. By the treaty of *Carlowitz* in 1699, the *Barbarians* yielded it up to the republic of *Venice*; but retook it in 1715, and in their hands it still continues, being governed by a *Sangiack*, under the *Beglerberg* of *Greece*, who resides at *Modon* <sup>1</sup>.

## S E C T. II.

*The History of Ætolia.*

THE republic of *Ætolia* (G) was, in the times we are now writing of, next in power to that of *Achaia*, and formed much upon the same plan, being governed by a general assembly, a prætor, and other magistrates of an inferior rank and authority. The general assembly, called by the ancients *Panætolum*, met usually only once a year, and that in autumn; but the prætor was empowered to summon it out of the stated time upon any extraordinary occasion, the whole power of enacting laws, declaring war, making peace, and concluding alliances, being lodged in that court. Besides the *Panætolum* or great council of the nation, which consisted of members chosen by each city of the *Ætolian* alliance, there was another called the council of the *Apocleti*; this was composed of the most eminent men in the nation, their office answering that of the *demiurgi* among the *Achæans*, which we have spoke of above: but as to their number we are quite in the dark. Their chief magistrates after the prætor the were

*The Ætolian confederacy.*

<sup>1</sup> Vide. P. CORONELLI. descrizione di Morea, ALESSANDRO LOCATELLI. racconto della Veneta guerra in levante.

(G) Under the name of *Ætolia* was formerly comprehended that country which is now called the *Despotat*, or *Little Greece*. It was parted on the east by the river *Evenus*, now the *Fidari*, from the *Locrenses Ozole*; on the west from *Acarmania* by the *Achelous*; on the north it bordered upon the country of the *Dorians* and part of *Epirus*, and on the south extended to the bay of *Corinth*. See the account we have given of the country and its inhabitants, Vol. V. p. 561, & seq.



the general of the horse, the public secretary, and the *Ephori*. The two first were held in great esteem; for in the last alliance they concluded with the *Romans*, they allowed them to chuse forty hostages out of the whole nation, without excepting any but the general of the horse and the secretary, as if the republic could not subsist without them. The *Ephori* were introduced in imitation of the *Lacedæmonians*, with whom they were many ages straitly united, as *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, and *Polybius* inform us; but as to their number the ancients are quite silent; their office was much the same as that of the *Spartan ephori*, but they acted in subordination both to the general diet and the prætor. The *Ætolian* confederacy was formed sometime after that of the *Achæans*, whose example they followed, uniting several cities, which were before independent of each other, into one republic, and thereby inabling themselves to withstand the attempts of the *Macedonian* princes, who aspired to the sovereignty of all *Greece*<sup>r</sup>.

Character  
of the  
Ætolians.

THE *Ætolians* were a restless and turbulent people; seldom at peace among themselves, and ever at war with their neighbours; utter strangers to all sense of friendship or principles of honour; ready to betray their friends upon the least prospect of reaping any advantage from their treachery; in short, they were looked upon by the other states of *Greece* no otherwise, as our author informs us<sup>t</sup>, than as out-laws and public robbers. On the other hand, they were bold and enterprising in war; inur'd to labour and hardships; undaunted in the greatest dangers; jealous defenders of their liberties, for which they were on all occasions willing to venture their lives, and sacrifice all that was most dear to them. They distinguished themselves above all the other nations of *Greece* in opposing the ambitious designs of the *Macedonian* princes, who, after having reduced most of the other states, were forced to grant them a peace upon very honourable terms. But the gallant behaviour of this warlike people, in defending the common liberties of *Greece* against those powerful invaders, we shall have occasion to relate in the history of *Alexander* and his successors, as in a more proper place; our present province being confined to those occurrences only that happened after they had formed themselves into a republic. The constitution of the *Ætolian* republic was, as we have hinted above, copied from that of the *Achæans*, and with a view to form, as it were, a counter-alliance. For the *Ætolians* bore an irreconcilable hatred to the *Achæans*, and had conceived no small jealousy at the growing power of that state. The *Gleomenic*

<sup>r</sup> POLYB. l. 2.

<sup>t</sup> POLYB. l. 4.



war and that of the allies, called the *social* war, which we have described in the history of *Achaia*, were kindled by the *Ætolians* in the heart of *Peloponnesus*, with no other view, but to humble their antagonists the *Achæans*. In the latter they held out, with the assistance only of the *Eleans* and *Lacedemonians*, for the space of three years, against the united forces of *Achaia* and *Macedon*; but were obliged at last to purchase a peace, by yielding up to *Philip* all *Acarnania*. As they parted with this province sore against their will, they watched all opportunities of wresting it again out of the *Macedonian's* hands; and one very favourable for their design soon offered.

*M. Valerius Lævinus* had been appointed by the *Roman* senate to guard the coasts of *Italy*, on the side of *Greece*, and to watch the motions of *Philip*, who, after concluding an alliance with *Hannibal*, was preparing to pass over into *Italy*. The *Roman* had under his command a fleet of fifty ships of war, and a legion for land service. But as he was no-way in a condition with so small a force to oppose the designs of *Philip*, he cast his eyes on the *Ætolians*, who were highly dissatisfied with the peace they had lately concluded with the *Macedonians* and their allies. This general discontent *Lævinus* resolved to improve to the advantage of his republic; and by stirring up the *Ætolians* against *Philip* to divert him from any attempts upon *Italy*. As he was therefore then cruising with his squadron on the coasts of *Greece*, he invited some of the *Ætolians* on board, and entering into private conference with them, found that it would be no difficult matter to engage the whole nation in the interests of *Rome*. To this end he went to their general assembly, where he gave them an account of the victories *Rome* had lately gained over *Hannibal*, and the conquests of *Marcellus* in *Sicily*; he extolled the great generosity and constant fidelity of the *Romans* towards their allies; adding, that the *Ætolians* might expect to be ever looked upon with an eye of distinction by *Rome*, if they were the first nation beyond the seas that joined her; that *Philip* was a dangerous neighbour, and his over-grown power would prove fatal to them, unless they were supported by some more potent state; that the *Romans* in conjunction with the *Ætolians* would easily oblige him to quit *Acarnania*, which he had usurped, and keep himself upon the defensive in his own dominions. He concluded his speech by assuring them, that if they entered into engagements with *Rome*, *Philip* should never obtain a peace, without restoring *Acarnania* to its former owners<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Fast. capit. Liv. l. 26. c. 24—26.



The Ætolians conclude an alliance with the Romans.

*Scopas*, at that time prætor of the Ætolians, and *Dorimachus*, a man of great authority, strongly enforced the arguments and promises made by *Lævinus*, expatiating in commendation of the Romans, with all the eloquence which they were masters of; for *Lævinus* out of modesty had said but little in commendation of his republic. These two chiefs were not only for entering into an alliance with the Romans, but for sending deputies to the neighbouring states, inviting them to accede to the same alliance. Accordingly they sent ambassadors to *Elis* (H), *Lacedemon*, and *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* (I); to *Pleuratus* (K), and *Scerdelaidas* king of the best part of *Illyricum*. In the senate of *Lacedemon* two orators, *Chlæneas* and *Lyciscus*, made long harangues, the first in favour of the Ætolians and Romans, the other in favour of king *Philip*<sup>a</sup>; but the Ætolians carried their point, and *Lacedemon* with *Elis* declared for Rome; the kings *Pleuratus* and *Scerdelaidas* followed the example of *Lacedemon*; so that the treaty was drawn up in these words: “ If the Inhabitants of  
“ *Elis*, the *Lacedemonians*, *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Scerde-*  
“ *laidas*, think fit to enter into an alliance with the Romans,  
“ let them immediately arm, and make war upon *Philip*.  
“ The Romans shall furnish the confederates with twenty  
“ ships at least; all the conquests that shall be made between  
“ the confines of Ætolia and the sea of *Corcyra* shall belong  
“ to the confederates, and the captives and booty to the Ro-  
“ mans. The latter shall do their utmost to put the Æto-  
“ lians in possession of *Acarmania*. The Ætolians shall not  
“ conclude a peace with *Philip*, but upon condition that he  
“ withdraw his troops from the territories of Rome and her  
“ allies, nor the Romans with *Philip*, but upon the same  
“ terms w.”

<sup>a</sup> Vide POLYB. l. ix. c. 22—23.

<sup>w</sup> LIV. l. xxvi. c. 24.

(H) See an account of this country Vol. V. p. 552, & seq. The greatest part of this province bears now the name of *Belvedere*, as does *Elis* its capital. This country was antiently dedicated to *Jupiter Olympius*, whence to commit there any acts of hostility was deemed a great profanation.

(I) *Attalus* mentioned here is *Attalus* the first, who succeeded his father *Eumenes* the first, brother to *Philetærus*. *Philetærus* was treasurer to *Lyſimachus* king of *Thrace*; but afterwards acquired the dominion of *Pergamus*, which he erected into a little state, as we shall see in the history of the kings of *Pergamus*.

(K) *Livy* (13) makes this *Pleuratus* one of the kings of *Thrace*; but *Polybius* speaks of him as king of a country in *Illyricum* (14).

(13) *Liv.* l. xxvi. c. 24.

(14) *Polyb.* l. ix. c. 23.

THESE



THESE articles were not signed till two years after, when they had been confirmed by the *Ætolians* at *Olympia*, and the senate at *Rome*. This delay was occasioned by the dilatoriness of the *Romans* in sending ambassadors into *Ætolia*. When they were ratified and confirmed by both nations, the senate ordered them to be placed in the capitol, as a lasting monument of their first alliance with the *Greek* nation. However, hostilities began as soon as the treaty was concluded: *Lævinus* seized on the island and city of *Zacynthus* (L), took *Æniadæ*, and also *Nafus* (M), two cities of *Acarmania*, and restored them to the *Ætolians*. After this he returned with his fleet to *Corcyra*, where he wintered, fully persuaded, that the king would now give over all thoughts of invading *Italy*.

Year of  
the Flood  
2788.  
Before  
Christ  
211.



THE king was at *Pella*, making preparations for his expedition into *Italy*, when news was brought him of the new treaty concluded by the *Ætolians*. Whereupon he altered his measures, and resolved to fall upon his new enemies the next summer. Accordingly he took the field early in the spring, laid waste the *Ætolian* territories, and then marched back his forces into *Macedon*, in order to oppose the *Mædi* (N), who were ready to fall upon his dominions. During his absence *Scopas*, then prætor and general of the *Ætolians*, entered *Acarmania*, in hopes of reducing that country before *Philip* could return to their assistance. This conquest had been begun the last campaign by *Lævinus*, who had taken *Æniadæ* and *Nafus*, and was now near enough to assist the

\* LIV. *ibid.*

(L) This is an island in the *Ionian* sea over-against *Peloponnesus*, and is now called *Zante*. It is said to have borrowed its name from *Zacynthus* the son of *Dardanus*. We must not confound it with another island bearing the same name in the *Archipelago* or *Ægean* sea (15).

(M) *Nassus* or *Nafus* was a city of *Acarmania* not far from the mouth of the *Achelous*. There were two cities that bore the name of *Æniadæ*; one in *Acarmania* on the *Ionian* sea near the mouth of the *Achelous*: This city, according to our modern travellers, is now called *Dragomesto*; the other was, according to *Stephanus*, in *Thrace*, not far from mount *Oeta*.

(N) The *Mædi* possessed a part of *Thrace* beyond mount *Rhodope*, and therefore *Ptolemy* calls their country *Medica*, but others give it the name of *Macedonian Greece*, because it bordered on *Macedonia* on the side of the *Ægean* sea.

(15) *Pausan. in Arcad. Strabo, l. x.*



*Ætolians* with his fleet and legion. The *Acar-nanians* were sensible, that they could not oppose two such powerful nations at the same time; but nevertheless resolved to stand to their defence, and sell their lives at the dearest rate. Accordingly having sent into *Epirus* all their women, children, and such as were not able to bear arms, those who remained from the age of fifteen to threescore bound themselves by oath, not to return home till they had utterly destroyed the *Ætolians*: They only desired the *Epirots* to place the ashes of those, who should fall in battle, in one tomb with the following epitaph: *Here lie the Acarnanians, who died fighting for their country, in opposition to the violence and injustice of the Ætolians.* This resolution so terrified the *Ætolians*, that they returned home without offering to enter the borders of *Acar-nania*, or to do any thing that might provoke a people resolved to conquer or die †.

THE *Ætolians*, not daring to invade *Acar-nania*, turned their arms against *Anticyra* (O), a city of the *Locri*, and in the neighbourhood of *Ætolia*. This place they invested by land, and *Lævinus* at the same time by sea; as it was battered night and day on all sides, it was soon obliged to surrender at discretion. *Lævinus*, pursuant to the treaty, delivered up the city to the *Ætolians*, reserving for his own troops the captives and the plunder. The *Ætolians*, flushed with this success, leaving *Lævinus* at *Anticyra*, entered *Achaia*, and there committed such ravages as obliged *Philip* to leave *Demetrias* (P), where he was encamped, and draw near to *Greece*. On his march he met the *Ætolian* army

† Idem, l. xxvi. c. 25.

(O) *Anticyra* stood near the river *Sperchius* over-against mount *Octa*. Its territory bordered upon *Thessaly*, and near it was an island of the same name, abounding, as *Pliny* informs us (16), with hellebore. *Ptolemy* and *Strabo* mention another city bearing the same name in *Phœcis*, near *Crissa* on the confines of *Boeotia* (17).

(P) The city of *Demetrias*, now *Dimitriada*, was built by *Demetrius Poliorcetes* on the sea coast of *Thessaly*, near the territory of the *Magnesiensians*. *Pliny* confounds this city with that of *Pegasæ*; but *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* make them two different cities, and place them both at the entrance of the *Pegasæus sinus*, now the gulf of *Armiro*. *Demetrias* was for some time the seat of the kings of *Macedon* (18).

(16) *Plin. l. xxv. ibid.*

(17) *Strabo, l. ix.*

(18) *Strabo,*



commanded by *Pyrrhias*, prætor for that year (Q.), who had advanced as far as *Theffaly* to give the *Macedonians* battle. The two armies met near *Lamia*, a city of *Phthiotis* in the *Ætolian* interest. *Pyrrhias* had been reinforced with a strong detachment of king *Attalus's* troops, and a thousand legionaries sent him by *P. Sulpicius*, who had succeeded *Lævinus* as pro-prætor of *Greece*. Notwithstanding this reinforcement the *Ætolians* were twice defeated, and forced to save themselves under the walls of *Lamia*. After this victory *Philip* encamped in the neighbourhood of *Phalara* near the mouth of the *Sperchius*, with a design to surprize a strong detachment of *Ætolian* cavalry, which was to return from *Theffaly*, and pass that way. But while he was encamped here, ambassadors arrived from *Ptolemy Philopater* king of *Egypt*, attended with a great number of deputies from the islands of *Chios* and *Rhodes* and the city of *Athens*. Their errand was to prevail on *Philip* and the *Ætolians* to put an end to the war. This was not so much out of good will to the latter, as jealousy of the former, who, by reducing the *Ætolians*, might easily enslave all *Greece*, and have a ready access to the cities which *Ptolemy* possessed out of *Egypt*. *Philip* put off the conferences till the next diet of the *Achæans*, and in the mean time granted the *Ætolians* a truce of thirty days. In this interval *Philip* was invited by the *Greeks* to preside at the *Heræan* (R) and *Nemæan* games. This was a distinction

(Q) The prætorship of the *Ætolians* was, according to *Livy* (19), divided between *Pyrrhias* and king *Attalus*; the general assembly of the *Ætolians* having bestowed that honour upon the king of *Pergamus*, though then absent.

(R) The *Heræan* games, or *Heræan* festivals, were celebrated by the *Argians* with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. They were called *Heræan* from the Greek word *Hpn*, signifying *Juno*, whom the inhabitants of *Argolis* worshipped as their tutelary goddess, and in whose honour this festival was first instituted. The ceremony consisted in a pompous procession made by the *Argian* youth under arms. The statue of *Juno*, which was of ivory and gold, and thought one of the best performances of the famous *Polycletus*, was carried in a chariot drawn by two white oxen. In the driver's seat was placed the image of one *Trochilus* the son of *Callicha*, who was the first priestess of *Juno Argiva*. This ministry, which was granted to none but women of great distinction, was held in such esteem among the *Argians*, that they dated their public acts by the priesthoods of the priestesses of *Juno*, as we do by

(19) *Liv. l. xxvii. c. 30.*



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(16) *Plin.* l. xxv.  
*ibid.*

(17) *Strabo*, l. ix

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(19) *Liv. l. xxvii. c. 30.*



a distinction, which the *Greeks* had shewn him, and confirmed by their suffrages, pretending that the first king of *Macedon*

the reigns of our kings. The *Argian* youth marched in good order from the city of *Argos* to the temple of *Juno*, which stood at a small distance, and was one of the most stately edifices of *Greece*. Upon their arrival at the temple an hundred oxen were sacrificed, and their flesh distributed among all that were present. When the religious ceremonies were over, the sports began, and the youth entered the lists, disputing the honour of carrying off a buckler which was fixed to the wall of the city. The conqueror was rewarded with a crown of myrtle, and walked through the city for several days successively, amidst the acclamations of his fellow-citizens, making a shew of the buckler he had gained. Some ascribe the institution of these games to *Archinus* tyrant of *Argos*, and others to *Lyncæus*, who is said to have reigned in *Argolis* in the year of the world 2558. The *Heræan* games were common to some other nations of *Greece*, and also to the islanders, namely to the inhabitants of *Samos*, *Ægina*, and *Cos*. At *Corinth* this ceremony had the air of a mournful one; it being a received tradition among them, that *Medæa*, after having killed her children, instituted the *Heræan* games, by way of atonement for her crime. The *Corinthians* therefore renewed the memory of her cruelty by sacrificing a goat to *Juno* (20).

As to the *Nemæan* games, most of the antients agree, that they were instituted in honour of *Archemorus*, the son of *Lycus*, according to some, or of *Lycurgus* king of *Thrace*, as others will have it. We are told, that an army of *Argians*, commanded by *Adrastus* king of *Argos*, being in great distress for want of water as they were marching towards *Thebes* to assist *Polynices*, addressed the nurse of the young prince *Archemorus*, whom they accidentally met, and that she laying down the child she had in her arms, on a branch of smilax, out of compassion led the thirsty soldiers to a fountain. But in the mean time a serpent attacked and put to death the child, before *Adrastus* and his *Argians* could bring him any relief. However, to allay the grief of *Lycurgus* for the death of his son, they instituted solemn games in honour of the deceased, which were first celebrated near *Nemæa*, a city of *Argolis*. Some say they were renewed annually, others every five years, and others every tenth year. Many are of opinion, that they were instituted before the *Theban* war; but all agree, that they were revived by *Hercules*, and consecrated to *Jupiter* in thanksgiving for his victory over the *Nemæan* lion (21). *Eusebius* is of opinion, that they were instituted in the fifty-first olympiad (22). This festival was celebrated with sports, namely chariot-races, foot and horse-races, tournaments,

(20) *Pausan.* in *Corinth.* *Suidas*, *Polæon.* *Athenæus*, &c. (21) *Pausan.* ubi *supra.* (22) *Euseb.* in *Chron.*



*cedon* was a native of *Greece*. In this station the king behaved like a voluptuous prince, and pursued debauchery to excess. But at last the diet was held, which drew him from his pleasures to *Rhium*, the place appointed for the assembly. The negotiations began, and most of the nations engaged in the war inclined to a reconciliation, fearing *Attalus* and the *Romans* would take advantage of their divisions, and get footing in *Greece*. At the opening of the assembly one of the orators exhorted the contending parties to mutual concord, in a speech, which is preserved to this day, and may be looked upon as a master-piece of the kind<sup>z</sup>. The discourse moved the whole assembly, and it was no sooner ended but *Philip's* ambassadors were introduced, who declared, that their master was ready to give peace to *Greece*, if the *Ætolians* would consent to it, and charged them with all the evils that would inevitably attend the prosecution of the war. The *Ætolians*, however, came to no resolution; and in the mean time news was brought them, that *Attalus* was arrived with his fleet at the island of *Ægina* (S), and *Sulpicius* with his at *Naupactus* (T), which made the *Ætolians* put an end to

<sup>z</sup> *POYB. l. 11. c. 4.*

boxing, wrestling, &c. The conqueror in any of these exercises was rewarded with a crown of olive, and also of smallage, which was made use of in funeral ceremonies, and renewed the memory of the death of *Archemorus*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* informs us, that on this occasion an orator used to pronounce a funeral oration in honour of the young prince, and that the judges, appointed by the cities of *Greece* to distribute the rewards, were clad in mourning. These games were common to the *Argians*, *Corinthians*, and the inhabitants of *Cleonæ*, who had a right to chuse the president by turns (23).

(S) *Ægina*, now *Engia* and *Legina*, or *Lalona*, is an island in the *Ægean* sea, between the territory of *Athens* and that of *Epidaurus*, in the *Saronic* gulf, to which it gives its name. It is about thirty six miles in circumference, and was antiently famous for the skill of its inhabitants in sea affairs, and its athletes or wrestlers. *Stephanus* takes it for one of the *Cyclades*, and *Tzetzes* for one of the *Sporades*; but they are both mistaken, as is plain from *Strabo* and *Pausanias* (24).

(T) *Naupactus* or *Naupactum* was formerly a considerable city in *Ætolia*. The present inhabitants call it *Epaëtos* or *Nepaëtos*, the *Turks* *Einebaëti*, and the *Italians* *Lepanto*. It stood near *Antir*

(23) *Pausan. Atheniens, Pol. xii. &c. ubi supra.* (24) *Stephan. l. 8. Pa. l. vii. in Corinth.*



to the conferences. For they declared, that they would consent to no peace, unless *Pylos* (U) was restored to the *Messenians*, *Atintania* (W) to the *Romans*, and the country of the *Ardians* (X), to *Pleuratus* and *Scerdelaidas*. This was giving law to all *Greece*, which so incensed *Philip* that he left the assembly, after having made a short speech, wherein he acquainted them, that he was sincerely desirous of peace, and would hearken to any reasonable proposals, but could not by any means brook such insults, meaning the terms proposed by the *Ætolians*, from those he had conquered<sup>a</sup>.

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THE assembly being dismissed, the king went to *Argos* to preside in the *Nemæan* games, as he had lately done in the *Heræan*. But while he was giving himself up, without re-

<sup>a</sup> LIV. l. 27. c. 29—33. POLYB. l. 10. p. 612.

*rhium*, within the *Crissæan* bay, and was called *Naupactum*, because the *Heraclidæ* built there the first ship that carried them into *Peloponnesus*. It first belonged to the *Locri Oxolæ*; but they were driven out by the *Athenians*, who gave it to the *Messenians*, whom the *Lacedemonians* had obliged to abandon *Peloponnesus*. After the battle of *Ægos Potamos* the *Lacedemonians* took it from the *Messenians*, and reunited it to the *Locri*. Afterwards *Philip*, the father of *Alexander*, having seized it, bestowed it upon the *Ætolians*, and from that time it was always deemed a city of *Ætolia* (25).

(U) We find three cities mentioned by the antients bearing the name of *Pylos*. The first stood on the western coast of *Messenia* over-against *Spbagia* or *Spaëtaria*, now *Sapienza*, a small island in the *Ionian* sea. The second was situate more to the north in *Tryphilia*, a province of *Elis*. The third stood more to the northward of the other two. Not far from the mouth of the river *Peneus*. These three cities laid claim to the honour of having been governed by the famous *Nestor* the son of *Neleus*. It is very plain, that the city of *Pylos* in *Messenia* was the subject of dispute between *Philip* and the *Ætolians*; for the *Messenians* could have no pretensions to the two latter cities, which belonged to the *Eleans*, in whose territory they stood (26).

(W) The *Atintanes*, according to *Thucydides* (27), inhabited part of the country of the *Molossi*; but *Livy* and *Polybius* place them on the confines of *Macedon* towards *Illyricum*.

(X) The *Aryæans* or *Ardians* inhabited the eastern part of *Illyricum*; they had been conquered by *Philip*, who united their country to *Macedon*.

(25) *Strabo*, l. 9. *Pausan.* in *Phocicis*. (26) *Vide Pausan.* in *Messen.* & *Eliac.* secundo *Thucyd.* l. 4. (27) *Thucyd.* *ibid.* *Polyb.* l. 11. c. 40. *Liv.* l. 27. c. 30.

strait,



strait, to the enjoyment of such diversions as were no-ways seasonable in times of war and alarms, the proconsul *Sulpicius* setting out from *Naupactus* landed between *Sicyon* and *Gorinth*, and being joined by the *Ætolians* laid waste all that fertile country. This unexpected invasion obliged the king to interrupt his diversions and take the field. His arrival struck the enemy with such terror, that, leaving the booty behind, they hastened to their ships, and re-embarked for *Naupactus*. *Philip* returned to the games, where he was received with an universal applause, the circus, the theatre, and all the streets of the city ringing with his name. But he gained more on the affections of the *Greeks*, who were zealous republicans, by his affable behaviour, and the popular airs he affected, than by his victories. He appeared at the shews without his diadem, purple robe, or any other ensigns of royal dignity; a sight very pleasing to the inhabitants of free cities <sup>b</sup>.

SOME days after the games, news was brought him that the city of *Dyme* on the confines of *Elis* had declared for the *Ætolians*, though it stood in *Peloponnesus*, and had received an *Ætolian* garison. Hereupon *Philip* crossing the *Larissus* (Y) entered the territory of *Elis*, ravaged the country, and encamped under the very walls of the capital. But he was soon obliged by the *Romans* and *Ætolians* to retire at a greater distance, as we have related in the history of *Achaia*. However, he took by storm, in sight of the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, a strong hold of great importance, where he found a very considerable booty. While he was dividing the prey among his soldiers, advice was brought him, that the *Dardanians* had entered *Macedon*, and possessed themselves of a small district called *Orestida* (Z); that the *Dassaratæ* had revolted, and that several cities were ready to join the rebels. The *Barbarians* had been encouraged to shake off the yoke, and invade the kingdom of *Macedon*, by a false report of the king's

<sup>b</sup> POLYB. & LIV. *ibid*.

(Y) The *Larissus*, now the *Riso*, divided *Elis* from *Achaia propria*; it watered the territory of *Dyme*, and fell into the *Ionian* sea.

(Z) *Orestida* was a country in the south-west part of *Macedon*. *Orestes*, having fled into this country after the murder of his mother *Clytemnestra*, built a city there, and gave his own name to the province. It bordered upon *Epirus*, the country of the *Atintanes*, and the *Adriatic* sea (28).

(28) *Thucyd. l. 2. Liv. l. 27. c. 31.*

death.



death. *Philip*, in pursuing the *Roman* and *Ætolian* foragers between *Corinth* and *Sicyon*, had struck his head against a tree with such violence, that he broke his helmet in pieces. These pieces were gathered up by an *Ætolian*, and brought to *Scerdelaidas*, who knew that they belonged to the king's helmet: and hence arose the report, that *Philip* had been killed in a battle in which he had gained the advantage. His presence therefore being necessary in his own dominions, he hastened home, leaving only a body of three thousand men to protect his friends in *Greece* <sup>c</sup>.

DURING his absence, the *Romans*, *Ætolians*, and king *Attalus* possessed themselves of *Oreum*, *Opus*, *Torone*, *Tribonos*, and *Drymus*. Whereupon ambassadors being dispatched to him from all the nations that were in his alliance, he settled the affairs of *Macedon* in the best manner he could, and marched back with incredible expedition into *Greece*. Upon his arrival *Attalus* re-embarked his forces and returned to *Pergamus*, *Sulpicius*, having but one legion on board, retired to the island of *Ægina*, and the *Ætolians*, thus abandoned by their allies, were forced to shelter themselves in their strong holds, not being able to make head against the united forces of *Macedon* and *Achaia*, with the assistance of the *Lacedemonians* alone. *Philip* being thus left master of the field, retook most of the cities which had been reduced in his absence, laid waste great part of *Ætolia*, put the *Lacedemonians* to flight, and then, as winter was drawing near, marched his forces back into *Macedon*. Early in the spring he returned into *Greece*, and, entering *Ætolia* at the head of a numerous army, obliged the *Ætolians* to conclude a peace upon very disadvantageous terms. The *Romans*, employed in a more important war at home, had left their friends in *Greece* to shift for themselves; but nevertheless took it very much amiss, that they had made a peace without their consent and approbation. *Sempronius* the pro-consul endeavoured to stir them up anew against *Philip*, but to no purpose, they were quite exhausted with such an expensive war, and no ways in a condition to lend the pro-consul any assistance. He therefore altered his measures, and instead of making war began to treat with the king and his allies of a peace, which was soon agreed on by the mediation of the *Epirots* <sup>d</sup>.

THIS peace was not of long continuance; for the *Romans* having, a few years after, resolved upon a war with *Philip*, sent *Furius Purpureo* into *Ætolia* to engage that na-

<sup>c</sup> POLYB. & LIV. *ibid*.

<sup>d</sup> LIV. l. 30. c. 7.

A general  
peace con-  
cluded  
Year of  
the Flood  
2705.  
Before  
Christ  
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tion a-new in the interests of *Rome*. *Furius* was attended by the envoys of *Athens*, a city greatly addicted to the *Romans*; and at the same time ambassadors from *Philip* arrived with very advantageous proposals, in case the *Ætolians* would either join their master, or stand neuter. The *Ætolian* nation was never more honoured than at this time, when they saw their friendship and alliance courted by a great king and two powerful republics. On the arrival of the ambassadors an extraordinary diet was convened at *Naupactus*, whither the envoys from *Rome*, from *Athens*, and from *Philip*, immediately resorted. *Damocritus* presided in the diet in quality of prætor; and as he had been bribed by *Philip*, he directed, that the *Macedonians* should be heard before the *Romans*; his pretext for this preference was, that the alliance between *Philip* and *Ætolia* was yet fresh, and had been but lately concluded. The speech made by the *Macedonian* ambassadors was full of invectives against the *Romans*, they enlarged on their proceedings at *Rhegium*, *Capua*, and *Tarentum*, as instances of their treachery and cruelty; and concluded with exhorting the *Ætolians* to observe the conditions of peace, which they had concluded a few years before with *Philip*. The *Athenians*, who spoke next, endeavoured to efface the impressions which this discourse had made: they expatiated, in an affecting manner, on the cruelty and impiety of *Philip*, who, according to his barbarous method of making war, had shewn no regard to the august temples of the Gods, or the venerable tombs of the dead; they extolled the courage and piety of the *Romans*; and, lastly, conjured the *Ætolians* to join in the common cause of the two most formidable powers, *Heaven* and *Rome*. Afterwards *Purpureo* was heard, and his speech chiefly turned on justifying the conduct of the *Romans*, with regard to the three cities mentioned by the *Macedonian* orator; he expatiated on the lenity and moderation shewn by his republic to the *Carthaginians*, and returned the reproaches of cruelty upon *Philip*; he did not forget the advantages, which the consular army had already gained over the king; and, lastly, advised the *Ætolians* to lay hold of the present opportunity of renewing their confederacy with the *Romans*, unless they chose rather to perish with *Philip*, than conquer with *Rome* <sup>c</sup>.

THE diet was inclined to favour the *Romans*; but *Damocritus* suspended their determination, by declaring, that nothing which related to peace or war could be resolved upon out of a general diet, which this was not. The artful præ-

<sup>c</sup> Liv. l. 31. c. 29.



tor made a merit with his countrymen of his address in this affair, pretending, that his design was only to gain time, till he could judge which of the two contending parties was most likely to prevail, and then join the strongest<sup>f</sup>.

The Ætolians again join in alliance with the Romans, and invade Macedon. Year of the Flood, 2802. Before Christ, 197.

In the mean time, the proconsul *Sulpicius* having penetrated into the king's dominions, and defeated him near *Ocitolophum*, the Ætolians at last determined to side with the conqueror, and accordingly, in conjunction with *Aminander* king of the *Athamanes*, (A) made an irruption into *Macedon*, and laid siege to *Cercinium* a city of *Magnesia* (B). This sudden invasion alarmed all the nations in the neighbourhood of the lake *Boebis* (C), who abandoning the country fled to the neighbouring mountains; so that the Ætolians finding no more booty there fell upon the province of *Peræbia*, took the city of *Cyretiaë* (D) by assault, and obliged *Mallæa* (E) to take up arms, and join them against the king of *Macedon*.

f Liv. *ibid.* c. 30.

(A) The *Athamanes* had then a separate district of their own, surrounded by *Thessaly*, *Epirus*, *Acarmania*, *Ætolia*, and *Doris*; whence some have made it a part of *Thessaly*, others of *Epirus*: *Pliny* places it in *Ætolia*; *Stephanus* makes it a part of *Illyricum*. According to *Ptolemy* it was divided from *Epirus* by the bay of *Ambracia* (29); and according to *Strabo* (30) from *Ætolia*, by the river *Achelous*.

(B) *Magnesia* was a small country, lying at the eastern extremity of *Thessaly*, between the gulf of *Armiro*, and the *Saronic* gulf. *Cercinium* stood at the foot of mount *Ossa*, near the lake *Bæbis*, between *Sotbuffa* and the *Macedonian* sea (31).

(C) The lake *Bæbis*, which some place in *Bæotia*, was near the confines of *Magnesia*, not far from mount *Ossa*. It is now called the lake of *Ejero*.

(D) *Ptolemy* reckons *Cyretiaë* among the cities of *Estiotis*, a country of *Thessaly*. *Sanfon* places it between the rivers *Pamifus* and *Curalius*. The *Pamifus*, now called *Pontigna Maranta*, falls into the *Peneus*. The *Curalius*, now *Onocero*, rises in the province of *Pelasgiotis*, and empties itself into the same *Peneus*.

(E) *Mallæa*, or *Malia* was a city of *Phthiotis*, not far from mount *Oeta*, and *Thermopylæ*. Near it were the hot mineral waters mentioned by *Catullus* in his elegies. Some are of opinion, that the *Maliac* gulf, now the gulf of *Zeiton*, borrowed its name from this city (32).

(29) *Ptol.* l. 4.

(30) *Strabo*, l. 10.

(31) *Strabo*, l. 9.

(32) *Strabo*, l. 10. c. 13.



From *Mallœa* *Aminander* was for marching against *Gomphi* (F), which was very near *Athamania*, and might have been easily reduced, as it was defended only by the inhabitants. But the *Ætolians* chose rather to pillage *Theffaly*, than assist *Aminander* in taking a city, which was so conveniently situated to protect his small dominions from the inroads of the *Theffalians*. The *Ætolians* having entered *Theffaly*, committed there great devastations, dividing themselves into small bodies, and lying down in the open fields without keeping guard, or securing themselves with trenches. *Aminander*, seeing he had reason to apprehend some sudden attack, being in an enemy's country, advised them to be upon their guard, and encamp in a regular manner: But they despised his advice, and advancing to the very walls of *Phæcadum* (G), and there lying down on the grass, gave themselves up to eating and drinking, as if they had been in the heart of *Ætolia*. Hereupon *Aminander* thought it adviseable to withdraw to a rising ground about five hundred paces from the *Ætolians*, and there secure himself with a ditch and rampart. He was scarce gone, when *Philip* appeared at the head of a numerous body of horse, fell upon the *Ætolians*, and cut most of them in pieces; those that escaped fled to *Aminander's* camp, whither they were pursued by the *Macedonians*. But *Philip*, contrary to his expectation, finding the camp well fortified, and the *Athamanes* ready to receive him, put off the attack to the next morning, his infantry being tired with the long march they had taken to surprise the enemy. In the night, the few *Ætolians* that remained and the *Athamanes* decamped together, and under the conduct of *Aminander* escaped through by-ways, and arrived in their own countries<sup>8</sup>.

THE next year they entered *Theffaly* again, and took the cities of *Gymines* and *Angea* at the first onset. From thence they advanced to *Theuma*, *Calathama*, *Acherra*, *Xinia*, and *Opbara* (G), all which cities they took and pillaged. Thus great part of *Theffaly* fell a prey to the most cruel and avari-

<sup>8</sup> LIV. l. 31. c. 40.

(F) The city of *Gomphi* was situate in that part of *Theffaly* which the ancients call *Eßiotis*, near the springs of the *Pencus* (33). According to *Livy* it was the nearest city of *Theffaly* to the confines of *Epirus* (34).

(G) All these cities belonged to *Theffaly*, but we cannot give any certain account of their situation.

(33) *Strabo*, l. 9. *Plin.* l. 4. (34) *Livy* l. 31.



tor made a merit with his countrymen of his address in this affair, pretending, that his design was only to gain time, till he could judge which of the two contending parties was most likely to prevail, and then join the strongest †.

The Ætoli-  
ans again  
join in al-  
liance  
with the  
Romans,  
and in-  
vade Ma-  
cedon.  
Year  
of the  
Flood,  
2802.  
Before  
Christ,  
197.

In the mean time, the proconsul *Sulpicius* having penetrated into the king's dominions, and defeated him near *Oc-  
tolophum*, the Ætoli-  
ans at last determined to side with the  
conqueror, and accordingly, in conjunction with *Aminander*  
king of the *Athamanes*, (A) made an irruption into *Macedon*,  
and laid siege to *Cercinium* a city of *Magnesia* (B). This  
sudden invasion alarmed all the nations in the neighbourhood  
of the lake *Boebis* (C), who abandoning the country fled to  
the neighbouring mountains; so that the Ætoli-  
ans finding no  
more booty there fell upon the province of *Peræbia*, took  
the city of *Cyretia* (D) by assault, and obliged *Mallæa* (E)  
to take up arms, and join them against the king of *Macedon*.

† Liv. *ibid.* c. 30.

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(32) *Strabo*, l. 10. c. 13.

From



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(33) *Strabo*, l. 9. *Plin.* l. 4. (34) *Livy* l. 31.



cious of all the nations that were in alliance with *Rome*. For the *Ætolians*, wherever they came, left nothing in the cities or houses but the bare walls, destroying in the flames what they could not carry away, and either putting to the sword the inhabitants, or selling them for slaves to the best bidder. Such was their inhuman method of making war<sup>1</sup>.

THE *Ætolians* continued steady in the interest of *Rome* during the whole course of the war, and were favoured by the *Roman* commanders above the other nations of *Greece*, as being the first that had joined in alliance with their republic. But after the famous battle of *Cynocephalæ*, in which *Philip* was entirely defeated, the affection between the two nations began to cool, and *Flaminius*, who commanded in that action, to treat the *Ætolians* in a quite different manner from what he had done formerly. They without all doubt gave some occasion with their boasting speeches to this change. Their cavalry did wonders in the engagement, and by covering the *Roman* infantry, which was put in disorder at the first onset, gave them time to rally, and saved them the shame of a dishonourable flight. Hence they ascribed to themselves all the glory of the victory, giving out, that without their timely assistance the *Romans* had been defeated and cut in pieces. In the songs which they dispersed all over *Greece*, they named themselves as the chiefs, and the *Romans* as their auxiliaries (H). *Flaminius*, who was already disgusted with the *Ætolians* for plundering the enemy's camp, while the *Romans* were busy in making prisoners, was now more fired at these insolent reports, which greatly lessened his reputation among the *Greeks*. His resentment was still warm, when three envoys came from *Philip*, under pretence of asking a truce to bury the dead, but in reality to solicit a peace; the pro-consul received them, and gave them an an-

<sup>1</sup> Liv. l. 32. c. 13.

(H) *Thirty thousand Thessalians*,, said one of their poets, *were killed on the spot. The Ætolians subdued so powerful an enemy with the assistance of the Latins, whom Flaminius had brought to ruin Ematia.* The author of this distich was one *Alcæus*, an *Ætolian* by nation. He was far inferior to the famous *Alcæus*, who was cotemporary with *Sappho*. The latter lived about the 44th Olympiad, and is famous for the *Alcæic* verses which took their name from him (35).

(35) *Plut. in vita Flam.*

swer



swer, without consulting the heads of the *Ætolian* nation, who were then in the camp, and had greatly contributed to the victory. The *Roman* was glad of this opportunity to mortify their vanity, whereas he ought to have dissembled, and been more tender of allies, who had proved so useful to him on all occasions. *Flaminius* agreed with the deputies of *Philip* upon a truce of fifteen days, without admitting to the conference any but the officers of the *Roman* army; and even promised to grant their master an interview during that time. This air of absolute authority and independence on the other allies shocked the *Ætolians* to such a degree, that they spread a report in all the cities of *Greece*, that *Flaminius* was betraying the common cause, and that he had been bribed by *Philip*. But notwithstanding these reports, the pro-consul appointed a place for the conference, and after having treated the king's ambassadors with uncommon civility, he ordered them on their departure to tell their master, that he desired him not to despond. This message highly offended the *Ætolians*, who were utter strangers to all humanity and politeness, and confirmed them in their opinion, that the *Roman* had sold himself to *Philip*. The place appointed for the interview was a narrow pass, which led into the vale of *Tempe*. Thither *Flaminius* resorted, after having invited all his allies to assist at the conferences, which he would not begin till he had consulted the heads of the confederates, upon what terms they thought it proper to grant *Philip* a peace. *Aminander* and the *Achæans* spoke with a great deal of moderation, and only begged that he would conclude such a peace as might enable *Greece* to preserve her liberties in the absence of the *Romans*: as to the particulars of such a treaty, they referred them entirely to his prudence and judgment. But *Alexander*, one of the heads of the *Ætolians*, rising up, haughtily addressed the pro-consul in the following terms: “ You have  
 “ done wisely to call us to the conference: you have at last  
 “ thought fit not to treat of a peace without your allies.  
 “ But, pray, what do you propose by granting a peace to  
 “ *Philip*? *Greece* will never enjoy its liberties so long as he  
 “ enjoys the throne of *Macedon*. You are greatly mistaken  
 “ if you fancy it will. *Philip* must be driven out of his  
 “ kingdom, before *Greece* can promise herself a lasting tran-  
 “ quility. You *Romans* have flattered us with hopes of li-  
 “ berty; but there is no liberty for the *Greeks* till *Philip* is  
 “ dead, and his dominions entirely ruined”. When *Alexan-*  
*der* had done speaking, *Flaminius* directing his speech to him;  
 “ You are unacquainted, said he, with the character and  
 “ sentiments



“ sentiments of the *Romans* ; my republic does not carry her  
 “ resentment to excess : she knows how to revenge injuries ;  
 “ but upon the first appearance of submission her anger is ap-  
 “ peased ; *Hannibal* and *Carthage* are convincing proofs of  
 “ our moderation. As to myself, I never intended to car-  
 “ ry on an irreconcilable war with *Philip* ; but was always  
 “ inclined to grant him a peace, whenever he should yield  
 “ to the conditions that my republic thought fit to prescribe  
 “ him. You yourselves, O *Ætolians*, never once men-  
 “ tioned the driving of *Philip* from his throne till our late  
 “ victory. Shall we then be inexorable, because we are  
 “ conquerors ? When an enemy attacks us, it is our duty  
 “ to repel him with all possible bravery ; but if he yields, it  
 “ is the part of a generous victor to use him with gentleness  
 “ and humanity ; for animosity dies after victory, and brave  
 “ men are courageous in action, but mild after it. Nay, it  
 “ is not your interest to destroy the kingdom of *Macedon*,  
 “ which serves you as a barrier against the *Thracians* and  
 “ *Gauls* (I), who, were they not checked by it, would cer-  
 “ tainly over-run all *Greece* \*”. *Flaminius* concluded with  
 declaring, in the name of all the officers of the *Roman* army,  
 “ That a peace ought to be granted to *Philip*, if he com-  
 “ plied with the conditions which the other allies should pro-  
 “ pose, adding, that if the *Ætolians* did not like it, they  
 “ might take what resolutions they pleased on that oc-  
 “ casion”. *Phineas*, the *Ætolian* prætor, answered *Flami-  
 nius*, and represented to him in very strong terms, “ That  
 “ *Philip*, if he were left in possession of *Macedon*, would soon  
 “ kindle a new war in the heart of *Greece*”. But before he  
 ended his harangue, the pro-consul rose from his seat in a  
 passion, and saying with a loud voice, “ That he would put

\* LIV. l. 33. c. 14. POLYB. l. 17. . c. 29.

(I) It is uncertain, whether *Livy* speaks here of those *Gauls* who  
 had settled in that part of *Asia*, which was from them called *Gala-  
 ria*, or of another *Gallic* nation which was nearer to *Greece*, and had  
 made a new settlement about the conflux of the *Danube* and the  
*Sarve*. These new comers took the name of *Scordisci*, as *Justin* in-  
 forms us. *Strabo* (36) places them about *Sirmium*, between the  
*Danube* and *Macedon*. About fourscore years before the time we  
 are here speaking of, the *Gauls* had spread terror and desolation  
 in all the countries of *Macedon* and *Greece*, not sparing even the  
 famous temp'le of *Delphi*.

(36) *Strabo*, l. 10.

“ it



“ it out of *Philip*’s power to make any further attempts upon  
“ *Greece*”, dismissed the assembly <sup>1</sup>.

BUT after all, it was not good nature or compassion that prompted *Flaminius* to urge the conclusion of a peace with the king of *Macedon*, but the advice he received, that *Antiochus*, surnamed *the Great*, was ready to march out of *Syria* at the head of a powerful army, and make an irruption into *Europe*. This prince had long kept a correspondence with *Philip*; and if these two monarchs should join their forces, such an alliance might prove of dangerous consequence to the *Roman* republic. Besides, *Philip*, tho’ conquered and driven out of the field, might shut himself up in his strong holds, and dispute inch by inch the conquest of his kingdom. This *Flaminius* dreaded, being sensible, that in the mean time another might be sent to succeed him, and reap all the advantages of his repeated victories <sup>2</sup>.

THE next day *Philip* appeared at the congress, with an air of submission suitable to his present circumstances, and without any preamble declared, that he accepted the articles which he had hitherto rejected, and referred all other matters to the *Roman* senate. After he had uttered these words, there was a deep silence in the assembly, most of those who were present being touched with compassion. But *Phineas* the *Ætolian* prætor, finding that no body made him any reply, took the liberty to ask him, whether he was willing to restore to the *Ætolians* the cities of *Larissa*, *Pharfales*, *Thebes*, in *Phthiotis*, and *Echina*. I do restore them to you, reply’d *Philip*. *Flaminius* was greatly offended at the pretensions of the *Ætolians* to the city of *Thebes*, and replied with some warmth, “ It  
“ belongs to the *Romans*. I was the man who appeared be-  
“ fore it, and to me it surrendered; it is therefore become  
“ subject to the *Romans*”. *Phineas* insisted, that, accord-  
ing to the terms of the treaty concluded between *Ætolia* and  
*Rome*, it belonged to the former, the dispute grew warm,  
but at length the assembly determined in favour of *Flaminius*.  
By these steps the *Ætolians* began to raise that violent storm,  
which we shall soon see gather and discharge itself upon that  
unhappy nation <sup>3</sup>.

THE king having accepted the conditions, a truce was granted him for four months, to negotiate a peace at *Rome*; but *Flaminius* demanded his son *Demetrius* with some of the chief lords of his court for hostages, and moreover 200

*A peace  
concluded*

*with Phi-*

*lip,*

*the Year of*

*the Flood*

*2803.*

*Before*

*Christ,*

*196.*

<sup>1</sup> Idem, ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, ibid. c. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Liv. l. 32.



talents, upon condition, nevertheless, that both the money and hostages should be restored if the peace did not take place<sup>o</sup>. *Philip* comply'd, and immediately dispatched his ambassadors to *Rome*, as also did the *Ætolians*; the former to solicit a peace, and the latter to obstruct it. When they arrived at *Rome*, the republic had just chosen new consuls, *L. Furius Purpureo* and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. The latter being desirous of having *Macedon* for his province, and there finishing the war, strenuously opposed the peace, and, being seconded by the *Ætolians* in his opposition, had like to have prevailed in the senate. But the tribunes bringing the affair before the people, the tribes unanimously voted for granting *Philip* his request<sup>p</sup>.

*The Æto.* THE *Ætolians* were the only people in *Greece* dissatisfied  
*lians dissa-* with the peace, they had been refused some cities which they  
*tified with* claimed, and thought their services very ill rewarded by the  
*the peace,* *Romans*, who could not have conquered, said they, without their assistance. They carried their complaints to the general diet of all *Greece*, called the *Pylaicum* (K), and there

<sup>o</sup> Idem, ibid.

<sup>p</sup> Idem, ibid.

(K) *Livy* by the *Pylaicum concilium* means that assembly of the *Amphietyones* which met every year at *Thermopylæ*, to deliberate on the common-interests of *Greece*. These diets were established by *Amphietyon* the third king of *Athens*, in order to unite all the *Greeks* in one body. He believed, and with a great deal of reason, that if he could succeed in this point, he should render them formidable to the barbarians. Many years after *Acrisius* king of *Argos*, enlarged the privileges of this council, and granted it an unlimited power. He likewise added several deputies of other provinces, who had not till his time been admitted to the council. Some have inferred from hence, that there were two different sorts of *Amphietyones*, or general assemblies; the one instituted by *Amphietyon*, the other by *Acrisius*; whereas the king of *Argos* only improved what the king of *Athens* had begun. *Æschines* speaks of twelve *Amphietyonic* nations, (for so the *Greeks* called those that had a right to send deputies to this assembly) but names only eleven, viz. the *Theffalians*, *Boeotians*, *Dorians*, *Jonians*, *Perrhæbes*, *Magnesians*, *Locrians*, *Osteans*, *Phthiotes*, *Maleans* and *Phocians*: the name of the twelfth has been probably lost by the negligence of the transcribers. The *Dolopes*, not mentioned by *Æschines* in this enumeration, are said by the antients to have enjoyed the *Amphietyonic* right. Each of these nations chose two deputies, whom they sent to the general assembly; one of those was charged with the care of religious matters, and thence stiled *Hieronemon*; the other was called *Pylagoras*, or the orator sent



there endeavoured to stir up new enemies against *Rome*. But finding that the free states of *Greece* were all well pleased with the late treaty of peace, they determined to have recourse to *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, to *Nabis* tyrant of *Lacedemon*, and even to their sworn enemy *Philip* king of *Macedon*. It was natural enough for them to suppose, that *Macedon* and *Lacedemon* would readily enter into a league against the *Romans*, who had lately imposed very hard conditions upon them. And as for *Antiochus*, his interest, his honour, the steps he had already taken, and the advice he received from *Hannibal*, all inclined them to believe, that he would not delay passing over into *Europe*, and declaring war with *Rome*. Nor did they despair to see *Carthage* also join so many confederate nations, and make some efforts to shake off the yoke which *Rome* had laid on her. All these considerations encouraged the *Ætolians*, and gave them no small hopes of seeing the imperious republic humbled in her turn. They chose for their prætor one *Thoas*, a man fit for their design, being an inveterate enemy to *Rome*, and a sanguine opposer of the peace lately concluded with the *Macedonians*. *Thoas* immediately assembled a general diet at *Naupactus*, and there conveyed into the breasts of all the deputies the irreconcilable aversion which he bore to the *Romans*. A decree passed without opposition, empowering him to send ambassadors to all the princes who were dissatisfied with the *Romans*, and stir them up to war against the common enemy. Pursuant to this decree, *Damocritus* was dispatched to *Lacedemon*, *Nicaner* to *Macedon*, and *Dicæarchus* to *Syria*. The first was ordered to make *Nabis* sensible of the contemptible condition into which he had been brought by the *Romans*. His state was reduced to a small territory, and *Achaia* was sole mistress of *Peloponnesus*. By yielding up his ports, he was deprived of the riches he formerly got by trading with the

sent to *Pylæ* or *Thermopylæ*. Sometimes each nation sent three and even four deputies; but whatever their number was, they had only two votes in the assembly. The *Phocians* were formerly excluded from the assembly for having plundered the temple of *Delphos*; but afterwards wiped off this dishonour by saving the same temple from being plundered by the *Gauls*, who invaded *Greece* under the conduct of the second *Brennus*. This supreme council was held twice a year, in autumn at *Thermopylæ*, in a temple dedicated to *Ceres*, and situate in a large plain watered by the *Asopus*; in the spring at *Delphos* in the temple of *Apollo* (37).

(37) *Polyb. l. 8. Pausan. in Achaïac.*

neighbouring



neighbouring nations, and being shut up within the walls of *Lacedemon* he had only the empty title of king. The second was instructed to tell *Philip*, that he would never have a fairer opportunity of redeeming himself from the *Roman* tyranny. The conquests of *Alexander* the great, and his glorious exploits were also deemed proper topics to awake his jealousy. *Nicander* was likewise ordered to assure him, that the proposals of the *Ætolians* were not chimerical, that *Antiochus* was ready to cross into *Europe* with a mighty fleet and a numerous army, that the great *Hannibal*, whose very name struck the *Romans* with terror, assisted him with his advice, that the *Ætolians* would join him with all their forces, and that *Rome* could not possibly resist so many enemies at once. The third ambassador was directed to persuade *Antiochus* to pass over into *Greece*, and magnify to him the forces of *Ætolia*: he was to let him know, that the conquests of the *Romans* in *Greece* were chiefly owing to the *Ætolians*, and assure him, that their troops were numerous and well disciplined, and that their country would furnish his army with provisions, as it afforded safe harbours for his fleets. Nay, *Dicæarchus* was charged to deceive the king of *Syria* with a lie, and tell him, that *Philip* and *Nabis* had already signed the confederacy<sup>9</sup>.

*Philip* and *Antiochus* were not hasty in coming to a determination; but *Nabis* immediately took up arms, and besieged *Gythium*, a maritime city, which the *Romans* had obliged him to give up to the *Achæans*. Upon this beginning of a general commotion, the *Roman* senate thought it adviseable to send ambassadors into *Greece* to defeat the measures of the *Ætolians*, and maintain those cities steady in their alliance with *Rome*. At their arrival they found, that *Ætolia* had already declared openly for *Antiochus*. The ambassador (L), who had been sent to *Antiochus*, was returned, and had brought with him an ambassador from the king of *Syria* to the *Ætolian* diet. Before the general diet was convened, these two endeavoured to prepossess the minds of the people in favour of *Antiochus*. Nothing was talked of but the prodigious army he was to bring over with him. They exagger-

<sup>9</sup> Liv. l. 35. c. 12.

(L) *Livy* had said a little before, that *Dicæarchus*, the brother of *Thoas* then prætor of *Ætolia*, had been sent ambassador to *Antiochus*; and here he tells us, that *Thoas* was sent, wherein he agrees with *Appian*. Perhaps the prætor went with his brother to give the greater weight to his embassy.



rated beyond measure the number of foot, horse, and elephants, that were to come into *Ætolia*; and above all the immense treasures, which the king would distribute among his friends, sufficient to purchase all the lands belonging to the *Roman* republic. The minds of the *Ætolians* were blinded with these prejudices, when the diet was assembled to give audience to the king's ambassador. The *Roman* deputies, among whom was *Flaminius*, highly respected by all the other states of *Greece*, had regular notice sent them of whatever was transacted in *Ætolia*; and they suborned some of their chiefs to thwart as much as possible the designs of the factious *Thoas*. *Flaminius* also engaged the *Athenians* to send deputies to the assembly of *Ætolia*; and there to support the interests of his republic. *Thoas* opened the diet by acquainting his countrymen, that an ambassador was come from the mighty monarch of *Syria* to court their friendship, and propose things greatly to the advantage of both nations. He was immediately ordered to introduce him, that they might hear his proposals from his own mouth. Being introduced, he made an harangue well calculated for the present circumstances. He told them, that it had been happy for *Greece*, that his master had concerned himself in their affairs before *Philip* was reduced so low; that if he had joined his forces to those of the *Macedonian*, *Greece* would not now groan under the tyrannical oppressions of *Rome*. “But still your case, said he, is not without remedy, the wound is not incurable; if you put in execution the designs you have formed, I promise you a deliverer in the great *Antiochus*; he, with your assistance and that of the gods, will be able to restore *Greece* to its antient splendor.”

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<sup>r</sup> Liv. l. 35. c. 31—34.



neighbouring nations, and being shut up within the walls of *Lacedemon* he had only the empty title of king. The second was instructed to tell *Philip*, that he would never have a fairer opportunity of redeeming himself from the *Roman* tyranny. The conquests of *Alexander* the great, and his glorious exploits were also deemed proper topics to awake his jealousy. *Nicander* was likewise ordered to assure him, that the proposals of the *Ætolians* were not chimerical, that *Antiochus* was ready to cross into *Europe* with a mighty fleet and a numerous army, that the great *Hannibal*, whose very name struck the *Romans* with terror, assisted him with his advice, that the *Ætolians* would join him with all their forces, and that *Rome* could not possibly resist so many enemies at once. The third ambassador was directed to persuade *Antiochus* to pass over into *Greece*, and magnify to him the forces of *Ætolia*: he was to let him know, that the conquests of the *Romans* in *Greece* were chiefly owing to the *Ætolians*, and assure him, that their troops were numerous and well disciplined, and that their country would furnish his army with provisions, as it afforded safe harbours for his fleets. Nay, *Dicaarchus* was charged to deceive the king of *Syria* with a lie, and tell him, that *Philip* and *Nabis* had already signed the confederacy<sup>9</sup>.

*Philip* and *Antiochus* were not hasty in coming to a determination; but *Nabis* immediately took up arms, and besieged *Gythium*, a maritime city, which the *Romans* had obliged him to give up to the *Achæans*. Upon this beginning of a general commotion, the *Roman* senate thought it advisable to send ambassadors into *Greece* to defeat the measures of the *Ætolians*, and maintain those cities steady in their alliance with *Rome*. At their arrival they found, that *Ætolia* had already declared openly for *Antiochus*. The ambassador (I.), who had been sent to *Antiochus*, was returned, and had brought with him an ambassador from the king of *Syria* to the *Ætolian* diet. Before the general diet was convened, these two endeavoured to prepossess the minds of the people in favour of *Antiochus*. Nothing was talked of but the prodigious army he was to bring over with him. They exagger-

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The Ætolians in-  
vite An-  
tiochus  
into  
Greece.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2808.  
Before  
Christ,  
191.



The Æto-  
lians form  
a design  
of seizing  
Chalcis,  
Demetri-  
as, and  
Lacede-  
mon.

complaints before the senate, and had been by the senate referred to *Flaminius*, seeing themselves now referred back by *Flaminius* to the senate, grew outrageous, and in the presence of the *Roman* passed a decree conceived in the following terms : Let *Antiochus* be called into *Europe* to restore *Greece*, oppressed by the *Romans*, to its antient liberty. *Flaminius* demanded a copy of the, decree but the prætor refused it him, answering with a haughty air, that he had business of much greater consequence at that time on his hands ; but that he would communicate it to him very soon on the banks of the *Tyber*, with all the forces of *Syria*. This was an open declaration of war, whereupon *Flaminius* returned to *Corinth*, there to watch the enemies motions, and acquaint the senate with the steps they should take <sup>f</sup>.

IN the mean time the privy council of the *Ætolians* formed a design of seizing on three cities, which were reckoned the bulwarks of *Greece*; these were *Chalcis* in *Eubæa*, *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*, and *Lacedemon* in the heart of *Peloponnesus*. Three men of known valour and ability in war were charged with the execution of this extraordinary design. *Thoas* was appointed to take *Chalcis*, *Alexamenes* to surprise *Lacedemon*, and *Diocles* to make the attempt upon *Demetrias*. They all three set out at the same time on their respective expeditions, but were not attended with the like success. *Diocles* approaching the city of *Demetrias* with a small body of chosen troops, sent a messenger to acquaint the inhabitants, that he was come with no other design, but to attend *Eurylochus* to his native country, and conduct him with that honour which was due to his rank and merit. *Eurylochus* had been chief magistrate of *Demetrias*, and in that post disoblinded the *Romans*, whose partizans had forced him to leave his country and take sanctuary among the *Ætolians*. However, the *Demetrians*, touched with the tears of his wife and children, had consented to recal him ; and his return *Diocles* made use of for the execution of his design, *Eurylochus* himself being privy to the whole plot. Both *Diocles* and *Eurylochus* arrived at the gates of the city with a small body of horse, the rest of the cavalry being ordered to follow at a distance. To prevent giving umbrage to the inhabitants, *Diocles* ordered his troop to dismount, and enter on foot, leading their horses by their bridles. At the gate he left a few horse-men to be ready to fall on the citizens, if they should offer to shut it when the rest of the cavalry appeared. Thus *Diocles* was admitted without the least suspicion ; but while he was leading *Eurylochus* by

<sup>f</sup> Liv. ibid.



the hand to his house, news was brought him that the whole body of the *Ætolian* cavalry was arrived, and had got possession of the gate. Hereupon he ordered the troop that attended him to remount, and in that surprise making himself master of the most important posts in the city, detached several small bodies with orders to put to death all the heads of the *Roman* party. Thus the *Ætolians* possessed themselves of one of the most important places of *Thessaly*.<sup>c</sup> Demetrius as taken.

BUT *Lacedemon* was not to be so easily surpris'd. *Nabis* was a cunning and suspicious prince, and as he had many enemies, always on his guard. The council therefore of the *Ætolians*, in the instructions they gave *Alexamenes*, had recourse to treachery. *Nabis* had been lately defeated by *Philopœmen*, and apprehending that the brave *Acheean* designed to besiege him in his capital, sent messenger after messenger to his friends and allies the *Ætolians*, acquainting them with the danger that threatened him, and earnestly entreating them to send him without delay such a reinforcement as might extricate him out of the difficulties and straits, which his alliance with their republic had reduced him to. The treacherous *Ætolians* thought this a favourable opportunity for putting in execution their horrid design, which was to assassinate their ally, and seize on the city of *Lacedemon* for themselves. *Alexamenes*, therefore, a man well qualified for such a work, was ordered to set out with a thousand foot and thirty horsemen. The latter were all young men, chosen out of the whole body of the cavalry, as the most fit for any desperate attempt. When they were ready to march, the young horsemen were introduced by the prætor *Demetrius* to the council of the apocleti, and there told, that it was not their business to think what expedition they were sent upon, but only to execute blindly whatever *Alexamenes* should enjoin them; and that how desperate soever the thing he commanded might seem, and repugnant to reason, yet, unless they readily performed it, they should not meet with a kind reception on their return home. With these instructions they began their march to *Lacedemon*, where they were received by *Nabis* with the greatest transports of joy. *Alexamenes* encouraged him not to be under any apprehension of danger either from the *Acheans* or the *Romans*, since *Antiochus* had already pass'd the *Hellspont*, and would soon enter *Greece* with a prodigious army, and such an immense number of elephants as would be sufficient, without any other help, to tread down the *Romans*. As for the *Ætolians*, said he, they would have sent you all their

<sup>c</sup> Liv. *ibid.* c. 25.



Nabis  
murdered  
by the Æ-  
tolians.

troops, if they had not thought it necessary to keep them at home till the arrival of the king of *Syria*, before whom they were desirous to make the best appearance they could. He added, that it would be much for the glory and reputation of *Lacedemon* if he could shew the great king his phalanx finely equipped and well disciplined. *Nabis* was highly pleased with this soothing discourse, and used every day to exercise his soldiers in the plains of the *Eurotas* near the capital; *Alexamenes* attended him at the head of his *Ætolians*, whom he drew up apart from the *Lacedemonians*, and then keeping close by the tyrant's side, while he rid through the files of his army to order their motions, watched a proper opportunity to give the blow he designed. He observed, that *Nabis* used to ride from one wing of the phalanx to the other, guarded only by three or four horsemen. This made him form a design of assassinating him in sight of his troops when under arms. Accordingly having fixed with himself a day for the execution of so desperate an attempt, he waited on the tyrant to the place of the rendezvous, and there, while *Nabis* was busy in exercising his phalanx, he stept aside to his thirty horsemen, and told them, that he should soon stand in need both of their courage and address; Keep your eyes, said he, fixed upon me, and whatever you shall see me take in hand, be sure to finish it, if you care to see your country again and your relations. He said no more, but returned to attend the king as usual. At length, as *Nabis* was riding from one place to another with great speed, guarded only by two or three horsemen, *Alexamenes* seized on the desired opportunity, and with his lance wounded the king's horse. Then the thirty *Ætolians*, without deliberating on the matter, flew in, and dispatched him before any one could come to his assistance. His guards were so surprised, that, instead of seizing the assassins, they stood gazing at the king's dead body, which lay on the ground covered with wounds. But *Alexamenes* heading the *Ætolian* infantry, which was posted in the left wing of the *Lacedemonian* phalanx, hastened to the capital, and entering it without opposition began to plunder the tyrant's palace. As *Nabis* was equally hated by his citizens and soldiers, his death would have been generally approved of, if the *Ætolian* had convened the assembly, and made a speech suitable to the occasion. But the love of plunder prevailed over all other considerations; and *Alexamenes*, contrary to all rules of prudence, spent the remainder of the day and the whole night in searching for the treasures of the murdered king. In the mean time the *Lacedemonians*, recovering themselves from their surprise, were highly provoked to see the antient palace of their kings

ransacked



ransacked by a treacherous assassin, as if their city had been taken by storm. Wherefore the whole city ran to arms, and for want of a better leader putting at their head a young child of the blood royal, they fell upon the *Ætolians*, who were straggling about the city in quest of booty, and put them all to the sword. *Alexamenus* was killed in the palace, and those few that made their escape were seized by the magistrates of *Arcadia*, and condemned to slavery. Such was the result of the attempt upon *Lacedemon*. *Philopæmen* no sooner heard of the death of the tyrant and his assassin, but he hastened to *Lacedemon*, and finding all things there in the utmost confusion, he assembled the people, and exhorted them to recover their antient liberty. They followed his advice, and readily joined in the *Achæan* league. Thus the antient kingdom of *Sparta* became a member of a commonwealth, whereof the name was scarce known when the *Spartans* ruled over all *Greece* <sup>u</sup>.

*Lacedemon joins in the Achæan league.*

As for *Thoas*, he failed in his attempt upon *Chalcis*, the magistrates of that city, who were strongly attached to the *Romans*, having received timely notice of the design, and put the city in a condition to sustain a long siege. The inhabitants of *Chalcis*, hearing that *Thoas* had hired a great many transports in order to carry over troops to their island, sent a messenger to him; desiring to know for what reason he was going to commit hostilities in their territories; the *Ætolian* answered, that his only design was to deliver *Eubœa* from the *Romans*, who domineered more insolently over it than the *Macedonians* had ever done. But the inhabitants replied, that they neither found their liberties abridged, nor needed any avenger or deliverer from the *Romans*, since they feared no danger, nor apprehended any injury, from them. This disconcerted the measures of the *Ætolian*, who had placed all hopes of success in a sudden attack. Wherefore finding that proper preparations were made for his reception, he retired much dissatisfied at his failing in an attempt upon a city, which would have made him master of the whole island, and opened a way for *Antiochus* into *Attica* <sup>w</sup>.

*The Ætolians fail in their attempt upon Chalcis.*

*Flaminius*, who then resided at *Corinth*, being informed, that the *Ætolians* had made themselves masters of *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*, took upon him to recover it to the *Roman* party. He first wrote to *Eunomus*, prætor of *Thessaly*, desiring him to arm all the young men of the country. Then he charged *Villius* to go to *Demetrias*, and inform himself upon the spot of the disposition of the inhabitants. Accordingly *Villius*

<sup>u</sup> Liv. l. 35. c. 37. Plut. in Philop.

<sup>w</sup> Liv. ibid. c. 33. embarked



embarked on a quinqueremis, and came in sight of *Demetrias*. The report of his arrival raised a great commotion among the inhabitants, who ran in crowds to the port to see him. But the *Roman*, without any concern at seeing crowds about him, addressed *Eurylochus* the chief magistrate in this manner: Can the *Romans* reckon the people of *Demetrias* among their allies or no? Am I received here as a friend or not? The magistrate answered, that his fellow citizens were attached to *Rome*; but at the same time he let him know, that his presence might disturb the repose of a city that was jealous of its liberty; which was in effect telling him in a gentle manner, that he would not admit him into *Demetrias*. And indeed *Eurylochus* had already declared for *Antiochus*, and the inhabitants, seduced by his counsels, had just then concluded a league with the *Ætolians* against *Rome*. *Villius* understood by *Eurylochus*'s discourse, that he could not, without danger, appear among the people; and the interview ended with severe reproaches on both sides; the *Roman* upbraided the *Demetrians* with ingratitude, since they owed their liberty to *Rome*, and the *Demetrians* reproached the *Romans* with injustice, haughtiness, and ambition. *Villius* therefore was obliged to put to sea again; but before he re-embarked, turning to the multitude that were pursuing him with great noise and menaces, “I plainly see, said he, the storm that will fall upon your heads; your misfortunes will convince you, when it is too late, that none, who provoke the *Romans*, escape with impunity”. *Flaminius*, upon the return of *Villius* and his report, laid aside all thoughts of bringing the *Demetrians* back to their old alliance\*.

On the other hand, *Theas*, having failed in his attempt upon *Chalcis* went straight to *Antiochus*, and pressed him to delay no longer his setting out for *Greece*. At the same time he dissuaded him from sending *Hannibal* with an army into *Italy*, insinuating, that the *Carthaginian* would assume to himself all the glory of such an enterprize. As this fell in with the *Syrian*'s suspicious and jealous temper, he entirely dropped the design, to which he was before well inclined. And now it being resolved, that *Greece* should be the only seat of war, the king pitched upon *Demetrias* for the place where he should land. Having therefore got every thing ready for his departure, he embarked with an army consisting only of ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants, such a small body of men was no ways suitable to the majesty of so great a king, nor did it answer the expectations of his Greek allies: but

\* *Idem*, ib. l. c. 37.



these were all the troops he had ready; *Polyxenidas* indeed, one of his generals, was ordered into *Asia* to draw together the rest of his forces, and lead them into *Europe*. The king landed at *Pteleum* in *Phthiotis*, and from thence marched to *Demetrias*. Here the heads of the *Ætolian* nation waited upon him, and invited him to *Lamia*, one of their cities, where a general assembly was convened to receive him. Being introduced to the diet, he made an harangue, wherein he told them, that his eagerness to comply with their request had induced him to leave *Asia*, before he had made the necessary preparations for such an expedition; that his zeal for their deliverance had made him even forgetful of his own dignity; that their expectations should be fully answered next spring; and that as soon as the seas were passable, they should see all *Greece* covered with armies, and their harbours filled with fleets. He concluded with these words; “ I will spare neither fatigues nor expences, I will expose my person, to the greatest dangers, to re-establish you in the full enjoyment of your liberties: *Rome* has enslaved you, but *Syria* offers you a deliverer; let us then share the trouble between us; do you furnish provisions, I will find men and arms.”

Antiochus  
arrives in  
Greece.

THIS speech was received with great applause, and when the king was withdrawn, it was debated in the assembly, what title they should give him, and in what character he should act in *Ætolia*. The most judicious saw plainly, that *Antiochus*, instead of a real and present assistance, gave them little more than bare hopes and promises, and therefore were for having him act only as a mediator between *Rome* and *Ætolia*. But this being rejected by a great majority, the opinion of *Thoas* prevailed, which was, that the king should be honoured with the title of generalissimo or commander in chief of all the *Greek* armies against *Rome*. Then a council of thirty persons was appointed, to whom the king might have recourse on all occasions. The first step he took by their advice was to enter into a negotiation with *Chalcis*, a city which was famous for its affection to the *Romans*. In a conference which was held between the *Ætolians* and *Chalcidians* at *Salganea*, the former used their utmost efforts to draw that important city into an alliance with *Antiochus*, but without renouncing the friendship of the *Romans*; they declared, that the king of *Syria* was come into *Greece*, not to make it the seat of war, but to deliver it from slavery; that nothing could be more advantageous to the cities of *Greece* than to live in uni-



ty both with *Antiochus* and the *Romans*, since the one would by that means be a check on the other; that if they withstood the advantageous offers of such a mighty monarch, they might soon repent it, the *Romans* on whom they depended, being at a great distance, and the king at their gates <sup>2</sup>.

*Mictio*, one of the chief men of *Chalcis*, replied; that he could not imagine what people *Antiochus* was come to deliver, and for whose sake he had left his kingdom and crossed over into *Greece*; that as for the inhabitants of *Chalcis*, they had no occasion for a deliverer, since they were free; nor of a defender, since they enjoyed the sweets of peace under the protection of *Rome*; that they did not refuse the friendship of *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*; but if they would shew themselves friends, the best proof they could give at present of their friendship was to leave the island, since they were fully determined neither to admit them into their city, nor make any alliance with them, but in conjunction with the *Romans* <sup>3</sup>.

THIS answer being brought to the king on board his ship, where he had continued during the conference, he thought it adviseable to return to *Demetrias*, not having a sufficient number of troops with him to make an attempt upon the city. He was not at all pleased with his *Ætolian* counsellors, seeing the first step they had made him take proved so inglorious. But *Thoas* appeased him with the hopes of gaining over *Amyntander* king of the *Athamanes*, with the *Bæotians* and *Achæans*, who, said he, are all dissatisfied with the proceedings of the *Romans*. Accordingly negotiations were set on foot, and ambassadors dispatched to these three powers. The *Achæan* diet, which was held at *Ægium*, gave audience to the ambassadors of the *Ætolians* and *Antiochus*, in the presence of *Flaminius*. The *Syrian* ambassador, who spoke first, expatiated on the irresistible power of his master; he declared with an emphatical tone of voice, that a numberless multitude of horse-men were crossing the *Hellepont*, consisting partly of cuirassiers in impenetrable armour, and partly of bow-men, who discharged their darts with as much skill and dexterity, when they turned their backs, as when they faced their enemy: to the cavalry, which alone was sufficient to overpower all the forces of *Europe*, he added more numerous bodies of infantry, the *Dabæ*, the *Mædes*, the *Elymæans*, the *Cadusii*. &c. names never before heard in *Greece*, and therefore, as he thought, more terrible; with regard to the fleet, he assured them, that it would over-spread all the coasts, and fill all the ports of *Greece*: concerning money, it was, he said, needless

<sup>2</sup> Liv. *ibid* c. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, *ibid*. c. 47.



to mention the immense sums which *Antiochus* possessed, since they knew that the kingdom of *Asia* had always abounded with gold. In the close of his speech he addressed the *Achæans*, telling them, that though his master was come from the most remote parts of the east, purely to restore *Greece* to its freedom, yet he did not require, that the *Achæans* should take up arms against *Rome*, but only desired them to stand neuter, and treat both parties as friends, assuring them, that their neutrality should screen them and their country from the many calamities that threatened *Greece* <sup>b</sup>.

*Archidamus*, the *Ætolian* ambassador, spoke to the same effect, advising the *Achæans* to sit only as spectators of a war, which must bring utter destruction upon *Rome*; then growing insensibly warmer, he launched out into invectives and reproaches against the *Romans* in general, and *Flaminius* in particular; he called them an ungrateful people, who had forgot that they owed to the valour of the *Ætolians* not only the victory they had gained over *Philip*, but their general's life, and the safety of the army. "For what great exploits, continued he, has *Flaminius* performed during this war? his whole time has been spent in consulting the auspices, in sacrificing victims, and offering vows, as though he had been an augur or a priest, while I exposed my self to the enemy's darts for his sake". *Flaminius* heard all these reproaches with patience, and then reply'd with pleasantry thus. "Attempts have now been made, *Achæans*, to terrify you, with an enumeration of those nations of *Asia*, which are to pour in, like a torrent, upon *Greece*. This puts me in mind of an entertainment, which was made me by a friend of mine in *Chalcis*, who is a man of humour, and treats his guests very elegantly. He invited me to a banquet at a time of year when venison was very scarce, and yet there seemed to be great plenty of it served up at his table. I was surprized; but my friend smiling told me, that what I took for venison was nothing but hog's flesh disguised several ways, and seasoned with different sauces. The same may be said of this mighty king's troops, which have been so pompously extolled and magnified. The *Daba*, the *Medes*, the *Cadusii*, the *Elymæans*, names indeed that are not heard every day in *Greece*, are all but one nation, and a nation of slaves. Whatever disguises may be used, they are all but one sort of men; let the sauce be what it will, the meat is the same. And as for the *Ætolians*, they are brave only in words; they may amuse the king of *Syracuse*.

*Insolent  
speech of  
Archida-  
mus the  
Ætolian,  
before the  
Achæan  
diet.*

*Speech of  
Flaminius.*

<sup>b</sup> Idem, *ibid.* c. 43.



ty both with *Antiochus* and the *Romans*, since the one would by that means be a check on the other; that if they withstood the advantageous offers of such a mighty monarch, they might soon repent it, the *Romans* on whom they depended, being at a great distance, and the king at their gates<sup>a</sup>.

*Mictio*, one of the chief men of *Chalcis*, replied; that he could not imagine what people *Antiochus* was come to deliver, and for whose sake he had left his kingdom and crossed over into *Greece*; that as for the inhabitants of *Chalcis*, they had no occasion for a deliverer, since they were free; nor of a defender, since they enjoyed the sweets of peace under the protection of *Rome*; that they did not refuse the friendship of *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*; but if they would shew themselves friends, the best proof they could give at present of their friendship was to leave the island, since they were fully determined neither to admit them into their city, nor make any alliance with them, but in conjunction with the *Romans*<sup>a</sup>.

THIS answer being brought to the king on board his ship, where he had continued during the conference, he thought it adviseable to return to *Demetrias*, not having a sufficient number of troops with him to make an attempt upon the city. He was not at all pleased with his *Ætolian* counsellors, seeing the first step they had made him take proved so inglorious. But *Thoas* appeased him with the hopes of gaining over *Amyntander* king of the *Athamanes*, with the *Bæotians* and *Achæans*, who, said he, are all dissatisfied with the proceedings of the *Romans*. Accordingly negotiations were set on foot, and ambassadors dispatched to these three powers. The *Achæan* diet, which was held at *Ægium*, gave audience to the ambassadors of the *Ætolians* and *Antiochus*, in the presence of *Flaminius*. The *Syrian* ambassador, who spoke first, expatiated on the irresistible power of his master; he declared with an emphatical tone of voice, that a numberless multitude of horse-men were crossing the *Hellepont*, consisting partly of cuirassiers in impenetrable armour, and partly of bow-men, who discharged their darts with as much skill and dexterity, when they turned their backs, as when they faced their enemy: to the cavalry, which alone was sufficient to overpower all the forces of *Europe*, he added more numerous bodies of infantry, the *Dahæ*, the *Medes*, the *Elymæans*, the *Cadusii*. &c. names never before heard in *Greece*, and therefore, as he thought, more terrible; with regard to the fleet, he assured them, that it would over-spread all the coasts, and fill all the ports of *Greece*: concerning money, it was, he said, needless

<sup>a</sup> Liv. *ibid.* c. 45.<sup>a</sup> Idem, *ibid.* c. 47.



to mention the immense sums which *Antiochus* possessed, since they knew that the kingdom of *Asia* had always abounded with gold. In the close of his speech he addressed the *Achæans*, telling them, that though his master was come from the most remote parts of the east, purely to restore *Greece* to its freedom; yet he did not require, that the *Achæans* should take up arms against *Rome*, but only desired them to stand neuter, and treat both parties as friends; assuring them, that their neutrality should screen them and their country from the many calamities that threatened *Greece* <sup>b</sup>.

*Archidamus*, the *Ætolian* ambassador, spoke to the same effect, advising the *Achæans* to sit only as spectators of a war, which must bring utter destruction upon *Rome*; then growing insensibly warmer, he launched out into invectives and reproaches against the *Romans* in general, and *Flaminius* in particular; he called them an ungrateful people, who had forgot that they owed to the valour of the *Ætolians* not only the victory they had gained over *Philip*, but their general's life, and the safety of the army. "For what great exploits, continued he, has *Flaminius* performed during this war? his whole time has been spent in consulting the auspices, in sacrificing victims, and offering vows, as though he had been an augur or a priest, while I exposed my self to the enemy's darts for his sake!" *Flaminius* heard all these reproaches with patience, and then reply'd with pleasantry thus. "Attempts have now been made, *Achæans*, to terrify you, with an enumeration of those nations of *Asia*, which are to pour in, like a torrent, upon *Greece*. This puts me in mind of an entertainment, which was made me by a friend of mine in *Chalcis*, who is a man of humour, and treats his guests very elegantly. He invited me to a banquet at a time of year when venison was very scarce, and yet there seemed to be great plenty of it served up at his table. I was surprized; but my friend smiling told me, that what I took for venison was nothing but hog's flesh disguised several ways, and seasoned with different sauces. The same may be said of this mighty king's troops, which have been so pompously extolled and magnified. The *Dabæ*, the *Medes*, the *Cadusii*, the *Elymæans*, names indeed that are not heard every day in *Greece*, are all but one nation, and a nation of slaves. Whatever disguises may be used, they are all but one sort of men; let the sauce be what it will, the meat is the same. And as for the *Ætolians*, they are brave only in words; they may amuse the king of Syria

*Insolent speech of Archidamus the Ætolian, before the Achæan diet.*

*Speech of Flaminius.*

<sup>b</sup> Idem, *ibid.* c. 48.



“ with their bragging discourses, but both you, *Achæans*,  
 “ and I are better acquainted with their character than to  
 “ be imposed upon. As for their mighty monarch, what a  
 “ poor figure is he come to make in these parts? His whole  
 “ army is not equal to two of our smallest legions. And  
 “ where are the riches which he promises you? He has  
 “ been obliged, at his first arrival, to beg of the *Ætolian* diet  
 “ provisions and money. From thence he rambled to *Chal-*  
 “ *cis*, which he was obliged to leave with ignominy. The  
 “ *Ætolians* have very injudiciously given credit to *Antiochus*,  
 “ and *Antiochus* shewed as little judgment in believing the  
 “ *Ætolians*. This ought to teach you not to be imposed  
 “ upon, but to put all your confidence in the *Romans*, the  
 “ effects of whose friendship you have so often experienced.  
 “ When they demand of you a neutrality, they invite you  
 “ to become a prey to both parties, and to suffer all the  
 “ evils of war without sharing the advantages of vic-  
 “ tory.”

THE *Achæans* without hesitation declared for the *Romans*,  
 and resolved to make war upon *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*.  
 They immediately sent five hundred men to reinforce the ga-  
 rison of *Chalcis*, and the like number to *Athens*, which began  
 to waver.

*Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* received no greater satisfaction  
 from the *Bæotians*, who told their ambassadors, that they  
 would come to no resolution till *Antiochus's* army was on the  
 frontiers of *Bæotia* <sup>d</sup>.

THE king of *Syria* having thus solicited in vain, either by  
 his ambassadors or in person, most of the *Greek* states to join  
 in alliance with him, retired at last to *Demetrius*, where he  
 held a council of war on the operations of the ensuing cam-  
 paign. *Hannibal*, who was invited to it with all the chief  
 commanders of the army, being asked his opinion first, ad-  
 vised the king, before he undertook any thing else, to use his  
 utmost endeavours to gain over *Philip* of *Macedon*; which,  
 he said, was so important a step, that could they but succeed  
 in it, they might without much ado become masters of all  
*Greece*. But if *Philip* should refuse to take up arms against  
*Rome*, in that case he was of opinion, that the king should  
 send his son *Seleucus* at the head of an army into *Macedon*,  
 and by that means prevent him from lending any assistance to  
 the *Romans*. He insisted on a still more important point,

<sup>c</sup> Idem, *ibid.* c. 49.

<sup>d</sup> Idem, *lib.* xxxvi. c. 2.



and maintained, as he had always done; that the only way to defeat the *Romans* was to send an army into *Italy*<sup>c</sup>.

THE council could not but approve of what *Hannibal* said, but at the same time the *Ætolians* diverted the king from following his opinion, pretending that if he pursued the *Carthaginian's* plan, all the glory would be ascribed to him, and that since *Antiochus* had already taken another course, and was in *Greece*, it would be highly disreputable in him to alter his measures. In the council it was resolved, that the king should again attempt the winning over of *Chalcis*, and accordingly he set out again for that place. On his march he detached *Menippus*, one of his generals, with three thousand men to intercept a body of five hundred *Romans* which *Flaminius* had sent, under the command of *Miētio* the *Chalcidian*, to reinforce the garison of *Chalcis*. *Menippus* came upon them unexpectedly, while they were amusing themselves in viewing the rarities of a temple dedicated to *Apollo* in the neighbourhood of *Tanagra* (M). Neither the sanctity of the place, which enjoyed the privileges of an asylum, nor the friendship that still subsisted between *Antiochus* and the republic, war not being yet declared, protected them from the fury of the *Syrians*; they were attacked in the very temple and grove of *Apollo*, most of them put to the sword, and fifty taken prisoners; a few of them escaped with their leader *Miētio*, who in a small boat got safe to *Chalcis*. This was the first time *Antiochus* drew his sword in these parts; but by shedding *Roman* blood he made himself the aggressor, and gave *Rome* a new right to declare him an enemy. The *Syrian*, flushed with this small advantage, became more bold and enterprizing; he advanced at the head of six thousand men to the *Euripus*, where he had ordered his fleet to attend him, and appeared the second time before *Chalcis*. This city was rent into factions, and, now the *Ætolian* party prevailing, *Miētio* and *Xenolcides*, with such other citizens as persisted in their attachment to the *Romans*, were commanded to depart, and the city opened her gates to *Antiochus*. The

*Antiochus*  
diverted by  
the *Æto-*  
lians from  
following  
the advice  
of *Hanni-*  
bal.

<sup>c</sup> Idem, *ibid.* c. 4.

(M) *Tanagra*, a city of *Boeotia* on the banks of the *Asopus*, five miles distant from the *Euripus*, is now called *Anatoria*. The temple dedicated to *Apollo*, and called *Delium*, was built on the coast of *Boeotia*, between the city of *Aulis* and the mouth of the *Asopus*, about five miles from *Tanagra* (4).

(4) *Strabo*, l. ix.

4 D 2

example



example of the capital was followed by the whole island, and all *Eubœa* submitted to the Syrian, who from that time made *Chalcis* the place of his residence. He spent the winter there, sending deputies to all the free states of *Greece* to court their friendship. His power began now to be formidable; wherefore the *Eleans*, the *Epirots*, the *Bœotians*, and the *Athamanes* readily joined him, renouncing their alliance with *Rome*. The *Athamanes* were prevailed upon to join him by *Philip* the regent of *Athamania*, who was a pretender to the crown of *Macedon*† (N).

The progress of Antiochus's arms in Greece.

AND now the time drawing near to take the field, *Antiochus* advanced to *Larissa*, and from thence summoned his allies to send their troops to the neighbourhood of *Pheræ*, where they were to rendezvous. While he was waiting here for the arrival of the confederate troops, he made a very impolitic step, which was the taking the regent of *Athamania* with him to the plains of *Cynocephalæ*, where the *Macedonians*, who had been killed when *Philip* was overcome, lay still unburied. He thought, that the pretended king of *Macedon*, by procuring their obsequies to be performed, might gain the affections of the *Macedonians*. But this served only to exasperate the true king of *Macedon*, who immediately gave the *Romans* notice of the progress *Antiochus* was making in *Greece*‡.

THE king of *Syria* being reinforced with the troops of his allies, and having no enemies to resist him, laid siege to *Pheræ*, which after a vigorous resistance was forced to surrender. From *Pheræ* he advanced to *Larissa*, and while he was deliberating whether he should lay siege to it or not, news was brought him, that a body of *Romans* was arrived at *Gonni*, a city about twenty miles from *Larissa*. *Claudius*, who commanded this small detachment, in order to deceive *Antiochus*, encamped in a much larger camp than was necessary for so small a number of troops, and kindled so many fires,

† Liv. *ibid.* c. 5. POLYB. *legat.* 12. *ibid.*

‡ Liv. & POLYB. *ibid.*

(N) *Amynder*, king of the *Athamanes* had married at *Megalopolis*, a woman named *Apamia*, a native of *Macedon*, who was said to be descended from *Alexander the Great*. The father of *Apamia*, who also bore the name of *Alexander*, gave out among the *Megalopolitans*, that he was the true heir of the kingdom of *Macedon*. The brother of *Apamia*, whose name was *Philip*, governed the kingdom of *Athamania* under *Amynder*, who was a weak prince: And *Antiochus* gained over *Philip*, by promising to restore him to the throne of his ancestors.



that *Antiochus*, believing a numerous army of *Romans* was ready to fall upon him, decamped with great precipitation, and returned to *Chalcis*, which city proved as fatal to him as *Capua* had been to *Hannibal*. For there, though he was advanced in years, being above fifty, he suffered himself to be shamefully captivated by the charms of a fair *Ghalcidian*. She was the daughter of one of the chief citizens of *Chalcis*, named *Gleoptolemus*, in whose house the king lodged, and a young woman of great virtue. The king therefore was obliged to disclose his passion, not to her only, but likewise to her father, and desire his consent to marry her. The disproportion of her age and condition to those of the king's, made *Gleoptolemus* fear, that his daughter would soon repent her advancement to so high a station, and therefore was very unwilling to grant the king his request. But *Antiochus* to the passion of a lover joined the authority of a sovereign, and then the father was obliged to acquiesce; and the nuptials were celebrated with regal magnificence, and all the security of the most peaceable times. The king was now so taken up with his young queen, that he seemed to forget *Rome*, *Greece*, and *Syria*. Neither the important war he was engaged in, nor the defence of his allies, nor the preservation of the glory he had already acquired, affected him in the least. His unseasonable love was become a standing topic of rally in all conversations, his allies made loud complaints, the soldiery, being kept in a state of inaction, began to mutiny, and the *Ætolians* themselves to express great uneasiness. But the king, insensible to every thing but his passion, which engrossed the whole man, spent the rest of the winter in feasting and rejoicings; and the ill example of the court infected the officers, and even the common soldiers, of the *Syrian* army:] discipline was neglected, their bodies were weakened, and the whole army abandoned themselves to idleness and debauchery <sup>b</sup>.

WHILE *Antiochus* was thus lost in pleasures at *Chalcis*, *Rome* kept a watchful eye over him. A hundred quinqueremes were fitted out to scour the eastern seas, and after the elections were over, and a regulation made of the troops that were to serve this year, war was formally declared against *Antiochus*. Then the new consuls, *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica* and *A. Acilius Glabrio*, drew lots for their provinces, and *Greece* fell to the latter, who set out in the beginning of *May* for *Brun-  
dysium*, whence he set sail for *Greece*, and, crossing the *Ioni-*

<sup>b</sup> LIV *ibid.* Appian. c. 96.



The progress of the Romans rouses Antiochus.

Antiochus seizes Thermopylæ.

an sea, landed his forces, without the least opposition, to the number of twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen elephants. He immediately sent his infantry to *Bæbius*, who was encamped near *Pellinæa* in *Thessaly*, and with his cavalry he marched to *Limnæa*, another city of *Thessaly*, which the king of *Macedon* was besieging. Both these places surrendered to the consul at discretion, and in *Pellinæa* was taken *Philip* the pretender to the crown of *Macedon*. The king in derision called him brother, ordered him to be saluted king, and conducted him to the consul, who put him in irons and sent him to *Rome*. Then the *Romans* and *Macedonians* parted, to spread the terror of their arms in different places. The king made himself master of all *Athamania*, *Aminander* having retired with his wife and children into *Epirus*; and the consul soon reduced all *Thessaly*. This surprizing progress of the *Romans* roused at last *Antiochus* out of his lethargy. He loved his new wife *Eubia* to adoration; but his reason, pointing out to him the shameful figure a man of his years and character must make in being thus taken up with youthful pleasures, at last got the better of his passion; and he determined to leave *Chalcis* and draw nearer to *Ætolia*. This obliged him to assemble all the troops he had dispersed over *Greece*, and join them in one army. All the *Syrian* troops amounted to no more than ten thousand foot and five hundred horse. With these he advanced to the confines of *Ætolia*, in hopes of powerful succours from thence; but he was disappointed; for the *Ætolian* chiefs could not raise above four thousand men, who were for the most part their own clients and vassals. *Antiochus* was then sensible that he had been imposed upon by *Theas*; but, notwithstanding this disappointment, he pursued his measures. He knew, that the *Roman* army had passed the *Sperchius*, and was ravaging *Phthiotis*. To prevent therefore their entering *Achaia* by way of *Locris*, and at the same time to secure himself against the attacks of the enemy, he seized a pass already famous in history, called *Thermopylæ*. This pass was not above twenty-five foot broad, and bounded on one side by the sea, and on the other by mount *Oeta*. The king strengthened the natural fortifications of the place with trenches and ramparts. And as he was not ignorant, that *Xerxes* would not have been able to force the *Lacedemonians*, if he had not ordered some of his troops to climb up the mountains, and from thence rush down upon the enemy, he detached two thousand *Ætolians* to seize the summits of mount *Oeta*, which were nearest his camp.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Liv. *ibid.* c. 15, Appian. in *Syriacis.* c. 96.



THE Roman general was informed of the prudent precautions which *Antiochus* had taken, and was under no small concern. To endeavour to drive the enemy from passes, where scarce ten armed men could march a-breast was a dangerous attempt; to follow the example of *Xerxes*, and climb over the mountains, was impracticable, the tops of the mountains being guarded by two thousand Ætolians. In this perplexity he had recourse to the famous *Cato*, who, being tired with the wranglings of the bar, had roused up his martial spirit, and now served in the troops in no higher a station than that of a legionary tribune. This brave and prudent warrior extricated the consul out of his difficulties, by offering to dislodge the Ætolians from their advantageous post. As this enterprize was of no less difficulty than importance, the consul thought proper to join *L. Valerius*, one of his lieutenants, with *Cato* in the execution of it. The former was ordered to march against that body of Ætolians, which was encamped on the summit, called *Tichius*, and the latter against those who were on the other, named *Callidromus*. *Valerius* was repulsed by the Ætolians, and forced to retire; but *Cato*, after undergoing inexpressible fatigues and dangers, got at last to the top of the mountain, and charged the Ætolians with such resolution, that he obliged them to abandon their post and fly for refuge to the valley. In the mean time the main body of the army was warmly engaged with *Antiochus*, but could not with all their valour force the Syrian's entrenchment. *Acilius* did wonders, but great numbers of his men being either killed or wounded, the rest began to be disheartened, when the consul all on a sudden spied *Cato* half way down the hill, and the Ætolians flying before him. This sight inspired the Romans with new vigour, and struck no small terror into the Syrians, who had behaved during the action with incredible valour, and still maintained their ground, till *Cato*, attacking the camp in its weakest part, put an end to the dispute. The king, having received a blow on the mouth with a stone, turned his horse about and fled. His example was followed by the whole army, every one shifting for himself, and leaving the passes open for the Romans, who did not pursue them, being taken up with plundering the camp, where they found a rich booty<sup>k</sup>.

THE next day early in morning the consul marched to *Elatia*, whither *Antiochus* had first retired. But before the arrival of the Romans the king was fled from thence, and had

<sup>k</sup> LIV, *ibid*, c. 19,



Antiochus  
leaves  
Chalcis.

got safe to *Chalcis* with five hundred horse. All the infantry, being too much tired to follow the king in his flight, were surprised by the *Roman* horse and cut in pieces; so that *Antiochus* may be said to have lost his whole army, in the action of *Thermopylæ* and in the pursuit (O). The consul continued his march through *Bœotia* to the *Euripus*, with a design to drive *Antiochus* from *Chalcis*, and recover the island of *Eubœa*. The *Bœotians* had declared for *Antiochus*, and therefore being seized with terror at the sight of the consular army, they appeared before *Acilius* in the attire of supplicants, and the consul spared both their lives and lands, not suffering his soldiers to commit any hostilities, except at *Coromœa*, where, by a public edict of the *Bœotian* diet, a statue had been erected to *Antiochus*. At this sight the legionaries were so provoked, that *Acilius* could not restrain them; the city was plundered, and the territory laid waste. When the consular army appeared before *Chalcis*, *Antiochus*, embarked with his new queen, set sail for *Asia*, and retired to *Ephesus*. Upon his departure *Chalcis* opened her gates to the *Romans*, and all *Eubœa* followed the example of the capital. *Acilius* then returned to *Thermopylæ*, and from thence continued his march to *Heraclæa* (P); which two thousand *Ætolians* still kept for *Antiochus*.

BEFORE the consul besieged the city in form, he summoned the garison and the inhabitants to surrender; representing, that they could expect no relief from a fugitive king; that all *Greece* had anew declared for *Rome*; that it was not too late to have recourse to the clemency of the *Romans*; and that he would look upon their delivering up of the city as an unquestionable proof of a sincere repentance. *Damocritus*, who had told *Flaminius* that he would give him on the banks of the *Tyber* a copy of the decree inviting *Antiochus* into *Greece*, was governor of the place; and by his means the *Ætolians*, as well as the inhabitants, resolved to hold out to the last. The consul therefore was obliged to have recourse to force, and it was not without the utmost difficulty that he made him-

Liv. *ibid.* c. 20.

(O) *Valerius* of *Antium*, according to *Livy*, greatly magnified the king's loss; for he wrote that forty thousand *Syrians* were killed upon the spot, and five thousand taken prisoners (5).

(P) This city, called *Heraclea Trachynia*, stood between the *Sperchius* and the *Asophus*, near the gulf of *Zeiton*, and about forty furlongs distant from *Thermopylæ* (6).

(5) *Liv.* l. 36. c. 19.

(6) *Strabo* l. 9. *Thucyd.* l. 3.



self master of it. *Heraclea* was fortified by nature and art, and in a condition to make a long and vigorous defence. The consul having invested the city on all sides, began to batter it night and day with a great number of warlike machines, which discharged showers of darts and stones on the besieged. The *Ætolians* on the other hand maintained their posts with inexpressible courage, harassed the *Romans* with frequent sallies, set fire to their engines, and, by letting down iron hooks from the wall, rendered their battering rams quite useless. The aggressors no sooner opened a breach by undermining the wall, but the besieged made vigorous sallies, keeping the *Romans* employed till their companions within repaired the breach. Thus they held out forty days against the incessant attacks of the whole consular army. The great number of the besiegers lessened their fatigues; but the besieged were employed night and day, the whole garison being scarce sufficient for the constant defence of the place. The consul being sensible that the *Ætolians* could hardly be overcome with fatigues and watchings, resolved to give some relaxation, but with a view the more effectually to deceive them. He commanded a stop to be put to the attacks at twelve every night, and did not renew them till nine in the morning. The *Ætolians*, being persuaded that the *Romans* were as much exhausted as themselves, retired at the same time, and did not return to the walls till they had refreshed themselves with some hours rest. They continued this practice for some time; but the consul all on a sudden ordered *Sempronius* to attack the citadel at three in the morning, not doubting but the noise would draw all the garison thither. Accordingly the *Ætolians* being waked, hastened to the castle, and the *Romans* at the same time assaulted with great vigour the town, but were repulsed by the *Ætolians* in three successive attacks. *Acilius* had ordered his legionaries to attack the town on all sides, except that which joined the suburbs. There he had placed a strong detachment among the ruins of the demolished houses, with orders not to stir till they heard the signal. He imagined, that the besieged would draw off their men from that place, which was not attacked, to defend the others. And so it happened, the besiegers left this place quite undefended, which the consul perceiving, gave the signal agreed on, and the legionaries mounted the wall without any opposition. The besieged hearing a shout on the rampart believed the city was taken, and fled with great precipitation to the citadel. *Acilius* suffered the city to be plundered, not so much out of a spirit of revenge, as to reward the soldiers, who had not as yet been allowed to plunder any of the cities they had taken.



The pillaging of the city took them up from break of day till noon, when the consul marched against the citadel, which, as it was not sufficiently stocked with provisions to maintain such a number of men, women, and children, as had fled thither for refuge, soon surrendered at discretion. The *Ætoli-ans* threw themselves upon the clemency of the *Romans*, and by way of preliminary delivered up into the consul's hands their leader *Damocritus*, who probably was sent to *Rome*, with the other captives of the conquered nations <sup>m</sup>.

FROM *Heraclea* the consul marched to *Lamia*, a strong place situated on a rock about seven miles distant. The troops of king *Philip* had begun the siege at the same time that the *Romans* set down before *Heraclea*. As the two cities were near each other, and *Lamia* stood on an eminence, the *Macedonians* and *Romans* could discover, each from their own camp, what progress was made in the other. Hence arose an emulation between the two armies, which should reduce their city first. The works were carried on by both with the utmost vigour; but as the *Macedonians* could not, according to their custom, undermine the walls, the city being placed on a rock, the *Romans* took *Heraclea* before the *Macedonians* had made any considerable progress in the siege of *Lamia*. *Philip* indeed did not at first assist in person, being prevented by an indisposition; but he no sooner recovered, than he went to pay a visit to *Acilius*, who was then encamped at *Thermopylæ*, and congratulated him on his victory. From the consul's camp *Philip* hastened to *Lamia* to pursue the siege; but he had not the satisfaction of taking the place, the *Lami-ans* chusing rather to submit to the *Romans*, in hopes of recovering their liberty, than to receive the *Macedonian* yoke <sup>n</sup>.

BEFORE *Heraclea* and *Lamia* were besieged, the *Ætoli-ans* had sent an embassy to *Antiochus* then at *Ephesus*. *Thoas*, who was at the head of it, endeavoured, pursuant to his instructions, to engage the king to draw together his troops, and return into *Europe*. He represented, that if the war was not carried on with vigour in *Greece*, he would soon see the *Romans* in the heart of his dominions. What he said was not improbable, and therefore determined *Antiochus* to send immediately into *Ætolia* considerable sums, and give orders for the assembling of his forces. *Thoas* he kept with him, who was very glad to continue at court, and there have an opportunity of pressing the king to fulfil his promises. Thus the *Ætoli-ans* were wholly bent upon renewing the war before the taking of the two above-mentioned cities; but the reduc-

<sup>m</sup> LIV. *ibid.* c. 25.

<sup>n</sup> Idem, *ibid.* c. 26.



tion of these abated their ardor, and now nothing was talked of in their assemblies, but of concluding a peace. They sent ambassadors to the consul to make proposals, but he received them with the air of a conqueror. “ I have other business  
 “ on my hands, said he, than to hear you ; go back to your  
 “ diet at *Hypata*, whither I will send *Valerius Flaccus* to  
 “ treat with you : make your proposals to him, and in the  
 “ mean time I grant you a ten days truce <sup>o</sup>”.

*Valerius* and the ambassadors set out together for *Hypata*, where the general assembly was held. The diet shewed him extraordinary honour ; held their sessions at his house, and to shew that they reposed an entire confidence in him, they desired him to instruct them in what manner they should treat with the senate. Our alliance, said they, with the republic is very ancient. By how many good offices have we shewn our attachment to *Rome* ? Here *Valerius* stopped them, and desired they would not mention an alliance, which they had so often broken. An humble submission, said he, will have more effect on the consul and senate, than a vain ostentation of your services. The diet seemed to pay a great regard to the wholesome advice of *Valerius*, and their deputies, putting on an air of humiliation, presented themselves before the consul. *Phæneās*, who was their speaker, addressing the consul in a mournful tone, began his speech by telling him, that all *Ætolia*, repenting her late conduct, threw herself on the honour and clemency of the *Romans*. The consul, without suffering him to pursue his harangue, immediately replied ; you say, *Ætolia* surrenders herself to the *Romans* ; if so, deliver up the head of your nation, who was the author of your revolt ; put into my hands *Menetas* the *Epirot*, *Amynder* king of *Athamania*, and such of the *Athamanians* as have revolted from us, and taken sanctuary in *Ætolia*. While he was yet speaking, *Phæneās* interrupting him, answered with a quite different air and tone of voice ; You demand more than we promised ; we threw ourselves upon your honour, but we did not deliver ourselves up to slavery. What you require is neither consistent with the honour of the *Ætolian* nation, nor with the laws and customs of *Greece*. What is that to me, replied *Acilius* haughtily, whether my demands are agreeable to your customs and laws, or not ? They are agreeable to the will of the *Romans*, and that is enough. *Phæneās* was offering to speak, when the consul rising up, What, said he, do you refuse to obey my orders, and plead your customs or laws with me ? Then turning to the lictors, he ordered them to bring

<sup>o</sup> I lem, ibid. c. 27.



in iron chains and collars, and threatened to put the ambassadors in irons that instant, and treat them like rebels and traitors, unless they promised to perform what he required. The sight of the chains, and the threats of the angry consul so terrified them, that neither *Phæneas* nor his colleagues durst utter one word. *Valerius*, taking their part, desired the consul to remember that they were ambassadors, and consequently ought not to be treated with all the severity, which their infidelity perhaps might deserve. This encouraged *Phæneas* to represent to the consul in terms of great submission; That neither he, nor the council of the apocleti who had sent him, could obey his orders, without the consent and approbation of the general assembly of the whole nation; he therefore entreated him to grant them a further truce for ten days, during which time he promised to bring him a positive answer. *Acilius* heard him now with patience, and granted the suspension of arms he required<sup>p</sup>.

UPON the return of the ambassadors, and the report which they made of the severe treatment they had met with, a general assembly was convened, to which all the cities of *Ætolia* sent their deputies. These were fired with indignation at the bare recital of the preliminaries proposed by the *Romans*, and all cried out, We are then reduced to slavery: Is the king of *Athamania* our subject? Can we dispose of him as we please, and deliver him up to the *Romans*? Warm debates arose, and the members of the council could neither agree with the prætor, nor among themselves. On one side the *Romans* were a formidable enemy; but they had yet taken only two cities: on the other *Antiochus* was a wealthy prince, powerful by sea and land, and a declared enemy to the *Romans*. While they were in this uncertainty, a thing happened which determined them to choose the worst part. One *Nicaner*, an active and bustling man, had gone from *Ætolia* to *Ephesus*, where *Antiochus* resided, and returned home in twelve days. He brought large sums of money with him from the king of *Syria*, and assured the diet, that early in the spring all the forces of *Syria* would be sent to their assistance. He added, that the king of *Macedon* was highly dissatisfied with the conduct of the *Romans*, and would not fail to join them, when a fair opportunity offered of revolting from his new allies. What he said with relation to *Philip* had great appearance of truth, and therefore was of great weight with the assembly. *Nicaner* on his return to *Greece* had been obliged to pass between the *Roman* and *Macedonian* camps, and keeping as far as he could

<sup>p</sup> Liv. *ibid.* c. 28.



from the *Romans* fell upon an advanced guard of the *Macedonians*, by whom he was taken and carried to the king. The prisoner expected no good treatment from *Philip*, and was under no small apprehension of being delivered up to the *Romans*. But, contrary to his expectation, he was received by the *Macedonian* in a very friendly manner, and even invited to sup with him. After the repast, the king ordered the rest of the company to withdraw, and then addressed *Nicander* thus: “ You are not in the power of an enemy, but of a  
 “ friend, and therefore divest yourself of all fear. Are you  
 “ not at last sensible, that the *Ætolians* your countrymen are  
 “ the authors of all our misfortunes? They first brought the  
 “ *Romans* into *Greece*, and assisted them in the reduction of  
 “ my dominions. Then they grew weary of their new  
 “ masters, and drew *Antiochus* into these parts. However,  
 “ I forget all that is past, and will not insult you in your mi-  
 “ sery. Only let the diet at *Hypata* know, that it is high  
 “ time for them to lay aside their hatred to me. As for you,  
 “ *Nicander*, remember, that I now give you your life, and  
 “ be grateful <sup>q</sup>.” Accordingly *Nicander* acquainted the diet with the kind reception he had met with in *Philip*’s camp, and the *Ætolians* inferred from thence, that the king might be easily drawn off from the *Romans*. This persuasion, with the money which *Nicander* brought from *Asia*, and the reports which he spread, that *Antiochus* was ready to pass into *Europe* at the head of a powerful army, made such impressions on the assembly, that all thoughts of peace vanished, and nothing was now talked of but war. They resolved to draw all their forces to *Naupactus*, and preserve at all events that important city against the return of *Antiochus* <sup>r</sup>.

*Acilius* on the other hand look’d on the taking of *Naupactus* as the most fatal blow he could give the *Ætolian* nation, and therefore resolved to attempt it. In the first place he sent four thousand men under the command of *Appius Claudius* to guard the roads through which the army was to pass. The consul did not begin his march, till he had implored the assistance of the gods, by offering a solemn sacrifice to *Hercules* on the top of mount *Oeta* ( Q ). Having thus consecrated

<sup>q</sup> Liv. ibid. POLYB. legat. 13. <sup>r</sup> Liv. ibid. c. 30.

( Q ) Mount *Oeta* was dedicated to *Hercules*, there being an old tradition in the country, that this hero ended his life and labours there. One of the summits of this mountain was called *Pyra*, that is a funeral pile, because *Hercules* had there burnt himself, and was ever after reckoned among the gods. The fame of the place drew the consul to it, and before his departure he offered sacrifices to the deity there worshipped.

his



his departure by an act of religion, he set out at the head of his army, and met with no difficulties in his march, till he came to *Corax* (R), the highest mountain of *Ætolia*, which he was obliged to climb over, with all the warlike machines and baggage of a numerous army. There great numbers of beasts of burden, and many of the soldiers were lost in the precipices. Not one single *Ætolian* appeared to dispute this dangerous passage with the consul, which might have been defended by a handful of men against an army how numerous soever. At length the *Romans* got over it, and arrived greatly fatigued before *Naupactus*, which the consul immediately invested. But as the *Ætolians* defended themselves with incredible vigour and courage, the whole consular army was employed here most part of the summer, while *Philip* and the *Achæans* reduced entire provinces. The former not only made himself master of *Demetrias*, but extended his conquests to *Dolopia*, *Aperantia* and *Perrhæbia* (S); and thus by degrees recovered all the places that had been taken from him<sup>c</sup>.

BUT *Flaminius*, who resided at *Chalcis* (T), not being at all pleased with the progress which the consul suffered *Philip* to make, contrary to the interest of *Rome*, hastened to *Naupactus*.

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid. APPIAN. in Syriac. 99.

<sup>c</sup> LIV. l. 36. c. 32.

(R) According to *Ptolemy* this mountain lay between mount *Callidromus*, and mount *Parnassus*, *Livy* places it between *Naupactus* and *Callipolis*.

(S) *Dolopia* was part of *Epirus*, and bordered upon *Thessaly*, near mount *Pindus*. *Aperantia* was another province of *Epirus*, lying near the springs of the *Achelous*. *Perrhæbia* was properly the mountainous country about *Olympus* in *Thessaly*, extending from the city of *Atrax* as far as *Tempe* (7).

(T) *Flaminius*, after having conquered *Philip*, and settled the affairs of *Greece*, was long kept in that country by his republic on account of his great skill and address in negotiations. He had no title, but nevertheless was more respected than the consuls themselves. When any differences arose, the contending parties generally had recourse to *Flaminius*, referring the whole to his arbitration. He had chose *Chalcis* for the usual place of his residence. That city owed its safety to him; for *Acilius*, when it surrendered to him after the departure of *Antiochus*, was resolved to give it up to be plundered; but *Flaminius* had interest enough with the consul to appease his wrath, and save both the lives and estates of the inhabitants. From that time the *Chalcidians* carried their gratitude to excess; they built a temple, and instituted a festival in his honour, putting him upon the same level with *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Hercules* (8).

(7) *Strabo*. l. 9. *Herodot.* l. 7.

(8) *Plut.* in *Flamin.*

*Naupactus*,



*Naupactus*, which had already held out two months, but was reduced to great straits. On his arrival in the camp he was received by the consul, whom he abruptly addressed thus ; Are you aware what prodigious pains you take to ruin the affairs of the republic ? *Acilius* surprized at these words, desired him to explain his meaning ; and then *Flaminius* told him, that ever since his victory at *Thermopylæ* he had spent his whole time in taking two cities, while *Philip* had not contented himself with the taking of cities, but had reduced whole nations. “ You are endeavouring, continued *Flaminius*, to lessen the power of *Ætolia*, and at the same time suffer a far more dangerous enemy to increase his beyond measure : consider better the true interest of *Rome* ; raise this troublesome siege, leave *Naupactus*, and deliver *Greece* from impending slavery ”.

As the authority of *Flaminius* was great at *Rome*, and his reasoning very just, *Acilius* was unwilling to disoblige him ; but on the other hand he considered, that the raising the siege of a town, which had already held out two months, might reflect no small dishonour on his conduct, and therefore was sometime in suspense, whether he should follow the advice of *Flaminius*, or contrary to his opinion pursue the siege. But *Acilius* at length he yielded, *Flaminius* taking upon him to justify his conduct to the senate, and to persuade the *Ætolians* to make some kind of submission. Accordingly he immediately shewed himself to the besieged, who, running in crowds to the ramparts, implored his assistance with mournful cries. *Flaminius* seemed at first not to give ear to their entreaties, but as they redoubled their cries, beseeching him, with tears in their eyes, to have compassion on an unfortunate people, who fled to him for protection, he gave them to understand, that they might send deputies to confer with him. Hereupon *Phœneas* and the chief men of the nation came out and threw themselves prostrate at his feet. *Flaminius* seeing them in this humble posture, “ I will not insult you, said he, in this condition, nor aggravate your sorrow with unseasonable reproaches. Your misfortunes are indeed affecting ; but I forewarned you of them, and you have the further mortification to know, that you have by your imprudent conduct brought them upon yourselves. But as I am appointed by the gods to preserve *Greece*, your ingratitude shall not get the better of my propension to mercy. Go, throw yourselves at the consul’s feet, and beg a suspension of arms, in order to send ambassadors to *Rome* to negotiate a peace ; I will intercede

\* Liv. *ibid.* & *Plut.* in *Flamin.*

“ with



“ with the consul in your behalf”. They followed the advice of *Flaminius* ; ambassadors were sent to the *Roman* senate, and *Acilius*, breaking up the siege, marched his army back into *Phocis* <sup>w</sup>. The city of *Naupaëtus* must have been reduced to great straits, since the besieged sued so earnestly for the protection of *Flaminius*. But, on the other hand, if *Acilius* had believed he could carry it in a short time, he would not have let it slip out of his hands ; the whole flower of the *Ætolian* nation was shut up in the city, and the reducing of it would have made their submission more hearty and sincere.

*Acilius* being disengaged from this troublesome siege, made the best use he could of the short time he was to stay in *Greece*. He gave audience to the ambassadors of the *Epirots*, who came to excuse the steps they had taken with regard to *Antiochus*. They had not indeed sent any troops to his assistance, but were suspected to have supplied him with money and provisions. The consul told them, that he was in doubt, whether he should call them friends or enemies, but that the senate of *Rome* knew how to explain their mysterious and artful conduct. However, he granted them a truce for three months, enjoining them to clear themselves before the senate. At *Rome* they were received very coldly ; but as it did not appear that they had committed any hostilities, the senators chose rather to shew them mercy, than to draw new enemies upon the republic <sup>x</sup>.

As for the *Ætolian* ambassadors, the truce, which had been granted them, was near expiring, before they could obtain an audience of the senate. They were, however, admitted at last, and endeavoured to raise the compassion of the senate ; they gave a long, but modest, account of the services they had rendered the republic, during their alliance with her, and begged, that in consideration of them the conscript fathers would forgive them their late conduct. Many questions were put to them ; but the senators observed, that, instead of giving any positive and direct answer, they had recourse to supplications and entreaties. This made them suspect their sincerity. Wherefore they were ordered to withdraw, and warm debates arose among the fathers, some being for granting them a peace, and others for pursuing the war. Some days were spent in these disputes, and as the ambassadors artfully declined giving satisfactory answers, the senate long continued in suspence between peace and war. At

<sup>w</sup> Idem, *ibid.* c. 35.

<sup>x</sup> Idem, *ibid.* c. 36.



last the ambassadors were told, that they must chuse one of *Hard con-* these two conditions, viz. either to submit to the will of the *ditions of-* senate, or to pay the republic a thousand talents, and neither *ferred by the* make war nor peace with any other power, without the con- *senate to* sent and approbation of *Rome*. The *Ætolians* had not so *the Æto-* much money; and, on the other hand, if they implicitly sub- *lians.* mitted to the will of the senate, they were persuaded, that *Rome* would not be contented with that which they were willing to grant. Wherefore they desired to know in what points, and how far, they were to submit to the will of the senate. But they could have no certain answer, and therefore openly declared, that they would not consent to either of the conditions. So that the project of a peace was dropt, and the ambassadors ordered to leave *Rome* that very day, and *Italy* in a fortnight.

THE *Ætolians*, upon the return of their ambassadors, finding that there were no hopes left of concluding a peace, thought it necessary to guard *Naupactus* against a new attack. They were afraid, that *Acilius*, who continued in *Greece*, would again sit down before the place and carry it. To prevent this, they posted themselves in the narrow passes of mount *Corax*, in order to stop his march. But this precaution only served to make the consul turn his arms against another city, of no less importance than *Naupactus*. *Lamia*, after having been the last year very near reduced by *Philip*, had submitted to *Acilius* upon very honourable terms, and was allowed its liberty. But while the consul was employed in the siege of *Naupactus*, that city declared a-new against the *Romans*. *Acilius*, finding it impracticable to make any new attempts upon *Naupactus*, set out for *Lamia*, and appearing unexpectedly before the place, at break of day, ordered the walls to be scaled on all sides; but the inhabitants made a more vigorous defence than had been expected; all ranks of people, even women and children, ran to the walls, and joined in defence of their country. Whereupon *Acilius*, despairing to take the city by assault, sounded a retreat. The *Romans* returned to their camp; but the general told them, that he designed to renew the assault the next morning; Don't expect, said he to his troops, to return to the camp till the city is taken. Accordingly they renewed the attack with such vigour, that the besieged, being tired out with the fatigues of the preceding day, were in a few hours overpowered, and the place taken. After the reduction of *Lamia* the consul was for returning to *Naupactus*; but in a council of war,

*Lamia*  
taken by  
the Ro-  
mans.

Y LIV. l. 37. c. 1. POLYB. Legat. 16.



which was held on that occasion, not one of the officers approved of so hazardous an attempt. A steep mountain covered the place, and the passes were all guarded by numerous bodies of Ætolians. The consul therefore marched his troops with all possible expedition, his consulate being ready to expire, to *Amphissa*, a city of *Locris*, which had joined the Ætolians (U). He did not attempt to take it by storm, but besieged it in form; the besieged made a vigorous resistance, and held out, till news was brought to *Acilius*, that *L. Cornelius Scipio*, the brother of *Scipio Africanus*, was landed at *Apollonia*, and marching through *Epirus* and *Thessaly* to take upon him the command of the army. The new consul brought with him an army of thirteen thousand men, and the great *Africanus* served under him in quality of his lieutenant (W). *Cornelius* visited all the coasts of *Epirus* quite to the *Maliac* gulf. From thence he sent to summon *Hypata*, which was one of the most considerable cities of *Thessaly*. But the inhabitants answering that they were not their own masters, and that they could not surrender without the consent of the Ætolian diet, he turned towards *Amphissa*, the citadel of which *Acilius* was besieging, having already taken the town. The consul encamped eight miles from the town, and was soon visited by deputies from *Athens*, who came to pay their respects to him, and intercede for the Ætolians. They first imparted the chief business, which they were come upon, to

(U) *Amphissa* was a city of the *Locrians* called *Ozolæ*, situated near the territories of *Crissa*, distant a hundred and twenty furlongs from *Delphos*. It was so called, according to *Pausanias*, because it was surrounded by mountains on all sides. Some modern geographers tell us, that it still retains the same name; but *Le Noir* calls it *Lambina* (9).

(W) The consuls chosen for this year were *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Lælius*, the first the brother, the second the friend, of the great *Scipio Africanus*. *Lælius*, being reckoned the best general, artfully proposed to his colleague, that instead of drawing lots, as was usual, they should leave the matter to the determination of the conscript fathers. *L. Scipio* knew not how to decline this offer; but he desired time to consider of it, and then consulted his brother. *Scipio Africanus* desired him without any hesitation to accept the proposal; and when the senate seemed unwilling to determine the affair, he, to the great surprize of all, offered to serve under his brother in quality of his lieutenant. There needed no other argument; the senate immediately assigned *Asia* to the two *Scipios* as their common province.

(9) *Herodot. l. 8. Strabo l. 9. Pausan. in Phocicis.*

*Scipio*



*Scipio Africanus*, remembering, that none of the nations conquered by him had ever repented putting their interests into his hands. *Scipio* told them, that he would intercede for the *Ætolians* with a great deal of pleasure, and procure them the best terms he could. This raised the expectations of that unhappy nation; they immediately assembled a diet at *Hypata*, and sent deputies to the consul, not doubting, but *Africanus* would obtain favourable terms for them. But *Cornelius*, having conceived some sort of jealousy, in seeing that they all paid a greater deference to his brother than to himself, though vested with the consular dignity, gave the ambassadors the same answer which the senate had given before. He again insisted, that the *Ætolians* should either pay a thousand talents, or implicitly submit to the will of the *Romans*. This unexpected answer threw the whole nation into the utmost consternation. However, they sent new deputies to the two brothers jointly, begging, that they would either abate of the sum demanded, or at least that, if they submitted to the will of the consul, their lives in general should be saved. But *Cornelius* was inexorable, and would grant neither. Hereupon *Echedemus*, the chief of the *Athenian* embassy, advised them to demand a six months truce, and once more apply to the senate. They followed his advice, and being backed in their request, both by *Echedemus*, and *Scipio Africanus*, they obtained at length the truce they desired. The same ambassadors who had been driven from *Rome* were sent back thither, and the siege of the citadel of *Amphissa* was raised. Then *Acilius*, resigning up the command of the army to the new consul, left *Greece*, and returned to *Rome*. The *Ætolians* themselves were not more overjoyed at this truce than *Scipio Africanus*, who was impatient to pass over into *Asia*, and once more enter the lists with *Hannibal* <sup>2</sup>.

The Ætolians obtain a six months truce.

THE consular army was scarce withdrawn from *Greece*, when the *Ætolians*, forgetting the danger they had been in, took the field with a design to restore king *Amynder*, their friend and ally, to his kingdom. This prince had sided with the *Ætolians*, and on that account had been driven out of his kingdom by *Philip*, whom the *Romans* had put in possession of all the banished king's dominions. They soon drove all the *Macedonian* garisons out of *Athamania*, and placed *Amynder* again on the throne of his ancestors. But this did not content the restless *Ætolians*, instead of humbling themselves to *Rome*, as *Amynder* did, for dispossessing *Philip* of the

<sup>2</sup> LIV. *ibid.* POUSS. Legat. 17.



The Ætolians invade the territories of Philip, though in alliance with Rome.

dominions which had been allotted to him by the republic, they pursued their conquests, and entering *Amphilochia*, a province of *Epirus*, formerly subject to them, but now under the protection of *Rome*, reconquered almost the whole country. From thence they advanced to *Aparantia*, which had likewise belonged to them, and recovered it. Having now retaken what they had lost during the war, they fell upon *Dolopia*, a country which had always belonged to the kings of *Macedon*, and to which they could lay no claim. The *Dolopians* were easily prevailed upon to shake off the *Macedonian* yoke, and submit to the *Ætolians*. All these conquests were so many insults offered to the republic, in the person of a king, who was joined in alliance with *Rome*, and had rendered her eminent services during the late war. Thus the *Ætolians* employed the time which they had been allowed to negotiate a peace, and to appease, by their submission, the wrath of the sovereign republic.

Their insincere proceedings with the Senate.

HOWEVER, when they heard that the senate, upon an embassy from *Amynder*, had confirmed him in the possession of his dominions, they resolved at last to apply to the senate, not only for a peace, but for their consent to hold the provinces which they had lately reduced, hoping the republic would be no less favourable to them, than she had been to their ally *Amynder*. Their ambassadors arrived at *Rome* soon after the election of the new consuls, *M. Fulvius Nobilior* and *Cn. Manlius Vulso*, and before the news of the famous victory at *Magnesia* had reached *Italy*. Wherefore, the better to succeed in their negotiations, they spread a report, that the two *Scipios* had been made prisoners by *Antiochus* at a conference, and that the *Roman* army was entirely defeated. Being questioned about their intelligence, they pretended to have received the account from some persons of their nation in the consul's camp, and putting on an air of confidence, they seemed rather to demand than beg a peace. But these bad appearances did not abate the pride of the senate, or bring them to shew any indulgence to *Ætolia*: The ambassadors were dismissed, and ordered not to return without the express consent of the generals, whom the republic should send to carry on the war in their country<sup>a</sup>.

THE consuls having drawn lots for their provinces, *Greece* fell to *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who immediately set out, and landing at *Apollonia*, a city of *Macedon* near the borders of *Epirus*, assembled there a council of the *Epirots*, to deliberate on the operations of the campaign. These advised him

<sup>a</sup> Val. Antias apud Liv. xxxvii.



to begin with the siege of *Ambracia* (X), which would open *Ambracia* him a way into the very heart of *Ætolia*. Herein they consulted their own interest; for *Ambracia* belonged formerly to the *Epirots*, and was now to be restored to them. However, *Fulvius* followed their advice, and, crossing *Epirus*, sat down before *Ambracia*. He no sooner saw the town, and observed its situation, but he concluded that it would be no easy matter to reduce it. It was defended on one side by a great river (Y), and on the other by steep and craggy hills, and surrounded with a high and thick wall above three miles in compass. The consul began the siege by forming two camps separated by the river, but with a communication between them; the *Epirots* were posted in one, and the *Romans* in the other. Then he threw up two lines, one of circumvallation, and the other of contravallation, and built over-against the citadel, which stood on a hill, a wooden tower in the form of a castle. When the *Ætolians* understood, that *Fulvius* had begun the siege of *Ambracia*, they assembled all their troops, and marched to the relief of a place, which was a key to their dominions. They appointed *Stratos*, a city of *Acarmania* on the banks of the *Achelous*, for the place of the general rendezvous. In a council of war, which was held there, *Nicanor* the prætor and most of the officers were at first for attacking the *Romans*. But being afterwards informed, that though the camp was fortified, the works round the place were not finished, it was thought more adviseable to throw troops into the city, and strengthen the garison. *Eupolemus*, a man of great resolution, took upon him to perform this, and succeeded in the attempt, entering *Ambracia* at the head of a thousand *Ætolians*, where the lines were not finished. As for *Nicanor*, he marched against the *Epirots*, with a design to attack them in their camp; but, finding them strongly entrenched, he thought the attack would prove too dangerous, and therefore he led his army into *Acarmania*, and laid waste the whole country. In the mean time the *Romans* and *Epirots* began to batter the place. The consul ordered five attacks to be made at the same time, three on the side

(X) *Ambracia* was formerly one of the most considerable cities of *Epirus*. It stood at the bottom of the *Ambracian* bay, upon the river *Araethus*, at a small distance from the sea. The situation of *Arba* in upper *Albania* agrees with that of this antient city (10).

(Y) The city of *Ambracia* stood on the *Araethus*, which *Livy* here calls *Arethon*. *Le Noir* tells us, that the natives call this river *Spagmagmurisi*.

(10) *Strabo*, l. vii. *Pollux*, l. viii.



of *Pyrrheum*, a small fortress without the city, one over-against the temple of *Æsculapius*, and another on the side of the citadel. The rams shook the walls on all sides, and the *Romans*, from their moveable towers, pulled down the battlements with a kind of scythes, which they fastened to long beams. This did not at all dishearten the *Ætolians*, who were night and day on the walls, and indefatigable in preventing the ill effects of the rams and scythes. As to the former, they invented a kind of pulleys, by which they let down beams, large stones, and lumps of lead upon the rams, as they were in motion, and thereby deadened their strokes. They guarded themselves against the scythes by pulling the beams, to which they were fastened, into the city with large hooks contrived for that purpose <sup>b</sup>.

WHILE *Fulvius* was thus carrying on the siege, *Nicaner*, after having pillaged *Acarmania*, returned to *Stratos*, and from thence detached five hundred men to reinforce the garison of the besieged city. These got safe in under the conduct of one *Nicodamus*, with whom *Nicaner* agreed to attack the *Roman* camp at a time appointed, not doubting, but, if the garison within, and the army without fell upon them at the same time, and in the night, the *Romans* might be obliged to abandon their camp, and retire from before the city. *Nicodamus* narrowly watched the time in which he was ordered to sally, and at the hour appointed, though *Nicaner* did not appear, marched out at the head of the garison, armed with fire-brands and torches. The *Roman* centries were not a little surprized at this sight, and running to wake their companions, spread the alarm over the whole camp. The legionaries marched in small bodies, as they happened to meet, to repulse the enemy, whom they engaged in the three different places, where the attacks were made on the side of *Pyrrheum*. Two of the enemy's bodies were driven back, but the third, commanded by two *Ætolian* generals, maintained their ground, made a great slaughter of the *Romans*, set fire to their tents, and then, not finding themselves seconded by *Nicaner*, retired in good order into the city. If *Nicaner* had at the same time attacked the *Romans*, as he agreed to do, the siege would have been probably raised; but he did not lend the besieged the least assistance, which some ascribe to timorousness, while others tell us, that he was obliged to march his army that very night against *Perfes*, who had invaded *Dolopia* <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> LIV. l. xxxviii. c. 4.

<sup>c</sup> Idem, ibid. c. 5.

*Nicaner*



*Nicanor* had so much to do elsewhere, that he could not bring any relief to the besieged. On one hand *Perseus* was to be driven out of *Dolopia*; and on the other the coasts of *Ætolia* were to be defended from the ravages of *Pleuratus*, king of *Illyricum*, who assisted the *Romans* with a numerous fleet, and committed great devastations in the *Ætolian* territories. The besieged being thus abandoned, and without any hopes of succours, did not, however, despond, but defended themselves with incredible vigour and resolution. The *Romans* had no sooner made a breach in the wall, but it was repaired, and a new wall built up behind it. The consul therefore altered his measures, and instead of making breaches with the ram, began to undermine the wall in hopes of throwing down great part of it at once, and entering the city before the besieged could have time to build a new wall. The miners began the work, and being covered were not observed by the garison, till the heaps of earth that were brought out of the mine gave them the alarm. They began then to countermine, and having dug a trench of the depth they supposed the mine to be, they carried it along the wall where they heard the strokes of the pick-axes of the *Romans*. In a few hours they came to that part of the wall which the *Romans* had sapped, and supported with wooden props. When the two mines met, a battle ensued under ground, first with pick-axes and spades, and then with swords and spears. But this attack did not last long, each party making themselves a kind of rampart with the loose earth. But the *Ætolians*, in order to drive the enemy quite out of the mine, invented a machine, which they brought to the place where the two mines met. This was an hollow vessel with an iron bottom, bored through in many places, and armed with spikes at proper distances, to prevent the enemy from approaching it. This vessel they filled with feathers, which they set on fire, and with bellows driving the smoke on the besiegers, obliged them to leave the mine, through fear of being suffocated, and interrupt the work; which interruption they made use of to repair the foundations of the walls<sup>d</sup>.

THIS vigorous resistance did not raise the courage of the *Ætolians* in general; they knew, that by the gallant behaviour of their countrymen the taking of *Ambracia* was only delayed; on the other hand, their dominions were attacked by the *Macedonians*, *Illyrians*, and *Achæans*, and to resist so many enemies at once seemed impossible. The prætor therefore thought it necessary to assemble the diet, that the heads

<sup>d</sup> Idem, *ibid.* c. 8. *POLYN.* legat. 28.



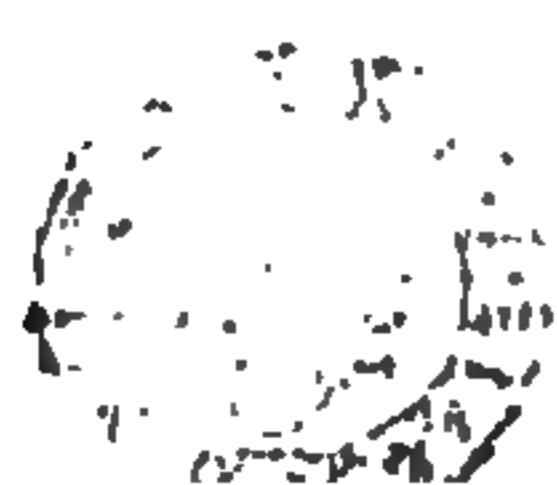
of the nation might consult together about the measures that were most proper in the present posture of affairs. The members of the assembly were all unanimous, that a peace ought to be procured upon any tolerable terms. Our dependence, said they, was on *Antiochus* ; but, now that he is confined to the other side of mount *Taurus*, we can expect no assistance from him ; let us then in time avert the evils which threaten, after his ruin, to overwhelm us. Accordingly a resolution was taken to send *Phæneas* and *Damoteles* to the consul with full power to conclude a peace. *Fulvius* received them with haughtiness, but did not reject their request. The preliminaries he insisted upon were, 1<sup>st</sup>, that they should lay down their arms ; 2<sup>dly</sup>, that they should deliver up to him all the horses of their army ; 3<sup>dly</sup>, that they should pay to the republic a thousand talents, one half upon the spot, and the other at different payments. These conditions seemed so hard, that the ambassadors begged leave to return and consult the diet before they accepted them. Upon their return they were checked by the assembly for leaving the consul without signing the articles. We must have a peace, they all cried out, good or bad, conclude it therefore without giving *Fulvius* time to reflect. They therefore immediately set out again for the *Roman* camp, but on the road were surrounded and taken prisoners by a party of *Acar-nians*, who carried them to *Tyrrheum* a city of *Acar-nania*. *Fulvius*, being informed of what had happened, ordered the *Acar-nians* to set them at liberty ; and in the mean time, as he was desirous to settle *Ætolia* in peace before his authority was expired, he gave ear to the intercessions of the *Athe-nians*, *Rhodians*, and of king *Amynder*, in behalf of the *Ambracians*. As *Amynder* had great interest in *Ambracia*, having long resided there, the consul made use of him to persuade the inhabitants to capitulate, which he did very dexterously, prevailing upon them to surrender on the following terms ; that the *Ætolian* garison should have leave to march out of the city ; that the inhabitants should pay five hundred talents, two hundred down, and the rest at six equal payments ; that they should deliver up to the consul all the prisoners and deserters that were in the city. These articles were agreed to by the *Ambracians*, and approved of by the *Ætolian* diet. *Ambracia* opened her gates to the consul, and presented him with a crown of gold, and many fine statues and pictures, whereof there were great numbers in that city, which *Pyrrhus* had made his capital and enriched with many able monuments <sup>c</sup>.

Ambracia  
capitulates.

<sup>c</sup> LIV. & POLYB. & ib.

†

AFTER





AFTER the surrender of *Ambracia*, *Fulvius* entering *Ætolia* encamped at *Argi*, the capital of *Amphilochia*, then subject to the *Ætolians*, who had reduced all that province. There *Phæneas* and *Damoteles*, being set at liberty, acquainted him, that the *Ætolian* diet accepted the conditions which he had offered them. Nothing now remained but to get them ratified by the senate, and for this purpose *Phæneas* and *Nicander* set out attended by the ambassadors of *Athens* and *Rhodes*, who went to intercede for them with the senate. In the mean time the consul granted the *Ætolians* a truce, and retired to the island of *Cephalenia*. When the ambassadors arrived at *Rome*, they found both the senate and people highly exasperated against the *Ætolian* nation. *Philip* of *Macedon* had represented to the senate, and magnified, the ravages they had committed in his territories, while he was in alliance with *Rome*, and bitterly complained of them for unjustly detaining from him *Dolopia*, *Athomania*, and *Amphilochia*. His complaints were of such weight with the senate, that the ambassadors were even refused an audience. But the *Athenian* deputies were received very favourably, and the speech which *Damis*, who was at the head of them, made in favour of that unhappy nation, greatly abated the anger of the conscript fathers. The good offices of *Valerius* likewise, who accompanied the *Ætolian* ambassadors, did not a little contribute towards appeasing the clamours which were every-where heard against this restless people, and artfully fomented by the *Macedonian* deputies. *Caius Valerius* was brother to the consul *Fulvius*, and the son of *Lævinus*, who concluded the first treaty of alliance between *Rome* and *Ætolia*. This *Valerius* remembered, and used his utmost endeavours to procure them a favourable reception. But nevertheless *Phæneas* and *Nicander* were kept a long time in a painful uncertainty whether they should obtain a peace or not. At length, by the assiduous and joint application of the *Rhodians*, *Athenians*, and *Valerius*, a peace was concluded. The only terms they could obtain were the following; 1<sup>st</sup>, The majesty of the *Roman* people shall be revered in all *Ætolia*; 2<sup>dly</sup>, *Ætolia* shall not suffer the armies of such as are at war with *Rome* to pass through her territories, and the enemies of *Rome* shall be likewise enemies of *Ætolia*; 3<sup>dly</sup>, she shall in the space of an hundred days put into the hands of the magistrates of *Corcyra* all the prisoners and deserters she has, whether of the *Romans* or their allies, except such as have been taken twice, or during her alliance with *Rome*; 4<sup>thly</sup>, the *Ætolians* shall pay down in ready money to the *Roman* general in *Ætolia* two hundred *Attic* talents of the same value as the

*A peace concluded between the Ætolians and Romans.*



*Athenian* talents, and engage to pay fifty talents more within the six years following ; 5thly, they shall put into the hands of the consul forty such hostages as he shall chuse, none of which shall be under twelve, or above forty, years of age ; the prætor, the general of the horse, and such as have been already hostages at *Rome*, are excepted out of this number ; 6thly, *Ætolia* shall renounce all pretensions to the cities and territories which the *Romans* have conquered since the consulate of *Flaminius*, though these cities and territories had formerly belonged to the *Ætolians* ; 7thly, The city of *Oenias* and its district shall continue subject to the *Acar-nanians* ; 8thly, *Cephalenia* shall not be included in this treaty f.

How  
treated by  
the Ro-  
mans after  
the con-  
quest of  
Macedon.

FROM these articles we may judge, how far the *Ætolian* republic was abridged of her antient liberties by this peace. However, after the conquest of *Macedon* by *Paulus Æmilius*, they were reduced to a much worse condition. For not only those among them, who had openly declared for *Perses*, but such as were only suspected to have favoured him in their hearts, were sent to *Rome* in order to clear themselves before the senate. There they were detained, and never afterwards suffered to return into their native country. Five hundred and fifty of the chief men of the nation were barbarously assassinated by the partisans of *Rome*, for no other crime but that of being suspected to wish well to *Perses*. The *Ætolians* appeared before *Paulus Æmilius* in mourning habits, and made loud complaints of such inhuman treatment, but could obtain no redress ; nay the ten commissioners, who had been sent by the senate to settle the affairs of *Greece*, enacted a decree, declaring, that those who were killed had suffered justly, since it appeared to them that they had favoured the *Macedonian* party. From this time those only were raised to the chief honours and employments in the *Ætolian* republic, who were known to prefer the interest of *Rome* to that of their country. And as these alone were countenanced by the sovereign republic, all the magistrates of *Ætolia* were her creatures, and mere tools of the *Roman* senate. In this state of servile subjection they continued till the destruction of *Corinth*, and dissolution of the *Achæan* league, when *Ætolia*, with the other free states of *Greece*, was reduced to a *Roman* province, commonly called the province of *Achaia*. Nevertheless each state and city was governed by its own laws, under the superintendency of the prætor, whom *Rome* sent annually

f LIV. l. xxxviii. c. 8.



to *Achaia*. The whole nation paid a certain tribute, and the rich were forbidden to possess lands any-where, but in their own country<sup>g</sup>.

IN this state, with little alteration, *Ætolia* continued under the emperors, till the reign of *Constantine the Great*, who, in his new partition of the provinces of the empire, divided the western parts of *Greece* from the rest, calling them *New Epirus*, and subjecting the whole country to the *Præfectus Prætorio for Illyricum*. Under the successors of *Constantine*, *Greece* was parcelled out into several principalities, especially after the taking of *Constantinople* by the western princes. At that time *Theodorus Angelus*, a noble *Grecian* of the imperial family, seized on *Ætolia* and *Epirus*; the former he left to *Michael* his son, who maintained it against *Michael Paleologus*, the first emperor of the *Greeks* after the expulsion of the *Latins*. *Charles*, the last prince of this family, dying in 1430, without lawful issue, bequeathed *Ætolia* to his brother's son named also *Charles*, and *Acarmania* to his natural sons *Memnon*, *Turnus*, and *Hercules*. But great disputes arising about this division, *Amurath II.* after the reduction of *Theffalonica*, laid hold of so favourable an opportunity, and drove them all out in 1432. The *Mohammedans* were afterwards dispossessed of this country by the famous prince of *Epirus*, *George Castriot*, commonly called *Scanderbeg*, who with a small army opposed the whole power of the *Ottoman* empire, having defeated those barbarians in twenty two pitched battles, as we shall relate at length in a more proper place. This hero at his death left great part of *Ætolia* to the *Venetians*; but they not being able to make head against such a mighty power, the whole country was soon reduced by *Mohammed II.* whose successors hold it to this day.

<sup>g</sup> Idem, l. xxxix. c. 6. PAUSAN. in *Achaic*.



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A N

I N D E X

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